

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 BLÁŠKOVICH

ANNA DOLEŽALOVÁ

LADISLAV DROZDÍK

MARIÁN GÁLIK

VIKTOR KRUPA

JÁN MÚČKA

ANNA RÁCOVÁ

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
OF THE SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
BRATISLAVA

XIV

1978

1978

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
ISBN 0 7007 0121 4
ISSN 0571 2742**

© VEDA, VYDAVATEĽSTVO SLOVENSKEJ AKADEMIE VIED, 1978

CONTENTS

Articles

Gálik, Marián: <i>Goethe in China (1932)</i>	11
Doležalová, Anna: <i>Periodization of Modern Chinese Literature</i>	27
Múčka, Ján: <i>Nguyen Du — texte comme problème de fonctionnalisme de la méthode littéraire et de contenu idéologique</i>	33
Celnarová, Xénia: <i>Die Menschen vom Abgrund in der Auffassung von Orhan Kemal und Maxim Gorki</i>	45
Kopčan, Vojtech: <i>Zwei Itinerarien des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen Neuhausel (Nové Zámky) im Jahre 1663</i>	59
Pawliková, Viera: <i>Kabaka Mwanga and Early Anti-Colonial Protest in Buganda</i>	89
Krupa, Viktor: <i>Classifiers in the Languages of Southeast Asia. Evolution of a Lexico-Syntactic Category</i>	119
Drozdík, Ladislav: <i>Derivational System of Verbal and Instance Nouns in Arabic</i>	125

Review Articles

Genzor, Jozef: <i>Philippine Studies in the Soviet Union: Part I</i>	149
Gálik, Marián: <i>Mayakovsky in China</i>	159

Book Reviews

Gafurov, B. G.: <i>Aktualnye problemy sovremennogo natsionalno-osvoboditelnogo dvizheniya. Razvivayushchiesya strany Azii i Afriki</i> . By Ivan Doležal	177
Kovalenko, I. I.: <i>Sovetskii Soyuz v borbe za mir i kollektivnuyu bezopasnost v Azii</i> . By Ivan Doležal	178
Nikiforov, V. N.: <i>Vostok i vseмирnaya istoriya</i> . By Ivan Doležal	180
<i>Sovremennaya istoriografiya stran zarubezhnogo Vostoka. Rol traditsionnykh institutov v istoricheskom razvitii narodov Vostoka</i> . By Naďa Zimová	181
Laqueur, Walter: <i>Guerilla. A Historical and Critical Study</i> . By Ivan Doležal	182
Singer, Hans W.—Ansari, Javed A.: <i>Rich and Poor Countries</i> . By Ivan Doležal	185
Meshchaninov, I. I.: <i>Problemy razvitiya yazyka</i> . By Viktor Krupa	186
Nida, Eugene A.: <i>Componential Analysis of Meaning</i> . By Viktor Krupa	188
<i>Printsipy opisaniya yazykov mira</i> . Ed. by V. N. Yartseva and B. A. Serebrennikov. By Viktor Krupa	189
<i>Tipologiya grammaticheskikh kategorii</i> . By Viktor Krupa	191
Etiemble: <i>Essais de littérature (vraiment) générale</i> . Par Ján Múčka	194
Jost, François: <i>Introduction to Comparative Literature</i> . By Marián Gálik	196
Wares, Alan C.: <i>Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics 1935—1972</i> . By Jozef Genzor	198
Krupa, V.: <i>Polinezijskie yazyki</i> . By Jozef Genzor	199
<i>Linguistics. An International Review</i> . 110. By Jozef Genzor	200

Llamzon, Teodoro A.: <i>Modern Tagalog: A Functional-Structural Description</i> . By Jozef Genzor	201
Podberežskii, I. V.: <i>Učebnik tagalského jazyka</i> . By Jozef Genzor	202
Svelmoe, Gordon and Thelma: <i>Notes on Mansaka Grammar</i> . By Jozef Genzor	203
Wolfenden, Elmer: <i>A Description of Hiligaynon Syntax</i> . By Jozef Genzor	204
Baryshnikova, O. G.—Zhulev, I. F.: <i>Filippiny</i> . By Jozef Genzor	205
<i>Population and Development in Southeast Asia</i> . Ed. by John F. Kantner and Lee McCaffrey. By Jozef Genzor	206
Topping, Donald M.—Ogo, Pedro M.—Dungca, Bernadita C.: <i>Chamorro-English Dictionary</i> . By Jozef Genzor	207
Josephs, Lewis S.: <i>Palauan Reference Grammar</i> . By Jozef Genzor	209
Le Duan: <i>Écrits (1960—1975)</i> . Par Ivan Doležal	210
Glebova, I. I.—Sandakova, L. L.—Tyumeneva, E. I.: <i>Učebnik vietnamského jazyka dlya 2 kursa</i> , tchast I, II. Par Ján Múčka	211
Nguyen Khac Vien: <i>Aperçu sur la littérature vietnamienne</i> . Par Ján Múčka	213
<i>Akademiya nauk SSSR, Institut vostokovedeniya: Osvobozhdenie Korei — vospominaniya i statyi</i> . By Vladimír Pucek	216
Lewin, Bruno—Kim, Tschong Dae: <i>Einführung in die koreanische Sprache</i> . By Jozef Genzor	218
Shulman, Frank J.: <i>Doctoral Dissertations on Japan and Korea, 1969—1974. A Classified Bibliographical Listing of International Research</i> . By Marián Gálik	220
Liu, James J. Y.: <i>Chinese Theories of Literature</i> . By Marián Gálik	220
Tatlow, Antony: <i>Brechts chinesische Gedichte</i> . Von Marián Gálik	223
Dolby, William: <i>A History of Chinese Drama</i> . By Marián Gálik	226
<i>History of the Mongolian People's Republic</i> . By Ivan Doležal	228
Kalupahana, David J.: <i>Causality: The Central Philosophy of Buddhism; Buddhist Philosophy. A Historical Analysis</i> . By Marián Gálik	230
Deshpande, Bani: <i>The Universe of Vedanta</i> . By Vladimír Zahradník	234
Fekete, L.: <i>Einführung in die persische Paläographie. 101 persische Dokumente</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	236
Lewis, Bernard: <i>History. Remembered, Recovered, Invented</i> . By Vojtech Kopčan	239
<i>War, Technology and Society in the Middle East</i> . Ed. by V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp. By Vojtech Kopčan	240
<i>The Muslim East. Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus</i> . Ed. by Gy. Káldy-Nagy. By Vojtech Kopčan	244
Birken, Andreas: <i>Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	247
Kreiser, Klaus: <i>Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliya Çelebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	249
Özdemir, Hasan: <i>Die altosmanischen Chroniken als Quelle zur türkischen Volkskunde</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	251
<i>Turkologischer Anzeiger I</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	253
<i>Studia Turco-Hungarica I—II</i> . Edidit Gy. Káldy-Nagy. By Vojtech Kopčan	255
Kononov, A. N.: <i>Očerki istorii izučeniya tureckogo jazyka</i> . Von Xénia Celnarová	258
Andrews, Walter G., Jr.: <i>An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry</i> . By Xénia Celnarová	260
<i>Der Drache im Baum</i> . Von Xénia Celnarová	262
Püsküllüoğlu, Ali: <i>Türk Halk Şiiri Antolojisi</i> . By Xénia Celnarová	263
And, Metin: <i>Karagöz. Turkish Shadow Theatre</i> . By Xénia Celnarová	264
<i>Modern Turkish Drama. An Anthology of Plays in Translation</i> . Ed. with an Introduction by Talat Sait Halman. By Xénia Celnarová	266
And, Metin: <i>A Pictorial History of Turkish Dancing from Folk Dancing to Whirling Dervishes—Belly Dancing to Ballet</i> . By Xénia Celnarová	268

Belkin, V. M.: <i>Arabskaya lexikologiya</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	270
Czapkiewicz, A.: <i>The Verb in Modern Arabic Dialects as an Exponent of the Development Processes Occurring in Them</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	273
Schregle, G.: <i>Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	276
Shoukr, Samir: <i>Praktyczna nauka języka arabskiego / Šukr, Samīr: Taṭbiqāt ʿamaliyya fi l-luġa al-ʿarabiyya</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	283
Cohen, D.: <i>Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis</i> . Par Ladislav Drozdík	284
Grand'henry, J.: <i>Les parlers arabes de la région du Mzāb (Sahara algérien)</i> . Par Ladislav Drozdík	287
Wise, H.: <i>A Transformational Grammar of Spoken Egyptian Arabic</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	288
Louis, A.: <i>Tunisie du Sud. Ksars et villages de crêtes</i> . Par Ladislav Drozdík	292
Bosworth, C. E.: <i>The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld. Part One and Two</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	292
Cantarino, V.: <i>Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	294
Ebied, R. Y.—Young, M. J. L. (Eds): <i>The Story of Joseph in Arabic Verse</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	296
<i>Journal of Maltese Studies</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	296
Sivan, Emmanuel: <i>Communisme et nationalisme en Algérie 1920—1962</i> . Par Ivan Doležal	298
<i>Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960. Vol. 4. The Economics of Colonialism</i> . Ed. by Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann. By Viera Pawliková	301
<i>Leadership in 19th Century Africa. Essays from Tarikh</i> . Ed. by Obaro Ikime. By Viera Pawliková	303
Márton, Imre: <i>La pensée politique du Président Ahmed Sékou Touré</i> . Par Josef Poláček	305
Ingham, Kenneth: <i>The Kingdom of Toro in Uganda</i> . By Edward I. Steinhart	307
Rusch, Walter: <i>Klassen und Staat in Buganda vor der Kolonialzeit</i> . By Viera Pawliková	310
Okhotina, N. V.: <i>Yazykovaya situatsiya v stranakh Afriki</i> . By Petr Zima	313
Ebert, Karen S.: <i>Sprache und Tradition der Kera (Tschad). Teil I.: Texte</i> . By Petr Zima	315
Whiteley, W. H. (Ed.): <i>Language in Kenya</i> . By Petr Zima	316
<i>African Culture and Integration</i> . Collected papers by Vladimír Klíma, Karsten Legére, Petr Zima. By Viera Pawliková	319
Mair, Lucy: <i>African Societies</i> . By Viera Pawliková	321
BOOKS RECEIVED	323

ARTICLES

GOETHE IN CHINA (1932)*

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

This is a study of Goethe's reception in China during Goethes Gedächtnisjahr (1932). It is done on the basis of the essays of Chinese men of letters and philosophers published at that time, and archival material preserved in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Potsdam.

In the embrace of "truth" and "liberty"
Carrying in his arms the child of "art",
The poet walks briskly and freely along the road
towards a bright future.

Hark!
Angel songs have sounded!
Listen, Poet!
Couldn't you walk slowly?

Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der täglich sie erobern muss.

The first of these quotations was written in 1922 on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's death, by the Chinese poetess Ping Hsin [1] (born 1902). In 1932, two Chinese men of letters Tsung Pai-hua [2] (born 1897) and Chou Fu-ch'eng [3] made use of the above lines and of the entire poem as the introduction to an anthology of original and translated essays published on the centenary of the death of the great German poet under the title *Ko-te-chih jen-shih* [4] The Knowledge about Goethe.¹ The words "couldn't you walk slowly" evidently belong to that unusual phenomenon that was Goethe's genius which, like a herald of modern times (in China there was a fairly widespread belief in a poet's prophetic or avantgardist mission in the twenties and thirties) appeared incomprehensible at the moment of meeting him, and this forced the editors of the publication to have

* Paper read at the 3rd International Symposium on Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literature at Weimar on 7th April, 1976.

¹ The book appeared in Nanking in the publishing house Chung-shan shu-chü [5], on January 10, 1933, 344 pp.

recourse to those impatient and beseeching words of Ping Hsin.² The poet's greatness was bewildering, as were also his metamorphoses. The book, an analysis of which is to form the major part of the present paper, was meant to be a reflection of the knowledge which China possessed at that time on Goethe's life and work. That request in itself indicates that this knowledge was partial only, distorted at times, yet very welcome to us, whether students of Chinese *Geistesgeschichte* or of Chinese literature.

The second quotation is from Goethe's *Faust* and appeared on the invitation card to a performance of several acts from *Faust* on March 22 and 23, 1932 in the Canton Club Theatre (Sha-men).³ This second quotation presents a different view on Goethe's life and work.

In the case of Goethe in China there is a question of a dichotomy well-known and often repeated in modern China. Ping Hsin and those siding with her, or more exactly, the majority of those who at that time wrote about Goethe, looked on this poet and his work as on an epistemologic object, as an object of knowledge and investigation. The others, whether Chinese themselves or, as was oftener the case, foreigners, observed Goethe's life and work as part of a broad ontological reality, not so much as an object of investigation as rather an example worth imitating. The former were more numerous than the latter.

The centenary of J. W. Goethe's death, falling on March 22, 1932, was celebrated by the entire cultural world. China was no exception. Archival and other materials are preserved in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv at Potsdam, the book referred to above and some periodicals, permit us to create a relatively lively picture of what took place immediately before or after this date in China insofar as J. W. Goethe was concerned.

Let us begin with the second part of the dichotomy spoken of earlier — less represented quantitatively though axiologically very significant for those times so difficult for China.

On the night of September 18, 1931, Japanese armies occupied Mukden. As has been shown by more recent researches on the basis of authentic documents (diaries, memoirs at the Tokyo War Crimes Trials), the hostilities had been provoked by Japanese military and civil experts.⁴ The resistance put up to the Japanese invasion

² Cf. *Chung-kuo tso-i tso-chia lien-meng-ti ch'eng-li (pao-tao)* [6] The Foundation of the League of Chinese Left Writers (A Report). In: T'o-huang-cho [7], 3, 1930. Reprinted in *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh shih ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* [8] (Materials for the Study of Modern Chinese Literature), Vol. 1, Peking 1959, p. 282.

³ To the invitation was attached an *Introduction to Scenes from "Faust"*, in English, German and Chinese. The Chinese and German texts of the invitation carry the original words, in the English version the quotation is translated freely. The texts of the invitations were enclosed to letter 3300/2154/32 and are to be found in Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Potsdam (henceforth DZA).

⁴ Clyde, P. H. and Beers, B. F.: *The Far East*. 4th ed. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs Inc. 1966, p. 320.

by Chinese armies in Manchuria was negligible. At the beginning of 1932, the Japanese had almost all the important centres of Manchuria in their hands. Harbin, a town with which we are also concerned here, was occupied by the Japanese on February 5, 1932. "The inhabitants were much shaken by the occupation and the events that preceded it. Whole weeks passed before they calmed down."⁵ Celebrations in Goethe's honour could take place only on April 17 for the German and April 24 for the Russian section of the population.⁶

On January 28, 1932, Japanese warships started bombarding the Chinese quarters of Shanghai. This time, Chinese resistance proved to be unusually decisive. The 19th Route Army supported by the Shanghai proletariat maintained its positions until the beginning of March. It was only after fresh reinforcements had arrived and the Japanese airforce had intervened with decisive effect, that the 19th Route Army, left without any help from the Kuomintang Government, had to retreat inland.

The celebrations in Shanghai did take place on time, but bore the signs of the times, for "inter arma silent artes". Instead of planning how to celebrate Goethe's centenary, it was necessary to be prepared for an eventual evacuation, or to try to minimize possible damages from the war. Participants of the celebrations could listen to scenes from *Faust*, *Götz von Berlichingen* and at the end, the world-renowned poem *Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh* performed by a choir, perhaps as a symbol of that temporary lull that had come into their vicinity two weeks earlier.⁷

The most ostentatious celebrations within the framework of *Goethe-Gedächtnisjahr* were in Peking. They took place at the German Legation in the presence of prominent Chinese representatives of the cultural life and members of the diplomatic corps of several countries. That evening (the celebrations began at 9.00 p. m.) there was a near-complete lunar eclipse in northern China and this deterred the more superstitious among the Chinese from taking part. Others came explaining this phenomenon as a sign of Heaven's mourning over the death of the great poet.⁸

Similarly as in the celebrations in Canton so also in those of Peking, the overall mood and its content was to a certain extent given by the leading idea. In Canton this was the quotation from *Faust* heading this article. The organizers of the Cantonese celebrations intended to show their Chinese and other guests that "the Faustian idea,

⁵ Quoted from a letter of the German Consulate, Harbin, to the German Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt), Berlin. Deposited at DZA, No. 3300/9650/32.

⁶ Loc. cit.

⁷ The celebrations in Shanghai are described on the basis of a letter from the German Consulate, Shanghai, to the German Foreign Office, Berlin, through the German Legation, Peking. Deposited at DZA, No. 3300/1863/32. An invitation with the programme of the celebrations is attached to the letter.

⁸ Concrete data on various representatives, whether of the Chinese cultural life or the diplomatic corps of various countries, were published in *Deutsch-chinesische Nachrichten* on April 10, 1932. The lunar eclipse is spoken of in a letter by the German Ambassador Dr. O. P. Trautmann to the German Foreign Office, DZA, No. 3300/673/32 and also in the Chinese text from an unnamed newspaper attached to this letter.

the feature of unrelenting effort and incessant struggle, the eternal longing for perfection, the intensive desire for productive effort, for the blessing of mankind and at last the redemption in a metaphysical world in spite of earthly implications in faults and errors, is the deepest and the most extensive expression of German spirit and being".⁹ Even though these words may be considered in a certain measure as some sort of spiritual imperialism, even though they are not quite true, for Promethean and Faustian strains have been a parcel of some parts of the human race at least since the ancient Greek times, these words nevertheless had their positive significance in March of 1932. China needed to live in national freedom and in the geopolitical situation then prevailing had to fight for it! If China did not pursue this consistently, it was a mistake, a moral and political betrayal by the ruling class.

The idea was less evident in the celebrations held in Peking, organized in a more versatile manner, but here, too, it could be characterized by the quotation printed on the left-hand side of the invitation card:

Lasst fahren hin das Allzuflüchtige!
Ihr sucht bei ihm vergebens Rat.
In dem Vergangenen lebt das Tüchtige,
Verewigt sich in schöner Tat.¹⁰

These words were evidently addressed to the Chinese guests. They in fact point to the past, the fountainhead of tradition, something so close to the Chinese people and certainly to its intellectual strata. It is not known whether any military men were among the guests and whether someone thought of Yüeh Fei [9] (1103—1141) and his like. But soldiers were present among the 600 odd guests at the Canton celebrations.¹¹ Among the more prominent of the 250 guests present at the German Legation — out of the 340 invited — we find the names of Mei Lan-fang [10] (1894—1961), a famous actor of female roles in the Peking Opera, Yüan T'ung-li [11] (1895—1965), at that time associate-director of the Peking Library, and the philosopher Carsun Chang [12] (1887—1969).¹²

The same spirit was also evident from the contributions (at least their German part) which appeared in a special edition of the *Deutsch-Chinesische Nachrichten* (Te-hua jih-pao) on the same day (i. e. March 22, 1932) in Tientsin. This special edition is called *Dem Andenken Goethes (Ko-te chi-nien t'o-k'an)* [14].¹³ On the

⁹ Quoted according to the English text of the Cantonese invitation card. Cf. Note 3.

¹⁰ The German-worded invitation card is also attached to the letter of the German Ambassador to China. The four lines by Goethe together with the following eight lines (see the text attached to the Note 13) are from the poem entitled *Zur Logenfeier des 3. September 1825*. Cf. Goethe: *Poetische Werke* (Berliner Ausgabe). Aufbau-Verlag 1972, Vol. 1, pp. 529—530.

¹¹ Data from letter 3300/2154/32. Cf. Note 3.

¹² Data from above letter by the German Ambassador to China.

¹³ This number was edited by the German Seminary of Peking University and appeared on 16 pages. Besides Carlyle's essay, it also carried brief characteristics on Goethe by Fr. Nietzsche, Sainte-Beuve, G. Brandes, a poem on Goethe by Fr. Hebbel, an abridged article entitled *Zu den Chinesisch-deutschen*

front page of this edition Goethe is pictured as an old man, or Goethe — the Sage (as may be read in the Chinese materials), with a wrinkled forehead but with a firm gaze, and below this the same quotation which the participants at the Peking celebrations could read on their invitation cards. But in order to achieve a more potent effect of that message conveyed there, the editor of *Dem Andenken Goethes* added the following eight lines:

Und so gewinnt sich das Lebendige
Durch Folg' aus Folge neue Kraft,
Denn die Gesinnung, die beständige,
Sich macht allein den Menschen dauerhaft.
So löst sich jene grosse Frage
Nach unsrem zweiten Vaterland;
Den das Beständige der ird'schen Tage
Verbürgt uns ewigen Bestand.

That Faustian strain is best felt on the following two pages of *Dem Andenken Goethes* on which is published the German translation of *Goethe's Death* (1832) by Thomas Carlyle. In this spirited and penetrating essay Carlyle brought Goethe close to readers at the moment of his death — at 11.00 a. m. of March 22, 1832 here in Weimar. Goethe is said to have died without pain, having shortly before asked for paper on which he expressed his joy at the coming of spring. "A beautiful death", wrote Carlyle, "like that of a soldier found faithful at his post, and in the cold hand his arms still grasped! The poet's last words are a greeting of the new-awakened Earth, his last movement is to work at his appointed task."¹⁴

These are fine words, although for the most part expressing a myth. Goethe did not die an easy death, though it is true that he looked forward eagerly to the approaching spring, believing it would preserve his life.

This picture was satisfactory to the then Chinese socio-political situation, but also to the one prevailing on the Chinese intellectual sphere, even though it embodied something of the *Lust am Trug*. The essay also lays emphasis on deed (*Tat*) as an outcome of thought (*Sinn*) and word (*Wort*). The essay of Carlyle appeared also in Chinese in the Marxist-oriented journal *Tu-shu tsa-chih* [17] Study Journal in May 1932.¹⁵ Goethe's image as a "soldier with gun", as a man of deed, as a challenge to life was meant to have a topical importance in those days.

Jahres- und Tageszeiten by Waldemar Freiherr von Biedermann, a recording of Goethe's conversation with J. P. Eckermann from January 31, 1827 (in German and partly also in Chinese), a short article *Ko-te yü Pai-mei hsin-yung* [15] Goethe and Poems to Hundred Beauties, and a translation of Act IV, from Goethe's play *Tasso*, by Ch'en T'ien-hsin [16].

¹⁴ Carlyle, T.: *Heroes and Hero-Worship. Essays on Goethe*. London, Cassel and Co., Ltd. 1908, p. 325.

¹⁵ Carlyle's article came out in Tuan K'o-ch'ing's [18] translation, who was one of the younger members of Ch'uang-tsaio she [92] Creation Society. In addition, the same issue of the journal carried

One of the most outstanding adherents of Goethe's in 1932 was Ho Lin [24] (born 1902), a professor of philosophy at Peking University. He alone, as far as we know, published an article whose title implies its temporary actuality: *Ko-te ch'u kuo-nan shih-chih t'ai-tu* [25] Goethe's Attitude at the Time of National Trouble. Such a time of national trouble to Goethe was the occupation on October 16, 1806 of Weimar by Napoleon's soldiers and the times immediately following. On the basis of some reliable biography, he recounts rather faithfully, what happened in Goethe's environment and reflects as follows:

"From the way Goethe behaved during these national troubles, it may be inferred that he had a firm view on the relation between war and peace. Even though the course of events did not permit his views to be implemented (according to Ho Lin Goethe wanted to see the German states united and thus fight against Napoleon, M. G.), he did make use of his standing as a man of letters and helped the State through his loyalty (*mo kuo i chung*) [26]. Seeing that, face to face with the great danger others fled to save their lives, he, a former *Geheimrat*, succeeded in administering the abandoned city so that it lived without fear. (His presence) meant a good fortune for the town."¹⁶

Ho Lin saw in Goethe the realization of one part of the bipolar Confucian ideal *wen-wu* [27] the man of letters and soldier. He was *wen-jen* [28] *littérateur* and simultaneously also *chün-tzu* [29] superior man in one person. When *wu-jen* [30] soldiers like Karl August fled, Goethe stayed on with his people. According to Ho Lin, Goethe was *tao-te-ti cheng-chih chia* [31] a moral politician, an embodiment of Mencius' concept of *jen-cheng* [32] benevolent (or moral) government. This does not correspond to facts. Goethe did not join the Prussian armies principally because he knew the struggle against Napoleon was useless. He knew only too well the military situation. His activity in occupied Weimar was not that of a politician, but of an outstanding personality in the cultural life, one enjoying the respect also among educated French officers. If Goethe was to serve as an example to Chinese philosophers and men of letters in 1932, then Ho Lin failed to understand the nature of the Weimar events of 1806 and the Chinese situation of 1932.

The address entitled *Goethe und Confucius* was presented at the Peking celebrations by Carsun Chang.¹⁷ This is one of numerous minor studies throwing light on Goethe's life and work as being an epistemologic object — object of knowledge.

a translation of K. A. Wittfogel's article about Goethe, as also articles by Yü-sheng [19], Hu Ch'iu-yüan [20] and Chou Shu-shan [21]. Tseng Hsü-pai [22] translated the whole book: it appeared in 1932 under the title *Yin-hsiung yü yin-hsiung ch'ung-pai* [23] by the care of Commercial Press in Shanghai.

¹⁶ *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 100—101.

¹⁷ The address appeared in German in *Deutsch-chinesische Nachrichten*. The exact date is not known, but it certainly was prior to April 1, 1932. It is likewise deposited in DZA and was appended to the German Ambassador's letter No. 3300/673/32. Its Chinese version was published in the Peking newspaper *Ch'en-pao* [33] on March 26, 1932. See *Wen-hsüeh lun-wen so-yin (hsü pien)* [34] *The Index of Chinese Literary Articles*, 2nd Vol., Shanghai 1933, p. 278.

Carsun Chang studied at Jena as the pupil of Rudolf Eucken. During his stay there in 1919—1922, he used to pass daily through the Botanical Garden where Goethe often made his experiments. According to Carsun Chang, Goethe and Confucius were similar in several points: both were optimists and laid emphasis on activity (*Tätigkeit*) and development (*Werden*). However, insofar as Confucius was concerned, he supported this statement with only one quotation from the book *I-ching* [35] *The Book of Changes*, which was certainly not written by Confucius.¹⁸ He considers Goethe's and Confucius's thought to be "congenial". Both were inherently interested in Logos; Goethe had a greater measure of enjoyment thanks to his Eros, while Confucius was more for Ethos.

Better founded than Carsun Chang's were statements made by the philosopher T'ang Chün-i [36] (born 1909), whose views were close to Hegel's and, apparently to Bergson's, too.¹⁹ T'ang also makes a comparison between Goethe and Confucius. He points out six identities (*t'ung*) [39], that are characteristic to both: a positive Yea-saying to life, capacity of life's multiformity, optimism, a sense of life harmony, a realistic view of life and a pantheistic religion. There is no room for an analysis of T'ang's entire article. But let us take note of the second among the identities.

The second identity, that of the capacity of life's multiformity, does in fact throw a certain light on the Chinese literary and philosophical situation of the preceding period, particularly on the first half of the twenties — a situation which at the time T'ang's article was written, was slowly drawing to a close.

In a prosaic translation, T'ang Chün-i quotes the lines of Goethe from *Faust*:

Mein Busen, der von Wissensdrang geheilt ist,
Soll keinen Schmerzen künftig sich verschliessen,
Und was der ganzen Menschheit zugeteilt ist,
Will ich in meinem innern Selbst geniessen,
Mit meinem Geist das Höchste und Tiefste greifen,
Ihr Wohl und Weh auf meinem Busen häufen
Und so mein eigen Selbst zu ihren Selbst erweitern
Und, wie sie selbst, am End auch ich zerscheitern.²⁰

The translation, if it could be so termed at all, is extremely free. The whole of the first line is rendered by a single word: I (wo) [40]. The second and third lines are translated as follows: I wish in my inner self deeply to receive all that is encompassed in mankind. The fourth and fifth lines: I wish to apprehend all that is highest, deepest

¹⁸ Fung Yu-lan: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 1. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1952, p. 412, or de Bary, Th. Wm. (Ed.): *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. New York — London, Columbia University Press 1963, p. 4.

¹⁹ T'ang Chün-i's article *K'ung-tzu yü Ko-te* [37] Confucius and Goethe originally appeared in No. 3 of the journal *Kuo-wen pan-yüeh-k'an* [38] *State News Semimonthly*, in October 1932, and was reprinted in *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 295—311.

²⁰ Goethe, J. W.: *Faust*. Vol. 1. Leipzig, Verlag Philipp Reclam jun. 1974, p. 57.

and remotest. The sixth line: I wish to lay in my breast all the worries and joys of the whole of mankind. The seventh line: I wish so to enlarge my little ego that it may become a great Ego of the entire mankind. And finally the eighth: I wish to become extinct together with the entire humanity.²¹

We find a similar translation of these lines in the article by Tsung Pai-hua. In 1932 he was the only one left of a trio of enthusiasts made up in 1920 of Kuo Mo-jo [41] (1892—1978) and T'ien Han [42] (born 1898), besides himself.²² The article is entitled *Ko-te-chih jen-sheng ch'i-shih* [43] The Unveiling of Goethe's Life.²³ How to explain the enormous deviation from the meaning of the original text in both the translations? T'ang read Tsung, hence, took over his translation. But how did Tsung come by it? He took almost literally — maybe with only a few stylistic adjustments — Kuo Mo-jo's translation of this passage.²⁴ Kuo Mo-jo's translation was influenced by his contemporary titanism, by a "mystischen Allhunger" as remarked by Gundolf,²⁵ by an effort to eulogize the great Ego (i.e. the humanity within us) that organizes the chaotic world or the world of chaos and wishes to be a creator of a new universe.²⁶ Evidently Tsung Pai-hua was, even at the beginning of the thirties, an adherent of the literary self-expression of the kind that prevailed principally among members of Creation Society until about the time of the Chinese revolution of 1926—1927 and that was at least partially influenced from outside, for instance, by expounders of Goethe's work (possibly also by Gundolf), by German expressionists, perhaps also by writers of the Japanese literary group known as Shirakaba [52] White Birch Society, and *watakushi-shōsetsu* [53] first-person fiction, for instance Satō Haruo [54] (1892—1964), or Arishima Takeo [55] (1878—1923).

T'ang Chün-i's article under analysis is in the fourth part of the book *Knowledge about Goethe*. There are also further articles there dealing with Goethe in China: *Ko-te yü Chung-kuo* [56] Goethe and China by Cheng Shou-lín [57] providing also an excellent bibliography of translations of Goethe's works into Chinese and of books in Chinese devoted to him, or in which his life and work are partially

²¹ T'ang Chün-i, op. cit., p. 299.

²² For more details see Roy, D. T.: *Kuo Mo-jo. The Early Years*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1971, pp. 85—93.

²³ Tsung Pai-hua's article was originally published in *Ta-kung-pao wen-hsüeh fu-k'an* [44] Literary Supplement to the Newspaper *Ta-kung-pao*, Tientsin, Nos 220—222, March 21 and 28, and April 4, 1932.

²⁴ Cf. Tsung's article in *The Knowledge about Goethe*, p. 5, and Kuo Mo-jo's translation of *Faust*, Vol. 1, in *Fu-shih-te* [45] *Faust*, Shanghai 1952, p. 82. This is a reprint of the 1947 edition published by Ch'ün-i [46] Publishers. The original translation which appeared in Ch'uang-tsao [47] Publishers, Shanghai 1929, is deposited in the Hoover Library, Stanford.

²⁵ Gundolf, Fr.: *Goethe*. Berlin, Georg Bondi 1918, p. 132.

²⁶ See the poem by Kuo Mo-jo entitled *Ch'uang-tsao-cho* [48] *Creators*, originally published in *Ch'uang-tsao chi-k'an* [49] *Creation Quarterly*, May 1922 and reprinted in Chao Chia-pi [50] (Ed.): *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh ta-hsi* [51] *Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature*, Vol. 10, Shanghai 1936, pp. 93—96.

analysed.²⁷ Another article is by Ch'en Ch'üan [58] on Goethe's relation to Chinese novel²⁸ and a reprint of R. Wilhelm's article on Chinese culture, originally published in a special number of Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao [59] The Short Story Magazine, in 1927, devoted wholly to the study of Chinese literature.²⁹ In addition, there is yet another article devoted to Goethe's relation towards German,³⁰ another towards French,³¹ and finally a third one towards English literature.³²

As we consider Goethe primarily as a man of letters and only then as a philosopher or *Naturforscher*, we should be mostly interested in literary and critical statements devoted to Goethe's works. The book *Knowledge about Goethe* contains two contributions, one dealing with *Faust* and the other with *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*. Both had had their German patterns and hence are more or less simple variations.

The literary critic Hsü Chung-nien, later the author of the booklet about Goethe, endeavoured to analyse the entire Faustian question from *Urfaust* (1775) until the famous couplet about *das Ewig-Weibliche* (1832).³³ His model here was the book *Goethes Faust* by Otto Pniower from the year 1899. Hsü Chung-nien made an analysis of both the parts of Faust primarily in relation to three well-known "properties" of the world of art: Truth, Goodness and Beauty. He was evidently taken up principally by the question of Goodness. In both the parts he points to the polarity of good (Faust) and evil (Mephistopheles). Yet, he would hardly be a true Chinese were he to fail to relate Goethe's philosophy of Goodness (or rather what Mr. Hsü fancied by this term) with the philosophy of mainly Confucian and Taoist authors. He also calls to his aid Buddhist and Christian views on good but in both these teachings he is rather weak. The Confucian "good" is to him identical with the concept of *jen* [69] human-heartedness or benevolence; he takes but little note of

²⁷ *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 331—333. Originally published in *Deutsch-chinesische Nachrichten*, March 22, 1932.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 285—293. The article originally appeared in the Literary Supplement to the Newspaper *Ta-kung-pao* and probably was a small part of Ch'en Ch'üan's Ph.D. thesis entitled *Die chinesische Literatur in deutschem Schrifttum*, Glückstadt und Hamburg, Augustin 1933. The article was written in Berlin and dated December 21, 1931.

²⁹ *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 255—284. Those interested in translated poetry are recommended to read the 14 poems in the *Deutsch-chinesische Jahres- und Tageszeiten* (i.e. the entire production) in the translation by the poet Feng Chih [60] (born 1905). See *ibid.*, pp. 269—280.

³⁰ Yang Ping-ch'en [61], *Ko-te yü Te-kuo wen-hsüeh* [62] Goethe and German Literature, *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 217—225.

³¹ Hsü Chung-nien [63], *Ko-te yü Fa-kuo* [64] Goethe and France was written especially for *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 243—254. See *Tsung Pai-hua fu-yen* [65] Tsung Pai-hua's Additional Remarks to the Introduction, p. 6.

³² *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 227—242.

³³ *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 147—202. The article was originally published in Nanking, in the journal *Ta-lu-tsa-chih* [66] *Mainland Journal*, 1, 3, September 1932. Hsü's booklet on Goethe is entitled *Ko-te hsiao-chuan* [67] *A Short Biography of Goethe*, Shanghai, Nü-tzu [68] Publishers 1934, 60 pp.

the proper concept of *shan* [70] goodness. He may possibly have been less familiar with Mencius and his tradition.

Hsü considers Faust's goodness to be "higher" than that of Confucius and more active than that of Lao-tzu, greater than that of the Buddhist teaching and more modern than that of Christians.³⁴ The goodness of Faust thus defined is a "universal hope of cultural mankind".³⁵ Hsü evidently influenced by Pniower sees "the will towards good" to be an expression of the efforts *hsiang shang* [71] upward, in the direction of ethical perfection. With regard to the question of evil the author of the article turns toward the above-mentioned four traditions, too, and points out that the image of Mephistopheles is concordant with the Judeo-Christian concept of evil, as an uncreative element in contrast to creative good. In proof of this he quotes a passage from the first chapter of the book *Genesis*: "And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good."³⁶ Hsü Chung-nien does not underline particularly Faustian strains as about the most typical trait of Faustian *Weltanschauung*, but he emphasizes the creative aspect of the Faustian ideal. This ideal had an echo in the Chinese ideal of "creativity", very popular especially in the twenties.

Hsü Chung-nien devotes relatively little space to an analysis of the concepts of beauty (*mei*) [72] and even less to that of truth (*chen*) [73]. The issues of truth and goodness practically fuse under his treatment. Epistemologic and ethical values are in him so closely interwoven that he does not even make an attempt at separating them philosophically.

Tsung Pai-hua's article dealing with the *Sorrows of Young Werther* was written for those who liked Werther, but it failed to make an analysis of the reality of those years, nor is there any trace of any Chinese *Wertherfieber* that is occasionally spoken of among sinologists.³⁷ Mr. Tsung starts from Bieloschowski's and Gundolf's views on Werther and the beginning of his article resembles Kuo Mo-jo's introductory poem from the journal *Ch'uang-tsao chou-pao* [75] *Creation Weekly*, entitled *Ch'uang-shih king-ch'eng-chih ti-ch'i jih* [76] *The Seventh Day of Creation*.³⁸ A similar idea is expressed in both the poem and the article: it is necessary from time to time to "create" the world anew, to remove from it the evil, hunger, pain, emptiness. In either case this new "creator" is to be a great poet, a genius; his pure spirit, "free from stain" (a Buddhist term) should be capable of creating a precious treasure-house of the spirit out of this polluted world. Goethe was one of those. As

³⁴ *The Knowledge about Goethe*, p. 197.

³⁵ Loc. cit.

³⁶ Quoted according to *The Holy Bible*, Oxford University Press, n. d., p. 8.

³⁷ The article is entitled *Ko-te-ti Shao-nien Wei-t'o-chih fan-nao* [74] *Goethe's Sorrows of Young Werther*, *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 203—216. For Werther and China, see Lee, Leo Ou-fan: *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1973, pp. 283—286.

³⁸ See the reprinted in Chao Chia-pi (Ed.): op. cit., Vol. 10, pp. 99—100.

stated earlier, Tsung Pai-hua was an adherent of self-expression and in *Faust* and the young Werther he saw an artistic self-realization of Goethe's view of life and personality. Goethe's idea of the moment that is beautiful (*verweile doch, du bist so schön*) is made to refer by Mr. Tsung to Goethe's whole life and work.³⁹ The content of human life is an immeasurably rich life, *Selbsterweiterung des Ich* with the aid of a realization of life's yearnings, hesitations and searchings. These hesitations and searchings, melancholies and vexations were for Goethe a concrete way of emphasizing that "beautiful moment", his greatest hope and desire.⁴⁰

The article *Ko-te yü Chung-kuo wen-hua* [77] Goethe and Chinese Culture, had been written some years before *Goethe-Gedächtnisjahr* by a man who earned the appellation of "Botschafter zweier Welten".⁴¹ It appeared a hundred years after Goethe had written his *Chinesisch-deutsche Jahres- und Tageszeiten* and the formulation in the literary history of the very important concept — world literature. According to Goethe: "National literature is now rather an unmeaning term, the epoch of World Literature is at hand, and every one must strive to hasten its approach. But, while we thus value what is foreign, we must not bind ourselves to anything in particular, and regard it as a model..."⁴²

Goethe's concept of world literature, just because of its stress on genetic and contact relations between various national literatures, appears to me not to have been overcome as yet in the world of comparative scholarship. Even though attempts were made after Goethe's times at advancing other concepts, these were fairly one-sided and never gained any sufficient number of adherents. For example, the concept of world literature as a selection of the best classics from various literatures or a set of literatures of the whole world.

What is of importance to us orientalists and literary scholars who have assembled here is that Goethe gave his concept concrete form after having become acquainted with Oriental-Chinese literature. Of course, prior to that he had read and was familiar with many outstanding works of English, French, Spanish, Serbian, modern Greek, Persian, Indian and other literatures. When on January 31, 1827 — hence not quite 150 years ago, Goethe spoke with Eckerman and said the above sentences, he had in mind one Chinese novel, *Hao ch'iu chuan* [78] The Story of an Ideal Marriage, the first Chinese novel translated into a Western language, first in an

³⁹ This idea of Goethe occurs twice in the text of *Faust* with a slight alteration. In *Faust*, I, we read: "Werd ich zum Augenblicke sagen: / Verweile doch! du bist so schön!" (Reclam ed. 1974, p. 55). In *Faust*, II: "Zum Augenblicke dürft ich sagen: / Verweile doch, du bist so schön!" (Reclam ed. 1975, p. 225).

⁴⁰ *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 203—204.

⁴¹ Cf. Wilhelm, R.: *Botschafter zweier Welten*, with an Introduction by W. Bauer. Düsseldorf—Köln, Eugen Diederichs Verlag 1973, esp. pp. 6—38.

⁴² Quoted according to Hardison, O. B., Jr.: *Modern Continental Criticism*. London, Peter Owen 1962, p. 48.

abridged form (1761) and then in several editions in extenso (the first time in 1829).⁴³ In this otherwise poor novel from the artistic point of view, Goethe's interest was attracted by the two principal figures, "the couple of lovers who even after a long acquaintance remained so restrained that on one occasion when they had to spend the night together in the same room, they spent long hours in conversation without the least intimacy taking place between them. And innumerable similar incidents, all of them meant to bring out morality and decency".⁴⁴ Goethe read the work of an unknown Chinese author written under the pseudonym of Ming-chiao chung jen [79] A Follower of Orthodox Confucianism as a counterweight to the songs of Béranger.⁴⁵ In China too, however, the incredibly moral T'ieh Chung-yü [80], the principal hero in this novel, was an antipole to the "depraved" Hsi-men Ch'ing [81], the principal hero in the novel *Chin P'ing Mei* [82] *The Golden Lotus*, one of the most outstanding of Chinese novels. Goethe may possibly have been impressed by those elements in the novel *The Story of an Ideal Marriage* which he failed to find in European tradition, for example, the image of the little girl with such light dainty feet that it could swing on a flower without breaking it.⁴⁶ Goethe's high age was also one reason for it. But it may also have been an "echo of the rococo's chinoiserie which persisted in him (in Goethe, M. G.) throughout his whole life", if we are to accept Richard Friedenthal's judgment.⁴⁷

The most important point in reflection on the relationship between national and world literature is that of mutual enrichment. Goethe was well conscious of this also. The specificity of every national literature should be and is preserved despite even an unusually strong impact of foreign literature. The period of Goethe and Schiller in Germany, and the somewhat later period of Pushkin and Lermontov in Russia may be taken as cases in point.

Goethe's concept of world literature was not merely a product of his advanced age. It took shape gradually, on the basis of his abundant experience. It was more or less fortuitous that the impulse for its final formulation came from an oriental novel.⁴⁸

Less than half a century ago, Professor R. Wilhelm reminded Chinese men of letters of Goethe's words on world literature. In that year various magazines or journals devoted entire numbers or their parts to Goethe's memory.⁴⁹ His memory was to have been recalled also by an issue of *The Short Story Magazine*, of the then

⁴³ For more details about it see Ch'en Shou-yi: *Chinese Literature. A Historical Introduction*. New York, The Ronald Press Co. 1961, pp. 493—495.

⁴⁴ *Goethes Gespräche mit Eckermann*. Berlin, Aufbau-Verlag 1955, p. 277.

⁴⁵ Loc. cit.

⁴⁶ Loc. cit.

⁴⁷ Friedenthal, R.: *Goethe, sein Leben und seine Zeit* (in a Czech translation). Prague, Odeon 1973, p. 696.

⁴⁸ More on Goethe's endeavours in this field see Vajda, G. M.: *Goethes Anregung zur vergleichenden Literaturbetrachtung*. *Acta litteraria*, 10, 1968, pp. 221—238.

⁴⁹ Besides those mentioned in the paper already, there were also Peking journals Ch'ing-hua chou-k'an

largest Chinese literary journal.⁵⁰ It never appeared, however, for the Commercial Press where it was edited and printed, was destroyed by Japanese bombs.

Efforts by the most different men of letters in China worthily to celebrate the centenary of the death of the great German poet have remained unknown to the world at large. Mr. Yü Ta-wei [90] (born 1899), allegedly a commercial attaché of the Chinese Legation in Berlin, in reality a liaison commissioner between the Chinese Government and the German Ministry of Defence, who had been delegated by the Kuomintang Ministry of Foreign Affairs to represent the Republic of China at the Weimar celebrations,⁵¹ did not make his appearance at Weimar. He only sent a wreath with ribbon.⁵² The lack of interest on the part of the government circles forms a sharp contrast to the efforts of Chinese writers, poets and philosophers. Many of these works written about Goethe at the end of 1931 or beginning of 1932 saw the light of day under very difficult conditions of the Japanese intervention.

Even though on March 22, 1932 there was no one among the numerous delegations from every corner of the Earth at Weimar to represent China, that same day in Peking, Canton, Shanghai and elsewhere,⁵³ many thought of Goethe's Faust and Werther, of his poems and of his message to the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author of the present paper wishes to acknowledge his appreciation to the authorities of Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Potsdam, for putting at his disposal materials dealing with *Goethes Gedächtnisjahr* 1932 in China and for the kind authorization to publish them in this form.

[83] The Ch'ing-hua Weekly, 35, 4 (the end of 1931), Pien-tz'u chou-k'an [84] Lashing Weekly, 5 (April 1932) and Hsin shih-tai yüeh-k'an [85] New Age Monthly, 2, Nos 2—3, published in Shanghai.

⁵⁰ From *Pien-cho ch'ien-yen* [86] The Editor's Preface written by Chou Fu-ch'eng, it ensues that the editors of Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao were preparing before January 28, 1932, a special issue devoted to the 100th anniversary of Goethe's death. Among those contributing are the names of Tsung Pai-hua, Shih Chih-ts'un [87] (born 1903), Chao Ching-shen [88] (born 1902), Wei I-hsin [89] and Tuan K'o-ch'ing. Insofar as I am aware, this is the only report of a similar intention. Cf. *The Knowledge about Goethe*, pp. 4—5.

⁵¹ This is evident from a letter addressed to Dr. E. Bracklo, Counsellor of the German Legation in Nanking, appended to the letter No. 3300/1403/32 to the German Foreign Office. The letter was signed by Hsü Mo [91] (1893—1956) who at the time held the position of Administrative Viceminister at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Yü Ta-wei's and Hsü Mo's biographies are in Boorman, H. L. (Ed.): *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*. New York — London, Columbia University Press 1971, Vol. 2, pp. 132—134 and Vol. 4, pp. 73—74, respectively.

⁵² This ensues from a letter of the German Foreign Office to the German Legation in Peking dated April 19, 1932, at DZA No. 3300/2654/32.

⁵³ Relatively considerable attention to Goethe's centenary was also paid in Tientsin. This is evident from a letter of the German Consul General in Tientsin addressed to the German Foreign Office and deposited at DZA No. 3300/4704/32.

1. 冰心 2. 宗白華 3. 周輔成 4. 歌德之認識
5. 鍾山書局 6. 中國左翼作家聯盟的成立(報導)
7. 拓荒者 8. 中國現代文學文參考資料
9. 岳飛 10. 梅蘭芳 11. 袁同禮
12. 張嘉森 13. 德華日報 14. 葛德紀念特刊
15. 葛德與西美新詠 16. 陳天心
17. 讀書雜誌 18. 段可楷
19. 龔余生 20. 胡秋原 21. 周喟山
22. 魯虛白 23. 英雄與英雄崇拜
24. 賀慶霖 25. 歌德處國難時之態度
26. 謀國以忠 27. 文武 28. 文人
29. 君子 30. 武人 31. 道德的政治家
32. 仁政 33. 晨報 34. 文學論文索引
續編 35. 易經 36. 唐君毅
37. 孔子與歌德 38. 國聞半月刊
39. 同 40. 我 41. 郭沫若
42. 田漢 43. 歌德之人生啓示
44. 大公報文學副刊 45. 浮士德
46. 群象 47. 創造 48. 創造者
49. 創造

季刊 50. 趙家璧 51. 中國新文學大系
52. 白樺派 53. 私小說 54. 佐藤春夫
55. 有島武郎 56. 歌德與中國 57. 鄭
壽麟 58. 陳金鈴 59. 小說月報 60. 馮至
61. 楊丙辰 62. 歌德與德國文學
63. 徐仲年 64. 歌德與法國 65. 宗白華
附言 66. 大陸雜誌 67. 歌德小傳
68. 女子 69. 仁 70. 善 71. 向上 72. 美
73. 真 74. 歌德與少年維特之煩惱
75. 創造週報 76. 創世工程之第七日
77. 歌德與中國文化 78. 好述傳 79.
名教忠人 80. 錢中玉 81. 西門慶 82. 金
瓶梅 83. 清華週刊 84. 鞭策週刊
85. 新時代月刊 86. 編者前言 87. 施
韜存 88. 趙景深 89. 委以新 90. 俞
大維 91. 徐言莫 92. 創造社

PERIODIZATION OF MODERN CHINESE LITERATURE

ANNA DOLEŽALOVÁ, Bratislava

Periodization of literary development, that indispensable aid in the processing of literary history, inevitably represents a compromise solution, with choice of criteria representing the principal problem. The proposed scheme of periodizing modern Chinese literature originally presented at the Paris congress of Chinese Studies held in September 5 through 11, 1976, distinguishes six stages according to their cultural-political and literary-organizational landmarks.

Periodization, this basic and in a simplified interpretation a more or less technical question, when considered more closely, turns out to be one of the most artful and intricate problems in a more broadly conceived literary-historical study. This applies in a special manner to modern, contemporary epoch — and this not merely in the development of Chinese literature, but in the most general conception.

Evidently, work on the history of literatures of past centuries permits us from our historical perspective to notice great and relatively distinct epochs. In the Chinese domain they are for the most part the dynasties and within their framework we attempt a horizontal classification according to genres. In the present case, hence, concretely in the case of the history of Chinese literature, we cannot claim unequivocally to be better familiar with the literature of the present century than with the old literature. Nevertheless, we are more acutely aware of the intricacy in the complex of affinities and relationships of the social life as a whole. We are undoubtedly influenced in this by the impression that the past few decades, and our own decade, have had a more hectic and complex course, their divisions are perceived more distinctly, the landmarks seem to stand out more plastically and to be spaced at shorter intervals. Our angle of vision is inevitably that of a contemporary observer — subjective and committed. From the perspective of a more distant future, the entire period of modern literature, at least until the year 1949, will evidently appear as a continuous, relatively compact epoch. This historical probability, however, does in no way help to resolve our present problem relating to efforts at periodizing modern Chinese literature.

Solution of this problem represents an intrinsic part of and a first step towards the processing of a larger sector of the history of literature. At the same time, however, every vertical periodization may in fact be considered to be a forcible intervention. The history of literature constitutes an evolutionary phenomenon and from the aspect of literary development it is an ongoing, uninterrupted process in which the new evolves in conjunction with the antecedent and reaches out into the next epoch.

Periodization requires the setting up of firm landmarks and such a determination in turn presumes clear-cut criteria. Their setting up for the field of literature is far more complex than for the field of history. Essentially, there are several ways available for determining them. Generally it is possible in the history of literature and particularly in the various genres to trace flourishing periods alternating with decline. Such a division, however, would prove of doubtful value as a basic criterion for so brief a time lapse as is that of the history of modern Chinese literature. There is the possibility of periodizing simply according to decades — literature of the twenties, the thirties, the forties, etc., which, though a practical approach in itself, is nevertheless rather artificial and mechanical. Or, one may choose as criteria the landmarks of a historico-social development which incontestably exerts considerable influence on the progress of literature. Such a procedure, however, may conceal the danger of violating the specificities of the literary development *per se*, along with further possible inadequacies. For instance, evidence can be provided to show that foremost writers anticipate oncoming social evolution, while literature as a whole comes to reflect it only subsequently, with some delay. An ideal periodization would seem to be one that takes support solely in laws of an inner development of literature. As far as I am aware, nobody has as yet succeeded in producing such a periodization (and this view of mine does not rest solely on my experience with the history of modern Chinese literature). Nor has the criterion of sequentiality of artistic movements and trends proved any more rewarding in consistently determining literary periods. Literature is an organic part of universal history and dependent on it, it is closely related to the development of society while preserving its own specific laws. For these reasons, periodization of even good histories of literature is evidently inconsistent and is often resolved by compromise between two aspects, the historical and the literary one.

A brief note may here be made on the way some of the well-known Chinese historians of modern Chinese literature of the fifties have tackled the problem of periodization. For the period 1919—1949 Wang Yao [1] has delimited four stages, viz. 1. 1919—1927, 2. 1927—1937, 3. 1937—1942, 4. 1942—1949 with a supplement up to the year 1952.¹ Liu Shou-sung [3], processing the period between 1917—1949, has divided it strictly according to the political history into 5 stages: 1. 1917—1921, 2. 1921—1927, 3. 1927—1938 (like Wang Yao), 4. 1937—1945, 5. 1945—1949.² The history prepared by the team of the Department of Chinese Literature at Fu-tan University [5] (of which only the first volume has appeared), differentiates three periods, i.e., 1. 1919—1927, 2. 1928—1942 and 3. 1942—1949

¹ *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh shih kao* [2] A Draft History of Modern Chinese Literature. Shanghai 1954.

² *Chung-kuo hsin wen-hsüeh shih ch'u kao* [4] A Preliminary Draft of the History of Modern Chinese Literature. Peking 1957.

(like Wang Yao).³ Ting Yi [7] has divided his relatively concise history of the years 1919—1949 into 12 chapters; the first four of which comprise the ideological evolution until the year 1942 inclusively, the next two are devoted to Lu Hsün [8], the five subsequent chapters deal with the remaining literary production and the last one is again concerned with the ideological-political situation at the time of the victory of the revolution in 1949.⁴

In 1970 a history of modern Chinese literature chronologically divided into three parts, was published in Hong Kong by Li Hui-ying [10]. The first part begins with the year 1917 and goes approximately up to the mid-twenties, the second up to the year 1936 and the third up to 1949.⁵

This vertical compartmentalization or chronologization is of course only the fundamental problem of periodization. There follow the no less complex questions pertaining to an inner division of the various stages. And this again compels us to reflect on the criteria to be used. The works referred to above generally solve the issue by using the criteria of dividing according to genres separated by sections devoted to literary criticism, fiction, poetry, drama and other prose genres subsumed under the heading "san-wen" [12]. Less usual is the custom of setting apart sections devoted to a complex appreciation of the various writers. Their works are dealt with — or to be more exact, information on them is given — according to the different stages of their production, assigned into the corresponding temporal sector. In this manner Lu Hsün, for instance, as a short story writer is assigned into the first stage by Wang Yao, into the second by Liu Shou-sung, and Lu Hsün the essayist into the second and third stages, respectively. As has already been observed, Ting Yi adopted a different procedure, and the Fu-tan University team set apart subchapters devoted to the whole production of various major writers. Thus, for instance, we find in Chapter One (1919—1927) Kuo Mo-jo [13] being studied together with his historical dramas of a later date.

To my knowledge, a more complex history of modern Chinese literature, written outside China in recent years, has come out only in Japan, by Minoru Takeuchi.⁶ So far I have not had access to this work. The well-known work *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction 1917—1957* by C. T. Hsia makes out three periods: 1917—1927, 1928—1937, 1937—1957, works by such authors as Mao Tun [14], Lao She [15], Pa Chin [16] being dealt with in a chronological order in parts two and three.⁷ In recent years, three books have appeared on modern Chinese poetry. The first of them by Michelle Loi is devoted to *Poètes occidentalistes* from the period 1919—1949. The

³ *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh shih* [6] History of Modern Chinese Literature. Shanghai 1959.

⁴ *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh hsih lüeh* [9] A Brief History of Modern Chinese Literature. Peking 1957.

⁵ *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh shih* [11] History of Modern Chinese Literature. Hong Kong 1970.

⁶ Takeuchi, Minoru: *Gendai Chūgoku no bungaku* (Contemporary Chinese Literature). Tokyo 1972.

⁷ Hsia, C. T.: *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction 1917—1957*. New Haven 1961.

first chapter presents a systematic review of the development of poetry and further, its graphical scheme; generally, however, the book is divided according to such items as themes, forms.⁸ Julia Lin has divided her book into three periods, viz.: pre-1917, 1917—1937, 1937—1949 and later, and within these various stages she characterizes the artistic and ideological movements.⁹ Leonid Cherkassky has processed Chinese poetry of the twenties and thirties. In his introduction he takes up the problem of periodization of modern Chinese poetry which he divides into three stages: poetry of the May Fourth Movement, poetry of the twenties and thirties, and poetry of the War of Resistance 1937—1945. His book analyses only the first two periods and Cherkassky explicitly states that these two periods overlap without, however, setting up any chronological landmarks between them. As a clearly distinct period, he considers the third one — poetry of the war of resistance (but this may be because he does not deal with it!).¹⁰

The development of literature is of course, closely related to socio-historical progress, however, attempts at periodizing literature mechanically according to these criteria would mean a certain vulgarization, while to adhere consistently uniquely to the inner process of literary evolution would, as shown by experience, prove practically unrealizable. While preparing my work on the history of Chinese literature of approximately the last 60 years, I have considered another possibility of setting up stages for this period and have worked out a scheme an outline of which is presented below.

In its essence, it is likewise a compromise — as any periodization of literature must in fact be. As a relatively practical starting point I have taken, so to say, cultural-political or literary-organizational criteria and have endeavoured to select as landmarks moments that were important and were not in contradiction with the process of the social and political development and that, at least in my view, generally corresponded — or, perhaps did not correspond — to the division of the inner developmental literary process, similarly as in the case of those set up by other authors. This division according to my criteria has yielded six stages.

The beginnings of modern Chinese literature are here set into the period when the literary magazine Hsin ch'ing-nien [17] New Youth or Ch'ing-nien tsa-chih [18] Youth Magazine, was launched. This period comprises the theoretical preparation of the literary revolution that was to come, the May Fourth Movement, and the first works of modern Chinese literature up to the year 1921.

The second stage begins with the initiation of activity by the great literary associations and in particular includes the flourishing of the short story, poetry and

⁸ Loi, Michelle: *Roseau sur le mur*. Paris 1971.

⁹ Lin, Julia C.: *Modern Chinese Poetry: An Introduction*. Seattle—London 1972.

¹⁰ Cherkassky, Leonid E.: *Novaya kitaiskaya poeziya, 20—30-e gody* (New Chinese Poetry of the 20s and 30s). Moscow 1972.

essayist output, the initial attempts at playwriting — *hua-chü* [19] and the first great modern novels.

The third stage encompasses the activity of the League of the Leftist Writers and comprises the best writings of the inter-war novel and drama, and a further development of prose and poetry.

The beginning of the fourth period is set by the discussion about the slogans “National Defence Literature” and “Mass Literature of the National Revolutionary Struggle”. Here belongs the period of the War of Resistance and of the Civil War — a literature marked by a strong patriotic accent up to the last of the so-called modernist writings by Shih T’o [20] and Ch’ien Chung-shu [21]. The literature of the Liberated Areas forms a special part of this period.

The organizational start of literature of the People’s Republic — the fifth period — was the National Congress of Literary and Art Workers of July 1949, while the ideological impetus was given by the Talks at the Yen’an Forum. An entire galaxy of new writers, new works and also new problems made their appearance. This period comprises the great ideological-cultural campaigns including the Hundred Flowers Campaign.

The closing period is ushered in by the Cultural Revolution, entailing the interruption of literary activity in its consequences and its gradual revitalization in the seventies determined by strictly defined political requirements.

I am fully conscious of the imperfections and the controversial aspects of this periodization scheme. It intervenes discordantly into the continuity of literary evolution — a feature inherent to every periodization. For instance, the short story and the poetic output of the first and second periods might have been made to constitute a single block, the novels of the majority of authors from the inter-war period belong to the second and third stages, the production in the fifth period is a continuation of the literature of the fourth one in the Liberated Areas.

A division within the framework of any of the periods or stages will not be adequate in this case without the “genre” criterion and attention must needs be drawn to the unequal standard of the genres within the various periods. The scheme presumes a division, an allocation of the writings of the majority of authors into at least two periods — care of course being taken to assign an ampler space to the principal period in each author’s production. And naturally, like every work of this type, the scheme as proposed here, inevitably requires proper emphasis to be laid on continuity in the development of a writer’s personality, the various genres and their mutual influencing. Not in the last place, attention ought to be drawn to the mutual relatedness of the various periods and the inner continuity of the literary developmental process.

I presume to have laid adequate stress on the problematic nature and the element of forcibleness in the periodization of literary process. Every periodization is a matter of compromise, agreement, acceptance or usage; nonetheless, it is

absolutely indispensable when any larger time lapse in literary history has to be processed.

In conclusion I wish to observe that the proposed scheme is intended to serve as the basis for a textbook of the history of modern Chinese literature for undergraduate university students.

1. 王瑤 2. 中國新文學史稿 3. 劉綏松 4. 中國新文學史初稿 5. 復旦大學中文系 6. 中國現代文學史 7. 丁易 8. 魯迅 9. 中國現代文學史略 10. 李輝英 11. 中國現代文學史 12. 散文 13. 郭沫若 14. 茅盾 15. 老舍 16. 巴金 17. 新青年 18. 青年雜誌 19. 話劇 20. 師陀 21. 錢鍾書

NGUYEN DU — TEXTE COMME PROBLÈME DE FONCTIONALISME DE LA MÉTHODE LITTÉRAIRE ET DE CONTENU IDÉOLOGIQUE

JÁN MÚČKA, Bratislava

L'article vise à une évaluation de l'héritage littéraire vietnamien à partir d'un exposé réalisé à l'aide d'un système expressif unifiant les éléments importants qui participent à la structure d'une œuvre littéraire. Il représente un essai d'appliquer une approche méthodologique nouvelle à l'interprétation d'une œuvre poétique bien connue et qui présente des possibilités toutes particulières pour un coup d'œil nouveau.

Nguyen Du (1765—1820) est le poète vietnamien le plus éminent de l'époque féodale. Son œuvre principale, l'épopée *Kieu*,¹ a déjà été le sujet de maintes études scientifiques, d'articles populaires et revues littéraires écrites à de nombreuses occasions. Dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne elle-même il y avait des périodes où ce chef d'œuvre était, d'un côté, loué sans réserve à partir d'un réformisme national, proclamé à l'excès d'être même une sorte d'«universum» incorporant les solutions de toute situation, bref, un manuel de la nation ; de l'autre côté, il restait sous-estimé au point de vue artistique et condamné au point de vue éthique confucianiste. Cependant, en dépit de tout ce qui avait été écrit à son sujet, l'épopée *Kieu* a survécu et dans l'appréhension du lecteur vietnamien il est resté ce qu'il est en réalité — une belle composition poétique du début du 19^e siècle, on pourrait dire qu'il est d'un caractère national.

L'épopée constitue une réflexion artistique des traits caractéristiques de la société vietnamienne de cette époque et de ses contradictions intrinsèques. L'origine de l'épopée *Kim Van Kieu* avait été conditionnée, dans une certaine mesure, par la situation actuelle d'alors. Le pouvoir des seigneurs féodaux avaient souvent donné lieu à des situations de conflit, les insurrections se multipliaient, dont les plus graves, celles de Tay-sons (1771—1802), ont profondément ébranlé les fondements de la société. La crise sévit aussi dans l'idéologie dominante du confucianisme. De nouvelles idéologies humanistes opposantes se levaient annonçant et soutenant le principe d'un développement libre de la personnalité humaine. Cette idéologie humanisante est devenue la base de l'épanouissement de la philosophie vietnamienne classique. Au point de vue littéraire cela signifiait des changements et des déplacements dans le domaine de la mission et de l'orientation de la littérature

¹ Epopée *Kieu* ou *Kim Van Kieu* était écrit à peu près en 1805—1809.

comme aussi dans le domaine thématique. L'épopée *Kim Van Kieu* en fournit une preuve éclatante.

Il y s'agissait avant tout d'un développement général du genre *truyen* (*tchouan* en chinois), un poème versifié avec un trame conséquent, raconté par l'auteur. Les marques inhérentes à ce genre sont données par la lutte du bien contre le mal, la foi dans la justice, une hyperbolisation de l'humanisme et de la noblesse humaine en opposition aux dogmes de morale féodale, un essai, une tentative à réaliser la démocratisation et un certain *coloris* satirique.

L'épopée *Kieu* comprend de nombreux desseins d'une psychologie fine, la description des personnages est cohérente, plusieurs d'entre eux y sont caractérisés uniquement comme arrière-plan pour mieux faire ressortir l'héroïne principale — telle la comparaison des deux sœurs Van et Kieu. Van est une brave jeune fille ordinaire, bonne mais passive et ainsi, par contraste avec elle, les qualités personnelles et typiques de Kieu en ressortent d'autant mieux. Dans l'épopée l'auteur souligne deux situations sciemment accentuées : d'un côté c'est la souffrance, un certain coup du destin même de Kieu qui se réalise dans une immolation de soi, et de l'autre côté c'est la personne du rebelle Tu Hai comme le porteur de la liberté, de la volonté libre et de la liberté d'action. Nguyen Du omet une description délaillée de certaines épisodes et une description matérielle en général. Il dépeint le rebelle Tu Hai avec des sympathies manifestes, comme un partisan de la justice. Il ne donne une description plus détaillée que des épisodes qui mettent à jour le monde intime des héros. L'amour de Kim Trong et de Kieu est élevé à un grand et pur sentiment qui n'est soumis à aucunes influences et secousses extérieures que les deux héros éprouvent tant directement qu'indirectement. Lors même que Kieu ait vécu aux bas-fonds de la société, l'amour vrai purifie tout en elle, constitue un absorbant parfait de tous les souvenirs et un art naturel d'oubli. A ce point de vue aussi, l'auteur se met en opposition à la morale confucienne qui condamnait sans révocation toute transgression morale.

La composition de l'épopée est bien projetée, bien construite et est cohérente. L'œuvre est écrite dans l'esprit des traditions poétiques nationales du Viet-Nam tant du côté rythmique que tonique (il s'agit de la métrique vietnamienne de la poésie populaire, dit *luc bat*²). Le langage comme aussi l'arrière-fond allégorique sont basés sur la poésie vietnamienne traditionnelle et les chansons populaires. Comme influence du conte populaire on peut considérer une certaine idéalisation des personnages positifs et la présence des éléments du fantasque. La fin de l'épopée conclu par un dénouement à happyend a ses sources aussi dans les contes populaires,³ ou peut-être le produit d'une préservation d'un cliché contemporain.

Cependant, la valeur particulière de l'épopée *Kieu* réside en ce que Nguyen Du

² *luc bat* — une métrique classique consistant dans une alternance régulière de vers de six et de huit pieds.

³ Cette vue est partagée aussi par exemple par N. I. Nikulin.

y a généralisé et graduellement développé les éléments traditionnels de la littérature nationale et dans cette généralisation est parvenu aux idées de l'humanisme universel.

Quant au fonctionnalisme de l'œuvre de Nguyen Du, aucun effort n'a été encore tenté à l'expliquer par rapport au et en harmonie avec le code des faits et des données de son mode poétique de regarder le monde. Il s'agit en premier lieu, du sens de son œuvre pour le présent que l'on doit chercher précisément dans une compréhension de son fonctionnalisme. L'énorme popularisation et la grande popularité de son œuvre ont abouti à une telle agglomération de matériaux et notions sur lui que parfois l'essence même nous en échappe. Vu que Nguyen Du est en fait la base de la tradition littéraire vietnamienne, le fondement de l'éducation du lecteur vietnamien, l'école de la poésie vietnamienne en général, il faut veiller à ce que l'examen complexe et de grande envergure ne voile pas ses éléments essentiels et leurs relations mutuelles.

Conformément aux exigences d'une recherche scientifique-littéraire moderne, cette quantité d'informations doit être traitée comme un exposé au cours duquel on suivra les relations entre la conscience esthétique de l'auteur comme faisant partie de la société humaine de classe et son existence sociale.

Dans cette revue systématique des traits de base du fonctionnalisme de l'œuvre de Nguyen Du, on procédera à partir des connaissances nouvelles du texte littéraire, de son analyse et interprétation, et à partir des prémisses qu'un examen du processus créatif est «un moyen effectif pour rechercher les principes structurels du style poétique».⁴ Il y importe moins de donner une démonstration de l'analyse poétique du texte de Nguyen Du, que de présenter son aspect général: disposer certains résultats et les changements caractéristiques de son œuvre en une certaine totalité un tout.

Afin de maintenir l'unité idéo-esthétique dans la description du fonctionnalisme littéraire de l'œuvre, il faut que l'on prenne en considération les signes caractéristiques tant dans le domaine de sa structure intérieure, que dans celui de la motivation idéologique de la littérature et de sa valeur sociale. Il faut donc prendre comme point de départ une méthode concrète de l'analyse expressive dans laquelle les catégories expressives de la poétique de l'œuvre s'interprètent comme des aspects différenciés de la communication, car un texte littéraire est lui aussi «le résultat des interactions communicatives qui se manifestent dans la structure du texte. Le message communiqué est structuralisé comme une unité qui est représentée à l'extérieur par le thème et le langage».⁵ Dans le cas de Nguyen Du, nous concentrons notre attention à son ouvrage le plus éminent, l'épopée *Kieu* déjà cité ci-avant.

⁴ Mukařovský, J.: *Varianty a stylistika* (Variantes et stylistique). Chapitres de la poétique tchèque I., Prague, Svoboda 1948, p. 210.

⁵ Miko, F.: *O interpretácii umeleckého textu 4* (Sur l'interprétation du texte artistique). Bratislava, SPN 1973, p. 8.

Comme signe le plus typique de la méthode artistique de Nguyen Du on peut avancer la description fondée sur l'épreuve de l'auteur, et qui découle du genre même du poème narratif *truyen*, par exemple :

Jeune homme au visage de fleur
et d'un extérieur pimpant.⁶

Ou bien :

Ainsi va l'amour, ainsi sont les amoureux
L'écheveau de leur cœur, qui saura le débrouiller
Derrière sa fenêtre, parmi ses livres, le souvenir
Obsédait le jeune Kim, plus il jugeait sa tristesse
Plus elle débordait. Les jours d'attente s'étiraient
En de longs et interminables automnes
Les rideaux, comme un voile de nuages, recélaient leur secret⁷

La description fondée sur l'épreuve exprime ici le détail réaliste qui agit surtout par la nature frappante de son aspect expressif.

Un autre signe caractéristique de la méthode créatrice de Nguyen Du est l'ampleur d'expression. Il ne s'agit pas uniquement de l'ampleur épique, mais aussi de la carrure de ses considérations de pensées et ses descriptions de sentiments. La largesse de l'expression est sans aucun doute une affaire épique, mais dans la composition poétique de Nguyen Du il n'est pas question d'un « effet épique », mais bien d'un des traits principaux du genre de l'époque *truyen*. Dans la littérature vietnamienne du 18^e siècle, le genre lyrique du poème — *ngam* — se développait aussi avec succès, et était caractérisé par un effort à révéler le monde intérieur de l'homme. Un exemple typique est l'image fréquente d'une femme souffrante comme étant victime d'une injustice de la société féodale. Ce qui y excelle c'est un portrait psychologique de ces personnages. Le poème lyrique dans la littérature vietnamienne de cette époque était « un pas en avant remarquable sur le chemin d'une représentation réaliste de la vie intérieure de l'homme ». ⁸ Nguyen Du a su créer dans son épopée *Kieu* une unité organique de certains signes de ces deux genres contemporains.

Un signe additionnel de la méthode artistique de Nguyen Du ayant rapport au précédent est une qualité explicite de l'expression, un développement périphrasti-

⁶ Nguyen Du: *Truyen Kieu* (Epopée *Kieu*). Hanoï, Nha xuất bản Van hoc (Editions Littéraires) 1966, p. 51.

⁷ *Anthologie de la littérature vietnamienne*, Tome II. Hanoï, Editions en langues étrangères 1973, p. 187.

⁸ Nikulin, N. I.: *Mesto poemy Nguyen Zu «Kieu» vo vyetnamskoy poezii* (Place du poème «*Kieu*» de Nguyen Du dans la poésie vietnamienne), *Problemy stanovleniya realizma v literaturakh Vostoka* (Les problèmes de la détermination du réalisme dans les littératures de l'Orient). Moscou, Izdatelstvo «Nauka» 1964, p. 108.

que du sujet qui parfois peut avoir même un impact négatif au point de vue de la communication avec le lecteur ou au point de vue de la compréhensibilité.

La base d'un autre groupe de signes chez Nguyen Du est une caractéristique qu'on pourrait désigner comme signe expéditif du sujet lyrique. On y comprend ses évaluations subjectives, ses appels, ses protestations, ses apothéoses, etc. Cependant, cette subjectivité lyrique chez lui n'est pas à priori une subjectivité personnelle, mais elle possède un certain recul objectivant avec un dessein critique. Elle se joint à un thème social et national et incline vers une justice objective et la vérité. Dans le domaine du langage, à ce groupe de signes correspond une fréquence augmentée d'expressions abstraites (d'une nature évaluative), de constructions nominaux, de mots classiques sinovietnamiens.

Dans cet ordre d'idées on rencontre relativement souvent les vues sur la complexité du mode de s'exprimer de Nguyen Du. Ici il faut tenir compte du fait qu'un tel mode de s'exprimer était intérieurement joint à sa poétique qui dépendait en premier lieu de ses dispositions poétiques inhérentes à son individualité, et aussi des déterminantes de l'époque qui donnaient préférence à cette poétique, ou même l'exigeaient. Lors même que la plupart des poèmes (voire même l'épopée *Kieu*) eussent leur origine dans une fuite de la vie publique, il ne faut pas oublier que Nguyen Du vivait comme un poète de la classe des mandarins érudits et avait occupé des fonctions diverses dans le service de l'état et de l'armée. Même à l'apogée de sa production il ne franchit jamais le cadre de la structure sociale existante. Dans ses transformations sociales, après avoir plusieurs fois résigné ses fonctions et errant à travers le pays tout seul, alors que haut mandarin par son origine, il est devenu par ce fait membre de la nation des paysans et des indigents. Probablement il comprenait le style complexe de sa poésie comme une anticipation d'une haute culture nationale qu'il fallait créer à partir de la création orale populaire. Sa base idéologique était la pensée d'un idéalisme moral tout en admettant la violence et la rébellion contre l'injustice.

Le troisième groupe des signes de la méthode artistique de Nguyen Du peut être énumérativement résumé ainsi : un style complexe, une forme exigeante de vers et de strophe, supériorité de la pensée, une abréviation lyrique exigeante, grand nombre de tournures poétiques. Ces signes sont très saillants dans ses œuvres. Chez Nguyen Du, un pathos réévalué émotionnellement, socialement et fonctionnellement, constitue le composant organique de sa poétique. On y trouve aussi certains points de contacts avec un réalisme narratif à orientation populaire et commune, un fait dont Nguyen Du lui-même était évidemment conscient et s'en mettait d'accord. Ce qui est en cause du côté social est que Nguyen Du jouissait, pour ainsi dire, d'une «double appartenance» : il était un poète de son époque, il avait des liens de vie et d'existence avec le mandarinat, mais en même temps il était un poète des temps futurs, un poète d'une nation opprimée et d'un peuple asservi, arrivant ainsi pratiquement aux bornes de sa classe. Dans ses ouvrages, et en particulier dans

l'épopée *Kieu* il a créé une unité précieuse de composants, dialectiquement antithétiques, de l'œuvre artistique d'un genre tout particulier, une unité qui même de nos jours passe pour inimitable. Le ton du réalisme narrateur, syntonisé populairement, constitue la base de toute la structure de son œuvre, le ton rebelle (dans la littérature vietnamienne, caractéristique d'un réalisme critique bien plus distant) signifie en quelque sorte une mise d'accord avec les positions de sa propre classe et conceptuellement indique le futur, et enfin, le style compliqué, qui chez lui avait de prime abord un caractère d'expédient (et se dirigeait vers le passé) doit être compris symboliquement comme un des équivalents possibles d'une prospérité à venir de la nation et du peuple vietnamien.

Un sommaire des signes, dont on s'occupait ci-avant dans le cadre d'un inventaire des moyens d'expression, «à partir d'une opposition commune de deux dimensions fonctionnelles de la langue et du texte, du caractère iconique et opératif»,⁹ prendrait une forme comme suit :

a) l'épique :

description à base d'épreuve,
l'argesse, nature explicite,
l'idée du réal, prosaïsmes ;

b) le lyrique objectif :

caractère expéditif du sujet lyrique,
réflexion critique, thème social,
abstraction ;

c) les éléments formels :

style compliqué, pathos, forme exigeante
de strophe et de vers, supériorité
de pensée, abréviation lyrique,
syntaxe complexe, poétismes.

Il va sans dire, que cela n'épuise pas totalement la méthode artistique et son fonctionnalisme dans l'ouvrage de Nguyen Du, mais les signes relevés témoignent que Nguyen Du a dépassé dans sa création poétique tous ses contemporains ce qui met en évidence la multidimensionalité de son talent artistique et de sa haute maîtrise linguistique.

Quant au côté idéologique de son ouvrage, nous prenons comme point de départ l'aspect de classe que «il (Nguyen Du — J. M.) avait été profondément impressionné par les bouleversements de son époque, et les nombreuses années qu'il avait passées

⁹ Miko, F. : *Estetika výrazu* (Esthétique de l'expression). Bratislava, SPN 1969, pp. 9—34.

au contact du peuple avaient suscité chez lui une grande compassion pour les malheurs des pauvres gens. Son œuvre dresse un sombre tableau de la société où toutes les catégories sociales ne trouvent que malheur et misère».¹⁰

Les problèmes sociaux et leur réflexion, ou la solution dans l'épopée *Kieu*, peuvent être caractérisés en vue de deux aspects de base : a) à partir de l'aspect de la protection des droits humains (du côté humain et social), b) à partir de l'aspect de mise en avant de l'idéal humain et du héros populaire destiné à être une partie organique de la société.

Nous avons déjà observé que la structure de la trame compositionnelle de l'épopée *Kieu* est fermée et serrée. Il y a lieu d'ajouter que de l'autre côté, elle est organisée d'une manière qui augmente sa perméabilité à la charge idéologique de la trame. On peut en faire comparaison sur les éléments individuels de la structure du texte littéraire. Ce qui nous intéresse en premier lieu est la question concernant la manière dont le sujet de l'auteur évalue les personnages divers et comment l'aspect idéologique est-il reflété dans le modelage de ces personnages. Le plan compositionnel embrasse cinq ou six personnages.

L'auteur peint Kim Trong comme le fils de parents riches occupant une haute position, jeune homme élégant et de manières distinguées, qui, en outre d'une prédilection pour les livres classiques, rêve sur la recherche d'un grand amour romantique. Il ne suscite chez le lecteur aucune antipathie ni par sa mise extérieure, ni par son monde intime et son image spirituelle, mais il n'évoque pas non plus ni des sympathies particulières, ni aucune admiration. On peut le prendre comme une synthèse d'indices de caractère au point de vue d'une seule et unique activité, c'est-à-dire, d'un homme en une interprétation biopsychique. Comme tel, il est essentiellement peint d'une manière transparente et ses qualités personnelles sont idéalisées. Il rêve le bonheur avec Kieu, montre même le courage d'affronter le destin, mais tout cela est uniquement dans l'intérêt d'une tentative acharnée d'atteindre un bonheur individuel. On n'apprend presque rien de son activité dans le domaine social et quand enfin, à la suite de longues recherches il finit par trouver et rencontrer Kieu, le lecteur a l'impression que ce n'est nullement grâce à ses propres efforts, mais plutôt au hasard heureux du destin.

Les rapports Kim Trong — Kieu sont fondés sur un sentiment d'amour pur de part et d'autre, au moyen duquel l'auteur fait ressortir la nature harmonique du monde :

La fleur montrait plus d'éclat, le parfum devenait plus prenant.

Dans leurs yeux, montait ardente, la flamme de l'amour.

La passion, chez Kim, s'enflait comme une houle

Une certaine licence perçait dans sa tendresse.

Elle l'avertit : Ne jouons pas avec notre amour,

Laissez-moi vous dire un simple mot

¹⁰ Nguyen Khac Vien: *Aperçu sur la littérature vietnamienne*. Hanoï, Editions en langues étrangères 1976, pp. 68—69.

Fragile est la fleur du pêcher, et à l'oiseau d'azur
Je ne verrouillerais point l'entrée du jardin
Mais vous m'avez promue au rang d'épouse
Celle qui porte la bure de chanvre doit se garder pure.¹¹

Cet idéal d'amour pur, par endroit même d'un caractère imaginaire, a son fond dans la continuité d'un enseignement confucianiste ancien et une tradition nationale éthique et dans leur fonction mutuelle dans l'art. Il ne s'agit pas, cependant, de donner une prépondérance par contraste à la pureté des personnages humains d'un côté, contre la décadence morale des classes féodales, de l'autre. Il se peut, néanmoins, que dans l'image de Kieu l'auteur s'efforce déjà de manifester une certaine émancipation de la femme dans ses rapports à l'homme, lors même que cela ne soit pas sur une plateforme d'égalité des droits des deux. Plus de progrès dans cette direction a été fait par la poétesse vietnamienne Ho Xuan Huong (1775— ?), qui dans son œuvre ouvertement défendait le droit naturel de la femme dans le choix de son partenaire de vie.

Au personnage de Kieu est associé tout un complexe de décisions, de luttes intérieures, qui pourrait bien être rapporté au domaine du psychisme féminin. Au cours de l'événement entier, et des diverses situations de conflit, Kieu se confie relativement peu avec ses circonstances de destin à qui que ce soit. C'est elle qui veut avant tout porter le poids de la responsabilité pour ses actions, elle sait intérieurement motiver ses décisions et les justifier avant elle-même et conséquemment ne rapporte pas son conflit avec la société à un autre. Lors même qu'elle supporte ce conflit avec difficulté, elle ne succombe pas psychiquement, rendant ainsi sa position de femme relativement équivalente.

Les personnages de So Khanh et de l'entremetteuse Tu Ba sont évidemment négatifs. Kieu nie totalement leurs rapports et les ironise finement de l'aspect de son monde intérieur. Il en est de même du personnage Ho Ton Hien.

Le personnage Tu Hai introduit dans la structure de l'épopée un élément actif. Comme chef des rebelles, il lutte l'épée à la main, pour la liberté et la justice, car il est accoutumé à agir en toute circonstance selon sa propre volonté et à réaliser seul énergiquement ses décisions et ses projets. En lui, l'auteur met à nu une force indomptable de la volonté humaine qui était propre à Tu Hai et dans laquelle il avait foi. Il se dresse comme une antithèse à la cour royale et aux lois féodales de la société. Il apparaît comme «une antithèse romantique et abstraite de la liberté et d'arbitraire».¹²

Au point de vue d'une construction sémantique-logique de cette œuvre d'art, les personnages sont relativement schématiques, ce qui résulte d'une motivation idéologique simple de l'auteur. Son sujet d'auteur rehausse l'efficacité du message artistique ; par des moyens caractérisants il met en valeur les qualités positives ou

¹¹ Anthologie..., op. cit., p. 188.

¹² Nikulin, N. I., op. cit., p. 115.

négligentes des personnages qui cessent d'être de simples figurants, mais deviennent des exécuteurs de certaines tâches ou missions. Cela s'applique avant tout au personnage Tu Hai qui n'est pas simplement un porteur passif de certaines qualités, mais il en est conscient et, d'accord avec elles, il formule sa position dans la société et motive ses actions. Le portrait de ce personnage a ses conséquences stylistiques dans une efficacité augmentée de l'expression artistique. Au point de vue des sympathies du lecteur envers les personnages, leur description relativement brève possède un caractère persuasif. Cela se reflète, par exemple, dans l'exclusion de la polémique par rapport au personnage positif et dans l'exclusion d'une évaluation partiellement positive dans un personnage négatif. Cette idéalisation des personnages est associée à une idéalisation de leurs rapports mutuels (Kieu — Kim Trong). Le rapport mutuel et son développement chez cette paire est un rapport idéalisé et comme tel est sujet à l'illusion. Le trait illusif dans le portrait des personnages et de leurs rapports mutuels est renforcé par le choix eugénique des partenaires. Le sujet de l'auteur caractérise souvent ce rapport en se référant à l'idylle comme genre du prototexte :

Thoi et Truong ne formaient-ils pas le plus beau des couples
Hélas, nuages et pluies eurent vite terni le jade et l'or
La fleur complaisante eut vite lassé les oiseaux du printemps
Leurs ailes s'étaient jointes, leurs rameaux entrelacés
Mais déjà se flétrissait l'amour, et couvrait le mépris
L'encens du serment s'était éteint ; sous le toit de la pagode
Si pur, si beau, leur amour avait sombré dans la honte
La belle Thoi aurait dû lancer sa navette
Pour n'avoir pas plus tard à rougir de son amour
Pourquoi se hâter de briser le rameau, d'arracher la fleur
Un jour, à votre amour répondra mon amour.¹³

Dans le système idéologique de l'épopée *Kieu* une position spéciale appartient à la relation de Tu Hai envers les autres membres de la société. Son statut de chef des révoltés est celui d'un homme relativement libre, indépendant de la société, alors même qu'il soit joint à elle au moyen d'une communication psychique et mentale. La tension culminante entre lui et la société existante survient au moment de sa capitulation, quand l'attitude subjective de l'auteur est simultanément exprimée sur la même plateforme qui est dépourvue de l'opinion officielle confucienne sur l'organisation de la société.

Cependant, le dénouement général du conflit dans l'épopée *Kieu* à la manière d'un «happyend» est en fin de compte l'unique solution possible du conflit dans ces circonstances. Il faut donner à Kieu et Kim Trong une certaine perspective sociale car ils sont les interprètes, les explicateurs de l'idéologie de la prospérité de mœurs

¹³ Anthologie..., op. cit., p. 189.

pures, dont ils doivent assurer la continuité à l'avenir et qui est au temps présent une question sociale prioritaire.

L'idée d'une conciliation relative avec les couches gouvernantes a dans la littérature classique vietnamienne, comme d'ailleurs dans les autres littératures nationales, son origine dans le folklore populaire. «L'influence du conte sur le développement de l'image du héros se sent tout particulièrement dans ce genre» (le poème narratif *truyen* — J. M.).¹⁴ La notion utopique d'une possibilité de coexistence de deux couches sociales opposées (p. e. dans le poème de l'auteur anonyme du 18^e siècle Thach Sanh) ressort d'une base morale du conte populaire au sujet du bon roi. Par contraste au héros Thach Sanh dans le poème du même nom, qui s'incline devant la loi et le souverain, Tu Hai ne reconnaît aucun d'eux et même après sa capitulation il n'a que du mépris pour l'administration féodale. L'aspect du personnage-héros et probablement aussi celui du lecteur (ressentiment social) y sont mis ici en pleine valeur. Par contre, la dernière phase de l'épopée comprend l'aspect de l'auteur qui sert indirectement à documenter l'idéologie de l'obéissance à la loi comme d'une garantie du développement harmonique de la société. C'est pourquoi l'épopée ne contient pas une critique directe du système féodal, mais seulement de ses anomalies et ses manifestations négatives. On peut dire que le sujet de l'auteur prend note des différences sociales mais ne fait pas cas de leur caractère mutuellement insoluble. Les demandes et les droits des gens souffrant socialement sont présentés seulement dans le cadre du status quo social, c.-à-d. sans violation de la structure de la société. Cependant, cette contradiction ressort de l'assujettissement de l'auteur à son époque et nullement ne restreint la valeur artistique de l'épopée *Kieu*.

Le cadre idéologique-artistique de cette œuvre littéraire nous permet aussi d'interpréter la relation de l'homme ou de la société vers la nature. Il faut dire au mérite de Nguyen Du que maintes fois en essayant de rapprocher le monde des sentiments de la héroïne, il a recours aux motifs statiques — la description de la nature, car avant lui, «la nature ne jouait aucun rôle remarquable dans *truyen*».¹⁵ Par exemple :

Tout la remplissait de confusion. Le paysage qu'elle contemplait
Les soucis qu'elle ruminait se partageaient son cœur
Où est celui qui sous la lune vidait la coupe d'amour
Jour après jour, en vain il attend de mes nouvelles
En ce rivage perdu, sous ces cieux lointains.¹⁶

Ou trouve la relation de l'individu vers la nature aussi dans l'image de la mer qui s'étend au loin devant les yeux de Kieu et est symbole de son destin :

Tristement elle regardait l'estuaire à la tombée du soir

¹⁴ Nikulin, N. I., op. cit., p. 116.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 111.

¹⁶ Anthologie..., op. cit., p. 190.

Au loin, des voiles apparaissaient, disparaissaient
Emportant on ne sait quels voyageurs
Tristement elle regardait le fleuve rouler ses flots
Où pouvaient bien atterrir ces fleurs à la dérive.¹⁷

Dans les vers suivants, cette relation acquiert une qualité intérieure différente et l'image de la mer devient un élément dangereux, un arrière-fond scénique qui aide l'intrigue incompatible à se développer :

Tristement elle regardait le vent s'engouffrer dans la baie
La clameur des vagues montait jusqu'autour de son siège.¹⁸

En conclusion on peut constater qu'une application des informations idéologiques dans le texte artistique fait de nécessité ressortir la dépendance des conditions des temps dans lesquelles l'auteur avait vécu et composé. Il n'y a pas lieu d'évaluer cette dépendance comme une insuffisance artistique de l'auteur. Même au temps présent l'épopée *Kieu* dispose des prémisses pour que le lecteur moderne puisse l'accepter d'une manière complexe au point de vue de son idéologie propre, et cela grâce aux qualités invariantes de son thème et de la maîtrise artistique de l'auteur.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

DIE MENSCHEN VOM ABGRUND IN DER AUFFASSUNG VON ORHAN KEMAL UND MAXIM GORKI

XÉNIA CELNAROVÁ, Bratislava

So wie der russische Schriftsteller Maxim Gorki in seinem Stück *Nachtasyl*, griff auch der türkische Gegenwartsschriftsteller Orhan Kemal (1914—1970) nach dem Thema für seine Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle* in die Peripherie des Lebens zurück. Orhan Kemal, der sich stets zum Schriftsteller und Menschen Gorki bekannt hatte, hat durch diese Erzählung seiner Überzeugung von der Unzerstörbarkeit der guten, der edlen Eigenschaften im Menschen, von der Möglichkeit der Rückkehr vom Abgrund zurück ins Leben Ausdruck verliehen. Durch ihren tragischen Ausgang wird diese Erzählung gleichzeitig zur Anklage der Gesellschaft, die dem Menschen diese Rückkehr unmöglich macht.

Orhan Kemals Beziehung zum Schaffen Maxim Gorkis, gebildet auf Grund direkter innerlicher Kontakte, die durch die Übersetzung von Gorkis Werken ins Türkische¹ vermittelt werden, und bekräftigt durch soziale Faktoren sowie durch Analogien in den Lebensschicksalen, kam vor allem in der weltanschaulichen Aufnahme von Gorkis Werk durch den türkischen Schriftsteller, in dessen schöpferischer Rezeption von Gorkis Idee des Menschen zum Ausdruck.

Im Epilog von Gorkis Stück *Nachtasyl* spricht eine der Gestalten, Satin, in ihrem Monolog diese Worte: „Alles ist im Menschen — alles ist für den Menschen.“² Sie sind der Ausdruck des Hauptgedankens des Stückes,³ gleichzeitig ist in ihnen jedoch die ideelle Richtsetzung des ganzen Lebensschaffens von Gorki enthalten. Es ist kein Zufall, dass Gorki diese Worte noch einmal in seinem Gedicht *Der Mensch* ertönen lässt.⁴ In einem anderen Kontext gewinnen hier diese Worte an Nachdruck, sie ertönen als Aufruf zum Kampf für die Befreiung des Menschen.

Das Drama *Nachtasyl*, entstanden auf Grund der reichen Lebenserfahrungen sowie des philosophischen Strebens Maxim Gorkis, wurde im Jahre 1941 ins

¹ Die Übersetzungen der Werke Maxim Gorkis in der Türkei behandelt die Studie N. S. Uturgauri: *Gor'kij i tureckaja literatura* (Gorki und die türkische Literatur). In: *Gor'kij v literature zarubežnogo Vostoka* (Gorki in der Literatur des ausländischen Ostens). Moskau 1965, S. 204—229.

² M. Gorki: *Na dne (Nachtasyl)*. *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom sed'moj (Gesammelte Werke. Band sieben), Moskau 1970, S. 177.

³ Im Brief an die Übersetzer seines Stückes *Nachtasyl* ins Spanische schreibt Maxim Gorki: „Ich wäre auch froh, wenn mein zweites Werk, *Der Mensch*, ins Spanische übersetzt wäre, in dem die Hauptidee des *Nachtasyls* beinhaltet und ausführlich behandelt wird.“ M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom šestoj (Band sechs), Moskau 1970, S. 464.

⁴ M. Gor'kij: *Čelovek (Der Mensch)*. *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom šestoj (Band sechs), Moskau 1970, S. 42.

Türkische übersetzt und vom Istanbul Städtischen Theater (*İstanbul Şehir Tiyatrosu*) mit Erfolg aufgeführt.⁵ Es ist uns nicht gelungen festzustellen, ob Orhan Kemal mit der Übersetzung des Textes in direkten Kontakt gekommen war. Hätte Orhan Kemal das Stück als Ganzes auch nicht gekannt, ist seine Kenntnis über dessen Inhalt mittels Kritiken, Rezensionen, bzw. Gespräche mit anderen Konsumenten des Stückes vorauszusetzen. Finden wir also im gedanklich-thematischen Aufbau der Erzählung⁶ *Die 72. Zelle* (72.koğuş, 1954) von Orhan Kemal gewisse Analogien mit Gorkis *Nachtsyl*, müssen wir erwägen, ob es sich in diesem Falle um eine Kontaktbeziehung von Orhan Kemals Erzählung zur Vorlage — zu Gorkis Stück, bzw. um eine kontaktmässig-typologische Beziehung handelt, oder ob diese Analogien ausschliesslich von typologischen Zusammenhängen bedingt sind.

Die Zugehörigkeit beider dieser Werke zu zwei unterschiedlichen literarischen Gattungen — zur Prosa und zum Drama — schafft eine Voraussetzung für eine unterschiedliche Vertretung des Subjekts des Autors in deren Sujets.

Mit seiner, dem Erzähler zugewiesenen Ebene, ermöglicht die Prosa dem Autor die Handlung und die Gestalten mittels eines unpersönlichen Erzählers direkt zu kommentieren und zu werten. Gedanken, Sentenzen, die von den Lippen konkreter Gestalten nicht überzeugend wirken würden, kann der Autor dem Erzähler anvertrauen. Auf diese Weise kann er seine eigenen Ansichten, Überzeugungen, die gedankliche Zielrichtung seines Werkes direkt zum Ausdruck bringen und die Kontinuität des Sujets dabei nicht stören. Im Drama, wo die Träger des Subjekts des Autors die handelnden Gestalten sind, muss der Autor seine Gedanken so formulieren, damit diese der Mentalität jener Gestalt, die sie ausspricht, jenem Typ des in der jeweiligen Gestalt dargestellten Menschen entsprechen. Nicht immer gelingt es jedoch dem Dramatiker seine Gedanken und Schlüsse in den Rahmen der von ihm geschaffenen Personen einzuschliessen. Dann nimmt er entweder die Gestalt des Erzählers, der gleichzeitig die Geschehnisse auf der Bühne kommentiert, zu Hilfe oder er lässt diese von einer der Gestalten in Monologform aussprechen, ungeachtet dessen, dass er dadurch ihre gesamte Konzeption stört. Eine solche Situation konnte selbst Gorki im Stück *Nachtsyl* nicht meiden. Seinen Gedanken von der Grösse des Menschen musste er dem Skeptiker Satin anvertrauen.⁷

⁵ S. Uturgauri: *Gor'kij i tureckaja literatura*, S. 210—211.

⁶ Seinem Umfang und Inhalt nach reicht Orhan Kemals Prosawerk *Die 72. Zelle* über den Rahmen einer Erzählung hinaus. Die türkische Literaturkritik bedient sich hier der Bezeichnung „*uzun hikâye*“ — „lange Erzählung“, womit sie nicht nur an die quantitative, sondern auch an die qualitative Seite des Werkes anspielt. In einem so bezeichneten Prosawerk entwickeln sich meist zwei oder auch mehrere Sujetlinien parallel nebeneinander. In *Die 72. Zelle* sind dies die Sujetlinie der Landstreicher und die Kapitâns Ahmed.

⁷ In einem Brief an Pjatnickij schreibt Gorki: „Im Stück gibt es viele überflüssige Menschen und es fehlen einige — unumgängliche — Gedanken, und die Rede Satins vom Menschen — Wahrheit ist blass. Und doch — ausser Satin — hat es niemand sagen können, und besser, ausdrucksvoller kann er es nicht

Orhan Kemal hingegen nützt die Möglichkeit der direkten Wertung der Wirklichkeit durch den Autoren in *Die 72. Zelle* nicht zur Gänze, auch wenn ihm die gewählte Literaturgattung diese Möglichkeit bietet. Sein unpersönlicher Erzähler nimmt nicht die Position eines allwissenden und allmächtigen „Imperfektum-Beschwörers“⁸ ein, sondern betrachtet, mit ihnen sozusagen identifiziert, alles wie mit den Augen der Gestalten der Erzählung, er überschreitet die Grenzen ihres Blickfeldes nicht, so den Eindruck erweckend, dass die Handlung, die der Leser mittels jenen verfolgt, sich in der aktuellen Gegenwart abspielt. Die Ebene des Erzählers und die Ebenen der einzelnen Gestalten oder ganzer Gestaltengruppen greifen oft ineinander. Die mit der spezifischen Lexik der Gestalten und derer Phraseologie angereicherte Aussage des Erzählers wird durch die Lockerung der syntaktischen Bindung und durch die Änderung der Intonation zum Bestandteil der „Gedankensprache“ der Gestalt, es schwindet die Grenze, die diese beiden Ebenen streng voneinander trennen würde.⁹ Durch die Benützung dieser künstlerischen Methode entsagte der Autor in der Erzählung jedweder expliziter Bewertung der darin dargestellten Realität, und der Leser ist in diesem Falle in einem noch grösseren Masse als der Zuschauer bei Gorkis Stück gezwungen durch eigene Bemühung selbst zu denen Schlussfolgerungen zu gelangen, die in den Handlungen einzelner Gestalten inbegriffen sind.

Orhan Kemal legt in seiner Erzählung grosses Gewicht auf die Dialoge als auf eines der grundlegenden Mittel der Selbstäusserung der Gestalten. Dialoge, die die Häftlinge aus der 72. Zelle untereinander oder mit ihren Vorgesetzten führen, entblössen sie in ihrer ganzen Nacktheit, sie sind jedoch gleichzeitig ein deren moralisches Wachstum registrierender Seismoskop. Diese dienen dann als Unterlage für die dramatische Bearbeitung der Erzählung,¹⁰ der wir uns hier jedoch nur am Rande widmen wollen.

Beide Schriftsteller gingen in ihrem Schaffen aus dem Grundsatz hervor künstlerisch lediglich jene Realität, lediglich solche Probleme zu erfassen, die sie gründlich kannten, die ihnen nahe standen. Helden des Stückes *Nachtasyl* sind die sog. „bosjaki“ (was ungefähr als Landstreicher zu übersetzen ist), deklassierte Elemente, deren es im Jahre 1901, also zur Zeit da Gorki sein Stück zu schreiben begonnen hat, in Nishni Nowgorod an die viertausend registriert waren. Der tägliche Kontakt Maxim Gorkis, der zu jener Zeit in Nishni Nowgorod als Redakteur tätig war, mit diesen Menschen ermöglichte es ihm mit deren Psychik vollkommen vertraut zu

sagen. Auch so klingt seine Sprache schon ungewohnt für ihn. “M. Gor’kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom sed’moj (Band sieben), S. 605.

⁸ N. Krausová: *Rozprávač v románe* (Der Erzähler im Roman). In: Slovenská literatúra, Nr. 2, Bratislava 1965, S. 129.

⁹ Vergleiche L. Doležel: *O stylu moderní české prózy* (Über den Stil der modernen tschechischen Prosa), Prag 1960, S. 30 ff.

¹⁰ Orhan Kemal: 72. köşüş. 2 bölüm (Die 72. Zelle. 2 Akte), Istanbul, Varlık 1962, 62 S.

werden. Vier Gestalten des Dramas haben ihre konkreten Prototypen gerade in diesen Menschen.¹¹

Im Gefängnis in Bursa, wo Orhan Kemal die Handlung seiner Erzählung einsetzte, verbrachte der Schriftsteller fünf Jahre.¹² In den authentischen Notizen aus seinem Gefangenentagebuch ist die reale Existenz der 72. Zelle und derer armseeliger Insassen belegt.¹³

Den „Abgrund“ in Maxim Gorkis Stück stellt die Nachtherberge dar, in dem die vom Leben gebrochenen Menschen Zuflucht finden — ehemalige Sträflinge, Diebe, Alkoholiker, bankrotte Handwerker, Prostituierte. Die Vergangenheit, die sie in diesen Abgrund gestossen hat, liegt hinter ihnen, eine Zukunft gibt es für sie nicht, sie leben, besser gesagt sie führen ein kümmerliches Dasein in einer freudlosen Gegenwart, vor dieser einen Ausweg und Vergessenheit im Alkohol suchend. Der Pilger Luka, der zu ihnen kommt, kann mit seinem Mitgefühl und dem Trost der süßen Lüge keine Änderung in ihrer Lebensweise herbeiführen. Und doch wirkt sich sein zeitweiliger Aufenthalt in der Nachtherberge auf deren Insassen aus. Je nach dem, wieviel vom lebendigen Menschen noch in ihnen übrig geblieben ist, ergeben sie sich passiv seiner Lüge, oder erheben gegen diese Protest. Und es sind gerade Lukas Gedanken über den Wert eines jeden Menschen und über die Notwendigkeit der Ehrfurcht zu ihm, zu welchen sich Satin zuerst ironisch stellt, aus diesen Gedanken schliesslich, sie in eine andere Ebene umtransformierend, bildet er sich zuletzt seinen Schluss vom wahrhaftigen Menschen, der die Pointe des Stückes bildet.

Orhan Kemal situiert in seiner Erzählung den Abgrund in die Gefängniszelle, deren Insassen ihrer Nacktheit und dem ständigen Hunger wegen „Landstreicher“ (*Adembabalar* — ein Ausdruck aus dem Gefangenensjargon) genannt, weder von den Gefängnisaufsehern, sondern nicht einmal von den anderen Gefangenen für Menschen gehalten werden. Auf diesen Landstreichern unternimmt der Schriftsteller seinen fiktiven Versuch der Wiederauferstehung des Menschen in einem Wesen, das sich in den gegebenen Umständen in ein fast nur noch instinktiv sich verhaltendes Tier verwandelt hat. Es sind nicht die Worte des Trostes, die sie zum menschlichen Leben zurückführen, sondern die konkreten Taten des Protagonisten des Romans, Kapitän Ahmeds.

Die Gestalten von Gorkis Stück sind innerlich komplizierter als die der Erzählung

¹¹ M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom sed'moj (Band sieben), S. 601—602.

¹² Orhan Kemal (mit eigenem Namen Mehmet Raşit Ögütçü) wurde am 27. 1. 1939 als Soldat im Präsenzdienst von einem Militärgericht für angebliche Verbreitung kommunistischer Propaganda zu 5 Jahren Haft verurteilt. Im Gefängnis wurde er mit Nazım Hikmet, dem Dichter, bekannt, der bei der Gestaltung von seiner Persönlichkeit als Mensch und als Schriftsteller eine bedeutsame Rolle spielte. Über die mit Nazım Hikmet verbrachten Jahre schreibt Orhan Kemal im Buch der Erinnerungen *Dreieinhalb Jahre mit Nazım Hikmet (Nazım Hikmet'le üç buçuk yıl)*. Istanbul 1965.

¹³ Orhan Kemal: *Bursa cezaevi notları* (Notizen aus dem Gefängnis in Bursa). Yeni dergi, Nr. 71, Istanbul 1970, S. 109—124.

Die 72. Zelle. Sie überlegen in viel breiteren Dimensionen, sogar ein Hang zum philosophieren, der sich bei Satin in dessen Skeptizismus, bei Luka in dessen christlichem Pseudohumanismus, bei Pepel in dessen Philosophie der Lebenswahrheit äussert, ist ihnen eigen.¹⁴

Für die Landstreicher Orhan Kemals gilt lediglich eine einzige Philosophie — „die Philosophie des Sattseins“. Gorkis Gestalten, wenn auch nur unterbewusst, suchen trotzdem nach einem Sinn des Lebens. Bei den Landstreichern zielt ihre ganze Bemühung zum Überleben, auch wenn sie vom Leben nichts erwarten, auch wenn sie nicht wissen, warum sie eigentlich leben:

Sie sind lebendig, haben bodenlose Mägen, nun deshalb werden sie leben. Sie werden leben ohne darüber nachzudenken, ob ihr Leben für ihr Land, für ihr Volk von irgendeinem Nutzen ist, ohne sich an ihr Land und ihr Volk auch nur zu erinnern. Sie werden so leben, wie die Läuse, die Würmer, die Schaben, Einzeller, wie der Schimmel, wenn es nur irgend möglich sein wird. Und so tummelten sich diese verachteten, missehrten menschlichen Ruinen ängstlich wie die Schatten durch die Räume des Gefängnisses, nach einem von jemand vergessenen Stückchen Lebensmittel, nach stinkenden, auf den Müllhaufen weggeworfenen Abfällen suchend.¹⁵

Ein Willen zum Leben auch unter den fürchterlichsten Bedingungen bringt die Landstreicher mit der Gestalt der Anna aus dem Stück *Nachtasyl* einander näher. Lieber als die Ruhe im Jenseits, die ihr Luka verspricht, ist ihr das leiderfüllte Leben:

— Nun... noch ein klein wenig... leben... ein klein wenig! Wird dort auch kein Leid sein... hier kann ich noch leiden... ich kann.¹⁶

„Der Mensch steht über dem Sattsein“, sagt Satin in seinem Schlussmonolog. Dieser Satz drückt Gorkis ablehnende Stellung zum materiellen Sattsein aus, das für den Kleinbürger zum einzigen Lebensziel und -sinn wird, das in seiner Seele alles Schöne und Edle tötet.¹⁷

Das Wort „Sattsein“ kommt in Orhan Kemals Erzählung einige Male vor. Im Bezug auf die Landstreicher hat er jedoch keinen negativen Charakter. Für Wesen,

¹⁴ Seine Überzeugung davon, dass auch einfache, ungebildete Menschen grosser Gedanken fähig sind, drückte Maxim Gorki in der Erzählung *Rasskaz Filippa Vasiljeviča*, 1905 (*Die Erzählung Filipp Vassiljevičs*) aus, und zwar durch den Protagonisten der Erzählung Platon Bagrov, der Gorkis autobiographische Züge aufweist. M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom šestoju (Band sechs), S. 100.

¹⁵ Orhan Kemal: 72. koğuş. Istanbul, Cem yayınevi 1973, S. 21.

¹⁶ M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom sed'moj (Band sieben), S. 137.

¹⁷ Vergleiche mit den ironischen Überlegungen des persönlichen Erzählers in der Erzählung *Einmal im Herbst* (*Odnaždy osen'ju*, 1895) über die Vorteile des hungrigen Menschen im Vergleich zum satten bei der Konsumierung kultureller Werte. M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom vtoroj (Band zwei), Moskau 1969, S. 48.

die nicht nur ihren Platz in der Gesellschaft verloren haben, sondern für die auch ihre Vergangenheit zu existieren aufhörte, wird eine zumindest minimale Sättigung ihrer materiellen Bedürfnisse zu einer der ersten Voraussetzungen ihrer Rehabilitierung als Menschen. Ein Mensch, der sich von Abfällen nährt, für den die grundlegenden Bedürfnisse des zivilisierten Lebens längst zu existieren aufgehört haben, ist nicht nur in den Augen anderer entehrt, er kann auch vor sich selbst keine Achtung haben. Stillt also der Kapitän den körperlichen Hunger der Landstreicher, so befriedigt er gleichzeitig auch ihr inneres Bedürfnis an menschlicher Würde:

Zusammen mit dem Sattsein zogen auch der Anstand, das Schamgefühl, die Ehre in die 72. Zelle ein.¹⁸

Die Szene, in der die Landstreicher das soeben gekaufte Bett des Kapitäns in die Zelle bringen und es an den ehrenvollsten Platz stellen, drückt nicht nur die Achtung der 72. Zelle zum Kapitän aus, sondern vor allem die Achtung und Bewunderung zu einem Gegenstand, der für sie bereits zu einem fast unbekannten Begriff geworden war. Noch mehr als ein Gegenstand des täglichen Bedarfs erscheint ihnen das Bett als ein Symbol der Rückkehr eines von ihnen unter die Menschen. Denjenigen, der nicht mehr auf dem blossen Fussboden schlafen muss, kann man nicht länger für einen „Landstreicher“ halten.

Das Sattsein hat bei den Landstreichern nicht Faulheit zur Folge, im Gegenteil, es erweckt sie aus ihrer Apatie wieder zum tätigen Leben. Ein, nach langer Zeit zu sich genommenes Essen — warm und menschenwürdig — ruft bei ihnen längst vergessene Erinnerungen an die Kindheit, an das Zuhause wach. Die Szene eines gemütlichen abendlichen Beisammenseins im Familienkreis stellt der Autor nicht als Erinnerung einer konkreten Gestalt dar, sondern als Abstraktion des Gedankenganges des Kollektivs. Die Wiederkehr der Landstreicher zur Vergangenheit, derer Verlust für sie den Abschluss ihrer gesellschaftlicher und menschlicher Degradierung bedeutete, ist das erste Anzeichen dessen, dass in ihnen wieder der Mensch wach wird, der irgendwohin gehören will, für den, als menschliches Wesen, ein gewisser gesellschaftlicher Hintergrund notwendig ist.

Die Gestalten aus Gorkis Stück sind noch nicht so tief gesunken um die Vergangenheit verloren zu haben, auch wenn sie zu dieser im Falle Satins und Lukas eine ablehnende Haltung einnehmen. Im gegebenen Zeitpunkt sind es asoziale Elemente, die Vergangenheit verbindet sie jedoch mit der Gesellschaft, mit der Stellung, die sie darin eingenommen hatten. Der Schauspieler sucht in den Erinnerungen an die Vergangenheit Trost in seinem jetzigen leeren Leben eines Alkoholikers, durch die Vergangenheit, durch seine Herkunft sucht Pepel sein Leben eines Diebes zu rechtfertigen, durch die Bemühung sich von den anderen zu distanzieren, in ihren Augen emporzusteigen sind die Erinnerungen des Barons an eine im Überfluss verlebte Vergangenheit motiviert. Eine ähnliche Beziehung zur Vergan-

¹⁸ Orhan Kemal: 72. koğuş, S. 79.

genheit wie beim Baron finden wir auch bei manchen der Landstreicher Orhan Kemals. Die Anspielungen an ihre gesellschaftliche Herkunft werden von dem Bestreben hervorgerufen zumindest auf diese Weise Wertschätzung in den Augen der anderen zu erreichen.

Auf eine tragikomische Ebene gerät die Bemühung des Schauspielers sich von den anderen zu distanzieren. Gorki selbst kommentiert das Verhalten dieser seiner Gestalt folgend: „Im ersten Akt sagt der Schauspieler mit Stolz — Mein Organismus ist von Alkohol vergiftet! — und er sagt es mit Stolz deshalb, da er sich wenigstens dadurch vom Umkreis der grauen, verlorenen Menschen absondern möchte. In dieser Phrase befinden sich die Überreste seines Gefühls der menschlichen Würde.“¹⁹

Genauso tragikomisch erscheint die Überzeugung Kapitän Ahmeds aus *Die 72. Zelle* von seiner Ausserordentlichkeit. Da er sich für nicht schuldig zu sein fühlt, kann er sich mit seiner Umgebung nicht identifizieren. Dem Drängen seiner Mutter nachgebend, hat er Blutrache geübt, er beugte sich dem ungeschriebenen Gesetz seiner Ahnen, und deshalb steht er, auch wenn ihn die Gesetze der Gesellschaft für diese Tat als Mörder zu langjähriger Haft verurteilt hatten, in seinen eigenen Augen moralisch höher als die kleinen Diebe, mit denen er die Zelle teilt:

Nein, er war nicht so wie seine Gefährten aus der Zelle. Diese wurden täglich auch einige Mal zu Verwaltung gerufen. Dort wurden sie verprügelt, beschimpft, sie kratzten sich jedoch lediglich am Kopf und grinsten frech. Ach was, es waren doch bloss solche Gauner. Von wem und wie kann er mit diesen verglichen werden? Er sitzt ja hier wegen Blutrache. Er erschlug seine Vetter, die vor Jahren seinen Vater gerade in dem Moment ermordet hatten, als er das Hafenkaffee verliess. Er rächte seinen Vater, den er eigentlich nie gesehen hatte. Es soll keiner wagen ihn mit diesen Gaunern hier zu vergleichen.²⁰

Zu dieser Begebenheit, die die bedeutendste in seinem Leben wurde, zu dieser Rache für den ermordeten Vater, kehrt er in seinen Erinnerungen immer wieder zurück.

Als die einzige der Gestalten der Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle* hat Kapitän Ahmed eine epische Vergangenheit, die die Handlung nicht nur in der Form von Erinnerungen durchdringt, sondern auf konkret in der Form eines Geldbetrages, den ihm seine längst vergessene Mutter unerwartet schickt. Im Aufbau der Erzählung hat dieses Motiv eine zweifache Funktion. Einerseits ruft es die Erinnerungen des Kapitans an seine Mutter wach, gleichzeitig jedoch bildet es eine Verwicklung in der Handlung, die alle weiteren Begebenheiten bedingt.

Was den Kapitän von den übrigen Landstreichern unterscheidet, und ihn in der Juxtaposition mit dem Stück *Nachtasyl* mit dem Schauspieler verbindet, ist sein

¹⁹ M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom sed'moj (Band sieben), S. 603.

²⁰ Orhan Kemal: *72. koğuş*, S. 8—9.

Glauben an die Zukunft, seine Hoffnung, die er in diese Zukunft legt. Gerade das wird ihm, genauso wie dem Schauspieler zum Verhängnis.

Der von Lukas barmherziger Lüge beeinflusste Schauspieler „glaubt, es gäbe irgendwo auf der Welt eine kostenlose Heilanstalt für Alkoholiker, dass er diese erreichen würde, dort genäse und im Hamlet wieder den zweiten Totengräber spielen würde — er lebt mit dieser Hoffnung bis zum vierten Akt — bis zum Tod der Hoffnung in seiner Seele“, ²¹ sagt Gorki über diese seine Gestalt.

Kapitän Ahmed glaubt an Gottes Gerechtigkeit, der einmal die Tore des Gefängnisses öffnen würde und dass er, Kapitän Ahmed, wieder das Leben eines arbeitenden Menschen führen, zu See sein Brot verdienen und dieses mit seiner Lebensgefährtin teilen würde. Das Bildnis einer Frau — der Mutter seiner Kinder, vorerst unbestimmt, nimmt nach und nach die konkrete Gestalt der schönen Fatma an. An sie beginnen sich alle seine Hoffnungen zu knüpfen, mit ihr verbindet sich seine Vorstellung von der Zukunft. Doch gerade zu dem Zeitpunkt, wo er sein Ideal gefunden hat, überkommen ihn Zweifel über das Reale seiner Hoffnungen und Pläne. Als nach den in wonnigen Vorstellungen der Zukunft durchwachten Nächten die Morgen anbrechen und er sich wieder in der kahlen Wirklichkeit der 72. Zelle befindet, bemächtigt sich seiner die Verzweiflung. Er ist nicht mehr die Stütze seiner Gefährten, alles ausser Fatma ist ihm gleichgültig. Als wehrloses Spielzeug in den Händen des schlaun Gefängnislaufbursches Bobi Niyazi, als Gegenstand seiner gewinnsüchtigen Machinationen, strebt er unaufhaltsam seinem vorerst seelischen, zuletzt auch dem physischen Ende zu.

Der Tod Kapitän Ahmeds erscheint als unablässige Folge seiner unerfüllten Sehnsucht nach Selbstrealisierung. Er wird von der Untätigkeit getötet, zu der die Gesellschaft einen Menschen verurteilt, dessen Lebenssinn in der Arbeit liegt. Mit diesem Gedanken knüpft Orhan Kemal an Gorkis These an von der Bedeutung der Arbeit im menschlichen Leben, von ihrer Rolle beim Formen des menschlichen Charakters, die wir auch in dessen Stück *Nachtasyl* finden.

Kleschtsch, eine der Gestalten des Stückes, hält sich so lange über Wasser, so lange er glaubt dass er sich durch Arbeit vom „Abgrund“ losmachen wird. Das Bewusstsein, dass er sich durch seiner Hände Arbeit ernährt, berechtigt ihn dazu die anderen zu verachten.²² Erst der endgültige Verlust der Möglichkeit zu arbeiten bringt ihn den Bewohnern der Nachtherberge näher.

Auch die Tragödie des Schauspielers entspringt im Grunde dem Sich-Bewusstwerden dessen, dass er nie wieder auf die Bühne, zu seiner Arbeit zurückkehren werde.

Sogar der alles bezweifelnde und alles verachtende Satin gibt zu, dass die Arbeit

²¹ M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom sed'moj (Band sieben), S. 603.

²² Siehe Kleschtschs Monolog im ersten Akt des Stückes *Nachtasyl*. M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom sed'moj (Band sieben), S. 119.

die nicht nur eine Pflicht ist, sondern für den Menschen auch eine Befriedigung darstellt, sein Leben schöner gestaltet.²³

Sein Leben verbessern, sich aus dem Schlamm befreien, vermag der Mensch nur dann, wenn er zu arbeiten beginnt. Diesen Gedanken legt Gorki in den Mund des Diebes Pepel. Er lässt Pepel sich selbst bewusst werden, dass er nur durch Arbeit sein Leben verändern und zu Selbstachtung gelangen könne.²⁴

Die Achtung des Menschen zu sich selbst als Grundvoraussetzung für das Recht sich ein Mensch zu nennen, diesen Gedanken Gorkis finden wir im Dialog eines der Landstreicher, Kaya Ali, mit dem Aufseher. Der verkommene, von allen erniedrigte Sträfling findet beim Kapitän Arbeit. Als arbeitender Mensch stieg sein Selbstansehen, sein Selbstbewusstsein kehrte zurück. Sich der Tatsache bewusst werdend, dass er wieder ein ehrlicher Mensch geworden ist, verliert er nicht nur die Angst vor dem gefürchteten Schuft, sondern findet auch den Mut, die Ehre der Insassen der 72. Zelle gegen die Obrigkeit zu verteidigen:

- Warum, Herr Oberaufseher? Sind wir denn keine Menschen?
- Ihr? Was seid ihr denn für Menschen? Natürlich seid ihr keine. Was würden Menschen in der 72. Zelle suchen?

Kaya Ali seufzte:

- Ach, Herr Oberaufseher, wir sind in Ihren Augen wertlos.
- Natürlich seid ihr das. Weidet wohl ein Mensch, der etwas wert ist, wie das Vieh? Oder stopft sich so einer voll mit Abfällen?
- Nein, das tut er gewiss nicht. Aber tun wir es aus eigenem Vergnügen?²⁵

Nicht zufällig gipfelt die Sujetlinie der Landstreicher in der Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle* mit einer Szene der gemeinsamen Arbeit:

Kaya Ali, Tavukçu, İzmirli und andere begaben sich zum Oberaufseher und verlangten von ihm eine Büchse gelöschten Kalks. Kaya Ali, der früher einmal Maurer gewesen war, kannte sich in dieser Arbeit aus. Während er den Kalk vorbereitete, stülpten sich die anderen die Ärmel hoch. Als der Kapitän vor Mittag in die Zelle zurückkam und die schneeweissen Wände sah, freute er sich.²⁶

In dieser lakonischen Beschreibung gelang es Orhan Kemal die Änderung, die sich bei den Sträflingen aus der 72. Zelle abgespielt hat, auszudrücken. Es war ein Verdienst Kapitän Ahmeds, dass die apatischen, in sich geschlossenen Einzelwesen zu einem Kollektiv von Menschen heranwuchsen, die mit Freude und Begeisterung für die Verwirklichung des gemeinsamen Zieles an die Arbeit gingen.

Die Wende, zu der es in der Sujetlinie der Landstreicher nach diesem Kulmina-

²³ Ibid., S. 119.

²⁴ Ibid., S. 158.

²⁵ Orhan Kemal: 72. koğuş, S. 68.

²⁶ Ibid., S. 78.

tionspunkt kommt, ist eine logische Folge der Lage, in der sich die Landstreicher befinden. Ihre Umgestaltung steht auf viel zu schwachem Fundament, auf der Unterstützung eines einzigen Menschen, und kann daher keinen dauerhaften Charakter annehmen.

Zum Unterschied zur Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle* hat das gleichnamige Stück eine optimistischere Lösung. Die Sujetlinie des Kapitäns ändert sich der Erzählung gegenüber nicht. Sie endet genauso wie in der Erzählung mit dessen Tod. Die Sujetlinie der Landstreicher hingegen bleibt offen. Das Stück endet in dem Augenblick, da die Landstreicher sich dessen bewusst werden, dass sie trotz ihrer materieller Not viel höher stehen als der Schuft, weil sie ein Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit verbindet, während er in seinem Wohlstand einsam bleibt. Sie lehnen die Hilfe des Schuftes ab und geben ihren Protest gegen ihn über dem leblosen Körper des Kapitäns kund.

Die Verurteilung des Schuftes durch die Landstreicher hat in der Erzählung lediglich einen episodischen Charakter. Den Verrat, den der Schuft durch das Verlassen der Zelle und den Fortgang in eine andere, bessere Zelle an den Insassen der 72. Zelle begeht, verurteilen hier Kaya Ali und İzmirli, die seine Tat für Verrat an den Kapitän und den anderen Landstreichern halten.

Die Gestalt des Schuftes (Berbat) stellt in der Erzählung als Gegenpol zum Kapitän einen ausgesprochen negativen Typ dar. Bis zur Mitte der Handlungsebene der Erzählung konfrontiert der Autor ständig den Gedankengang und das Handeln dieser Gestalten, um die positiven Eigenschaften des Kapitäns so hervorzuheben. Im Stück *Nachtasyl* sind zwar auch die Sympathien des Autors auf der Seite der Gestalten, wie der Schauspieler, Satin, Pepel, Natascha, Nastja, während er zu Menschen wie Kostyljow, dessen Frau, der Baron eine ablehnende Haltung einnimmt, von einem Gegensatz eindeutig negativer und positiver Typen kann jedoch hier nicht die Rede sein.

Zu den Gestalten von Gorkis Stück steht der Schuft dem Baron am nächsten. Ebenso wie dieser hält sich auch jener für etwas besseres als die anderen, auch wenn in der Wirklichkeit gerade das Gegenteil zutrifft. So wie der Baron, der in seinem Leben nie gearbeitet hat, sich immer von anderer Leute Arbeit nähren liess, sich nicht schämt von Nastja Geld anzunehmen und sie dabei erbarmungslos zu verhöhnen, so scheut auch der Schuft nicht davor zurück beim Kapitän zu schmarotzen, obwohl er diesen im Geiste verachtet und ihn letztlich auch offen verwirft.

Trotz der hier angeführten Analogien zwischen Maxim Gorkis Stück *Nachtasyl* und Orhan Kemals Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle*, können wir eine direkte Kontaktbeziehung dieses Prosawerkes von Orhan Kemal zum Drama Gorkis als deren Vorlage ausschliessen. Einzelne Komponente der Erzählung bezeugen eine solche Beziehung nicht.

An zwei Stellen der Erzählung, in ihrer Exposition und im Abschluss, begegnen wir jedoch Motiven, die analog zu den Motiven in Maxim Gorkis Erzählung *Das*

Gefängnis (Tjurma, 1905) sind. Die Analogie des ersten unter ihnen, des Motivs der Gefängniswände, kann zufällig sein, bedingt durch die intime Kenntnis der Gefängnisrealität bei beiden Autoren und durch die Tatsache, dass Gefängnisse, wo immer in der Welt sie auch sein mögen, sich voneinander nicht wesentlich unterscheiden.

Im höchsten Punkt der Wölbung brannte eine elektrische Lampe und beleuchtete die Wände, die mit Flecken von zerdrückten Wanzen und irgendwelchen Inschriften bedeckt waren.²⁷

Die, die entlang der schmutzigen, stellenweise mit unanständigen Bildern und Wörtern bekritzelten Wänden herumlagen...²⁸

... Wände völlig mit Flecken von zerdrückten Wanzen bedeckt...²⁹

Beim zweiten Motiv jedoch kann man schon kaum von Zufall sprechen. Das Motiv des Vogels figuriert als Abschlussmotiv beider Prosawerke.

Hinter dem Fenster, der Gefängnismauer entlang ging der Wärter, kräftig auf die gefrorene Erde stampfend hin und her, und auf der Mauer sass eine Krähe mit dem Kopf zur Seite geneigt und beobachtete ihn neugierig mit ihrem runden schwarzen Auge.³⁰

Plötzlich setzte sich auf des Kapitäns Fenster ein winziges Spätzchen. Es zwitscherte etwas direkt in die Dunkelheit der Zelle herein, dann, verwundert und erschrocken schaute es herunter. Dort, ganz bei der Wand, erblickte es ein Körnchen und flog zu ihm herab.³¹

Dieses Motiv zeugt davon, dass Orhan Kemal sich bei der Bearbeitung der Thematik aus dem Gefängnismilieu an Gorkis Erzählung *Das Gefängnis*³² wendete, dass er in ihr zur Übernahme geeignete Elemente suchte. Orhan Kemal gelang es jedoch diesem Motiv mehr zu entnehmen, als es bei dem ursprünglichen Autor der Fall war. Während in der Erzählung *Das Gefängnis* auf dem Motiv des Vogels keine besondere Bedeutung haftet, wird dieses bei Orhan Kemal zum Symbol des Lebens in der Freiheit und bildet einen Gegensatz zum Sterben, zum Tod in der Gefängniszelle, es unterstreicht die Überflüssigkeit dieses Todes.

Trotz des Fehlens einer direkten Kontaktbeziehung der Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle* zum Stück *Nachtasyl*, stehen diese zwei Werke mit ihren typologischen Zusammenhängen einander nahe. Diese typologischen Zusammenhänge sind einerseits durch die gleichwertige gesellschaftliche Lage, die in Russland zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts und in der Türkei der vierziger Jahre herrschte, andererseits durch die realistische Methode die beiden Schriftstellern eigen ist, bedingt, sowie in nicht

²⁷ M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*. Tom šestoj (Band sechs), S. 67.

²⁸ Orhan Kemal: *72. koğuş*, S. 6.

²⁹ Ibid., S. 37.

³⁰ M. Gor'kij: *Polnoje sobranije sočinenij*, Tom šestoj (Band sechs), S. 93.

³¹ Orhan Kemal: *72. koğuş*, S. 108.

³² Über die Übersetzung der Erzählung *Das Gefängnis* ins Türkische siehe S. Uturgauri: *Gor'kij i tureckaja literatura*, S. 205.

geringerem Masse auch durch deren weltanschauliche Orientierung, die sich bei Orhan Kemal in bedeutendem Masse gerade auf Grund der schöpferischen Form der Beziehung zu den Werken Maxim Gorkis entwickelte.

So wie Maxim Gorki in seinem Stück, betrachtet auch Orhan Kemal die Gestalten der Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle* nicht mit Mitleid, im Gegenteil, er sieht sie nüchtern, mit allen ihren Mängeln. Gleichzeitig jedoch suchen und finden beide Schriftsteller in den Gestalten dieser, in ihren Werken geschaffener asozialer Elemente Lebewesen, die würdig sind die Bezeichnung Mensch zu tragen. Sie zeigen, wie die Lebensfähigkeit, wie alles, was in diesen Menschen gut ist, an den Felsen der gegebenen menschlichen Realität zerschellt. Deshalb erscheinen beide Werke als Verurteilung der Gesellschaft, die dem Menschen die Rückkehr ins Leben verweigert, die an seiner Befreiung aus dem schmachvollen Abgrund nicht interessiert ist, obwohl er nicht aus eigener Schuld, sondern aus der Schuld gerade dieser Gesellschaft und ihrer zweifelhaften Gesetze so tief gesunken war.

Die Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle*, die im schwersten Lebensabschnitt des Schriftstellers entstanden war,³³ blieb bei ihren ersten zwei Ausgaben von der türkischen Literaturkritik fast unbeachtet.³⁴ Das gleichnamige Stück wurde hingegen von der türkischen Theaterkritik sehr günstig aufgenommen. Bewertet wird vor allem Orhan Kemals Vertrauen in den Menschen, in dessen Fähigkeit auch dann noch von vorn zu beginnen, wenn er sich ganz tief am Abgrund des Lebens befindet.³⁵ Im Jahre 1967 erklärte die Ankaraer Gesellschaft der Kunstliebhaber (*Ankara Sanatseverler Derneği*) Orhan Kemal für dieses Stück zum erfolgreichsten Dramatiker des Jahres.

Abschliessend möchten wir noch darauf hinweisen, dass die Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle* mit ihrer Thematik weder im Schaffen Orhan Kemals, noch in der gegenwärtigen türkischen Literatur vereinzelt ist.³⁶

³³ Im Jahre 1951 zog Orhan Kemal mit seiner Familie von Adana nach Istanbul um. Als Sohn eines Verbannten und ehemaliger politischer Häftling konnte er keine Stellung finden. In einer verzweiferten finanziellen Lage beendet er die Erzählung *Die 72. Zelle*, in die er alle seine Hoffnungen legt. Die Verlage jedoch zeigen kein Interesse für die Erzählung. Schliesslich wurde sie vom Verlag Ekicigil abgekauft, der sich auf wertlose Liebesromane spezialisierte. N. Uğurlu: *Orhan Kemal'in İkbal Kahvesi* (Orhan Kemals Kaffeehaus İkbal), Istanbul, Cem yayınevi 1973, S. 284—285; F. Otyam: *Arkadaşım Orhan Kemal ve mektupları* (Mein Freund Orhan Kemal und dessen Briefe), Ankara, e yayınları 1975, S. 337—339.

³⁴ Über diese Tatsache beschwert sich Orhan Kemal bei seinem Freund, dem Journalisten Fikret Otyam im Brief vom 8. 2. 1959: „Über *Die 72. Zelle* erschien keine Zeile. Ist dieses Buch wirklich so wertlos? Auch wenn ich diesen Dingen keine so grosse Bedeutung beimesse, etwas hätte doch erscheinen sollen, ob gut oder schlecht.“ F. Otyam: *Arkadaşım Orhan Kemal ve mektupları*, S. 162.

³⁵ N. Aki: *Çağdaş Türk tiyatrosuna toplu bakış* (Ein Blick auf das gegenwärtige türkische Theater), Ankara, Bilgi basımevi 1968, S. 99; Y. İlksavaş: *Orhan Kemal'de tiyatro* (Das Theater bei Orhan Kemal), Türkiye defteri, Nr. 10, Istanbul 1974, S. 94—98; Şener: *Çağdaş Türk tiyatrosunda ahlak, ekonomi, kültür sorunları* (Die moralischen, ökonomischen, und kulturellen Probleme im gegenwärtigen türkischen Theater) (1923—1970). Ankara 1971, S. 186.

³⁶ Der Gefängnisproblematik in der türkischen Literatur ist folgender Artikel gewidmet: H. İ.

Das Thema des Menschen hinter Gittern wurde zu einem der Grundthemen im Schaffen von Orhan Kemal, zu dem er in seinen Erzählungen und teilweise auch in seinen Romanen immer wieder zurückkehrte. Seine erste Erzählung mit dieser Thematik entstand noch im Gefängnis.³⁷ Als Inspirationsimpuls wirkte hier auf Orhan Kemal anscheinend die Tatsache, dass zur selben Zeit Nazım Hikmet, sein Nachbar in der Zelle, seine Epopöe *Das menschliche Panorama* (*İnsan manzaraları*) zu komponieren begann, deren dritter Teil, *In diesem Jahre 1941* (*Şu 1941 yılında*) in das Gefängnismilieu situiert ist. Am Leser ziehen Gestalten von Gefangenen und deren Lebensschicksale vorbei. Eine ähnliche Galerie der Menschen hinter Gittern schafft Orhan Kemal in seinen Erzählungen aus dem Gefängnismilieu, deren Teil einen autobiographischen Charakter hat.³⁸

Bis zum Jahre 1960 finden wir in der türkischen Literatur die Thematik des Gefängnisses ausser bei Nazım Hikmet und Orhan Kemal teilweise auch im Werk von Sabahattin Ali und im Roman Adnan Velis *Die Gefängnisfontane* (*Mahpusane çeşmesi*, 1952). In den Mittelpunkt des Interesses der türkischen Schriftsteller rückt das Thema des Menschen hinter Gittern nach dem Sturz der Macht der berüchtigten Demokratischen Partei. Während derer zehnjährigen Regierungsdauer erkannten viele Darsteller der Fortschrittlichen türkischen Intelligenz das Leben in den Kerkern aus eigener Erfahrung.

Der Auffassung Orhan Kemals steht das Stück T. Özakmans *Hinter den Mauern* (*Duvarların ötesinde*, 1965) am nächsten. Der Autor sucht in ihr nach Faktoren, die zum Fall des Menschen führten, und bringt seine Überzeugung zum Ausdruck, dass man den Menschen, auch wenn er noch so tief gesunken ist, emporheben und retten kann.³⁹

Dinamo: *Mahpushaneler ve Türk Edibiyyatı* (Gefängnisse und die türkische Literatur), May, Nr. 31, Istanbul 1970, S. 3–5.

³⁷ Das Kind Ali (*Çocuk Ali*, 1943).

³⁸ Es sind die Erzählungen Ayşe und Fatma (*Ayşe ile Fatma*, 1944), *Recep* (1944), Brot, Seife und Liebe (*Ekmek, sabun ve aşk*, 1948), *Necati* (1957), Die Frau im roten Mantel (*Kırmızı mantolu kadın*, 1957) und Es gab Krieg auf der Welt (*Dünyada harp vardı*, 1962).

³⁹ N. Aki: *Çağdaş Türk tiyatrosuna toplu bakış*, S. 100.

ZWEI ITINERARIEN DES OSMANISCHEN FELDZUGES GEGEN NEUHÄUSEL (NOVÉ ZÁMKY) IM JAHRE 1663

VOJTECH KOPČAN, Bratislava

Nach einer kurzen Einleitung, in der der Autor auf die Bedeutung der Itinerarien der militärischen Feldzüge für die osmanische Topographie, sowie für die Kriegsgeschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, auf die Sicherstellung der Marschroute während der Feldzüge und auf die Rolle der sog. Konstantinopler Heerstrasse hinweist, gibt er einen kurzen Verlauf des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky) im Jahre 1663 wieder. Im weiteren Teil veröffentlicht er Fotokopien zweier Itinerarien des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen Neuhäusel und deren Transkription in die lateinische Schrift. Das erste Exemplar des Itinerars befindet sich vor dem Werk Mehmed Necati, *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık* (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan No. 1308), während das zweite zur Handschrift des Werkes Kemalpaşazade, *Tarih-i Al-i Osman* (Wien, Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 46a) dazugebunden ist. Die Angaben beider Itinerarien kommentiert der Autor in Erläuterungen, wo er die gegenwärtigen Ortsnamen der Stationen anführt, auf die jeweiligen Quellen und die Literatur, wo dieselben Stationen vorkommen hinweist, und zeitliche sowie andere Angaben mit weiteren osmanischen Quellen vergleicht.

F. Taeschner reiht die Itinerarien, die die Angaben über Entfernungen zwischen einzelnen Stationen auf den Feldzügen, auf den Pilgerfahrten nach Mekka (Hadschdsch) oder beim Umzug des Sultans in die Sommerresidenz, zur Jagd usw. festhielten zur osmanischen geographischen Literatur.¹

Die Bedeutung der Itinerarien und Rūznāmes (Tagebücher) der Feldzüge hob bereits Joseph von Hammer hervor, der einige von ihnen in Übersetzungen als Beilagen zu seiner monumentalen Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches veröffentlichte.² Hammer benützte vor allem die Itinerarien aus dem Werk *Münşeat*

¹ *Die geographische Literatur der Osmanen*. In: ZDMG, 77 (Neue Folge, Band 2), Leipzig 1923, S. 44.

² Pesth 1827—1835 (weiter GOR). GOR III, S. 621—25 „Tagebuch des Feldzug Suleiman's wider Belgrad“ (1521). III, S. 628—32 „Tagebuch des zweyten Feldzuges Suleiman's wider Rhodos“ (1522). III, S. 639—44 „Tagebuch des dritten Feldzuges Suleiman's nach Mohacs i. J. 1526“. III, S. 647—52 nach Wien 1529. III, S. 655—70 nach Güns 1532. III, S. 678—689 nach Irak 1534. III, S. 698—700 nach Moldau 1538. III, S. 718—21 nach Persien 1547. III, S. 780—81 Itinerar des arabischen Feldzuges Sinan Pascha 1569. GOR IV, S. 681—82 Itinerar der Reise des Sultans Ahmed I. nach Gallipolis 1617. GOR V, S. 753—64 Itinerar des Marsches des Sultans Murad IV. nach Bagdad. GOR VI, S. 282 Itinerar der Reise des Sultans Mehmed IV. nach Despotovina. VI, S. 704 Itinerar des polnischen Feldzuges nach Kameniec Podolski 1672.

üs-selatin von Feridun Beg, aber auch aus Werken anderer osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber.³

Auf den Quellenwert der Itinerarien für die Topographie und die politische Geographie des Osmanischen Reiches wies F. Taeschner hin, und nützte die Angaben aus den Itinerarien reichlich in seiner Arbeit über das Wegenetz in Anatolien, sowie auch in weiteren Studien.⁴ Itinerarien und Rûznâmes waren Gegenstand des Studiums auch weiterer Forscher, auch wenn manche lediglich einen beschränkten Rahmen der Problematik verfolgten.⁵

Die Tagebücher der Feldzüge gaben in chronologischer Folge Tag für Tag die Begebenheiten wieder, die sich während des Feldzuges abspielten und hielten einzelne Stationen während des Marsches, sowie weitere wichtige Angaben fest. Sie wurden von einem Beamten (Rûznâmecî), der mit dieser Aufgabe beauftragt war, geführt. Die Itinerarien hingegen hielten nur die Stationen nach Eintagsmärschen fest, die Entfernungen zwischen diesen in Stunden oder in Meilen, mehrtägige Aufenthalte in bedeutenderen Zentren (bei den Feldzügen nach Mitteleuropa waren es Edirne, Plovdiv, Sofia, Niš, Belgrad und Ofen), aber auch Datumsangaben der Ankunft in bedeutendere Etappen des Marsches, bzw. spezielle Angaben darüber, wo die Truppen das Wasser schöpften oder Angaben über den Zustand des Weges und der Brücken. Es ist vorauszusetzen, dass viele Itinerarien, die uns in Werken osmanischer Historiker oder auch selbständig erhalten blieben, lediglich Auszüge aus den Tagebüchern der einzelnen Feldzüge sind.⁶

Wie F. Taeschner konstatierte, war die Reihenfolge der Stationen bei Feldzügen gesetzlich geregelt und es gab Vorschriften, die diese Reihenfolge bestimmten.⁷ Der Verlauf eines Feldzuges war von erstrangigem Staatsinteresse und dieser Aufgabe waren mehrere Institutionen unterordnet. Lange vor dem Feldzug wurden die Organe der Ortsverwaltung von der Pforte darauf aufmerksam gemacht, notwendige Massnahmen für die Sicherung der Zügigkeit des Feldzuges zu treffen. Wie O.

³ Itineräre und Rûznâmes in Feridun's Werk führt F. Taeschner in *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*. I. Leipzig 1924, S. 20 an. Über die Itineräre bei osmanischen Historikern (Naima, Raşid und andere), siehe Taeschner, a. a. O., S. 22—23.

⁴ *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*. I—II. Leipzig 1924—1926. Türkische Bibliothek, Band 22—23. *Die geographische Literatur der Osmanen*. In: ZDMG, 77, 1923, S. 31—80. *The Itinerary of the First Persian Campaign of Sultan Süleyman, 1534—36 According to Naşûh el-matrâkî*. In: *Imago Mundi*, 13, 1956, S. 53—55, 7 Abb.

⁵ Behrnauer, W. F. A.: *Suleiman, des Gesetzgebers (Kanuni) Tagebuch auf seinem Feldzug nach Wien im Jahre 935—936 H./1529 A. D.*, Wien 1858. A. Decei: *Un „Fetih-nâme-i Karaboğdan“ (1538) de Naşûh Matrakçı*. In: *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*. İstanbul 1953, S. 113—124, 3 Taf. Fehér, G., Jr.: *Recent Data of the Turkish Campaign of 1543*. In: *Studia Turcica*, Budapest 1971, S. 161—168. Yurdaydın, H. G.: *Matrakçı Naşûh'un Süleyman-nâmesi*. In: *Türk Tarih Kongresi*. Ankara 1956, S. 374—388. Derselbe, *Matrakçı Naşûh'a Göre İstanbul—Budapeşte Arası Menzilleri*. In: *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*. Ankara 1976 (im Druck).

⁶ Taeschner, F.: *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, S. 22—23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, S. 27—28.

Zirojević, die eine umfangreiche Studie der Organisation der sog. Konstantinopler Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Sofia widmete, anführt, wurde vor dem Feldzug Sultan Süleymans im Jahre 1566 allen Kadis auf dem Weg von Plovdiv bis Belgrad angeordnet alle Stationen zu beschreiben, die Entfernungen zwischen ihnen und die Existenz von schwer durchquerbaren Stellen, sowie auch von Flüssen und Bächen, über die man Brücken bauen müsse, anzugeben.⁸

Massnahmen zur Sicherung der Zügigkeit des Feldzuges hatten zweierlei Charakter. Einerseits war es notwendig die Zügigkeit des Feldzuges, andererseits die Bedürfnisse der Armee während des Marsches zu sichern. Da am Feldzug zehntausende von Soldaten, Hilfspersonal und Dienern teilnahmen, und Kriegs- sowie anderes Material befördert wurde, war es notwendig die Strassen dementsprechend vorzubereiten. Zu diesen Massnahmen gehörte das Säubern und die Instandsetzung der Strassen, der Aufbau von Brücken und Ausheben von Gräben entlang der Strassen. Auch eins von unseren Itinerarien führt Stellen an, wo die Strasse erneuert, bzw. gesäubert wurde.⁹ Über die Vorbereitung der Strassen vor dem Feldzug gegen Neuhausel im Jahre 1663 berichten uns nicht nur osmanische Quellen, sondern auch der Bericht im Tagebuch des Pressburger Bürgers Johann Ferdinand Auer, der in die osmanische Gefangenschaft gefallen war und ins Gefängnis nach Istanbul verschleppt wurde.¹⁰

Diese Arbeiten wurden von den Kadis besorgt. Sie sicherten ebenfalls passende Stellen für den Aufbau der Lager nach Eintagsmärschen. Was den Brückenbau auf der festgelegten Route betrifft, wurde diese Aufgabe von der Pforte den Sandschakbegs oder im Falle grösserer Bedeutung auch höheren Würdenträgern anvertraut.¹¹

Auf der anderen Seite war es notwendig die Bedürfnisse des sich auf dem Feldzug befindlichen Heeres zu sichern. Es ging vor allem um die Besorgung von Lebensmitteln für die Menschen und von Futter für das Vieh. Auch diese Aufgabe sicherten teilweise die Kadis. Im Rahmen von ausserordentlichen Steuern und Pflichten der untergebenen Bevölkerung, ob diese nun *nüzul*¹² oder *sürsat zahiresi*¹³ genannt

⁸ Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije (1459—1683). In: Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije 7. Beograd 1970, S. 66—67.

⁹ Itinerar aus Necati's Werk verwendet den Ausdruck „İhdas“, der nach J. Th. Zenker: *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch* (Hildesheim 1967, S. 15) folgende Bedeutungen hat: „Erfindung, Herstellung und Hervorbringung von etwas Neuem. Erneuerung einer Sache“. Es erwähnt sich bei folgenden Stationen: Sazlı Dere, Semizce, Kuri Başı, Çaltuk Başı, Ormanlu, Sarıbrot, İlice-i der kurb-ı Niş und Dal.

¹⁰ Auer János Ferdinánd pozsonyi nemes polgáranak Héttoronyi fogságában írt naplója 1664. Hrsg. von I. Lukinich. Budapest 1923, S. 50 „Untter der Zeit aber hat der Vezir mit Zusammenziehung grosser Menge Kriegs-Volkes niht gefeuert, auch selbige in der Stille allegemah voran bis in die Bulgarey zu shiken sih sehr bemühet, und damit selbige in den Bergen und anderen Engen und ungebahnten Ohrtern (wie solche in der Bulgarey sih hauffig befinden) keine Verhindernuss an den Marschiren leiden möhten, hat er überall die rauen Weg auff 20 oder mehrers guette Schritt breit weit schön eben machen lassen (als wie ich solhes selbstn hernach in meiner müeheseeligen Hereinreiss also befunden).“

¹¹ Zirojević, O.: *Carigradski drum*, S. 67.

wurden, versorgten sie die ins Feld ziehenden Truppen mit Lebensmitteln.¹⁴ Bei der Erfüllung dieser Aufgaben halfen den Kadis auch weitere Darsteller der osmanischen Macht und der Ortskommunitäten. Auf festgelegte Stellen entlang der Route wurden in vornherein bestimmte Mengen von Getreide, Mehl, Butter, Honig, Stroh und Heu zusammengetragen, und dem dazu bestimmten Beamten (*nüzul emini*) übergeben.

Auch verschiedene handwerkliche Dienstleistungen, ohne die es zu Verzögerungen des Feldzuges gekommen wäre, wurden unterwegs gesichert. Es waren dies Erzeuger von Lebensmitteln (Bäcker, Fleischer), ebenso wie Handwerker für die Herstellung und Reparatur von Bekleidung, Schuhwerk, Ausrüstung der Soldaten und Tiere und für Wagenreparatur.

Obenerwähnte Bedarfe wurden an voraus bestimmten Stationen vorbereitet. Die Stationen befanden sich gewöhnlich am Rande irgendeiner Gemeinde, sie konnten jedoch auch an unbewohnten Orten sein.¹⁵ Ausserdem mussten sich die osmanischen Truppen auch gegen die Angriffe der Heiducken sichern, und das vor allem in den gebirgigen Gegenden.

Obwohl sich die grundlegende Marschroute aus Istanbul nach Belgrad, oder bis nach Ofen/Buda im Verlauf des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Grunde nicht geändert hatte — sie entsprach ungefähr der alten römischen, bis in die byzantinische Zeit und ins Mittelalter hinein benützten Strasse — unterscheiden sich trotzdem die Stationen in den Tagebüchern der Feldzüge Sultan Süleymans gegen Ungarn von denen aus den Itinerarien, die uns aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts bekannt sind. Dies kann wohl dadurch erklärt werden, dass in dieser Zeit das System der Strassen (Brückenbauten, Errichtung der Palanken, Karawanserais), des Wach- und Schutzdienstes, sowie das System der Stationen (*menzil*) und deren technischer und ökonomischer Sicherung fertiggestellt wurde.

Unsere Itinerarien betreffen mit mehr als der Hälfte ihrer Angaben die sog. Heerstrasse von Constantinopel nach Belgrad, die auch zur osmanischen Zeit die wohl bekannteste Kommunikation war. Über diese gibt es einige Arbeiten, die es uns ermöglichten den Grossteil der Stationen des osmanischen Heeres auf dem Wege von Istanbul nach Belgrad verhältnismässig leicht zu identifizieren. Es ist vor allem die Arbeit des tschechischen Historikers C. J. Jireček, die trotz der hundert Jahre ihres Bestehens ihre Gültigkeit nicht eingebüsst hat.¹⁶ Wertvolle Erkenntnisse über diese Marschroute brachten P. Matkovičs Übersetzungen von Werken europäi-

¹² Grzegorzewski, J.: *Z szczytów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej, akta tureckie*. Lwów 1912. Cvetkova, B.: *Izvanredni danaci i državni povinnosti v balgarskite zemi pod turska vlast*. Sofia 1958, S. 35—39.

¹³ Cvetkova, B.: op. cit., S. 67—75.

¹⁴ Cvetkova, B.: op. cit., S. 44—47 und 53—59.

¹⁵ Z. B. Sazlı Dere, Ulu Dere der kurb-ı Uzunca Ova, Asyab-ı Köprüllü, Vadi-i Kara Kavga.

¹⁶ *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe*. Prag 1877. Reprint: Amsterdam 1967.

scher Reisender ins Serbokroatische.¹⁷ Von den jüngeren Arbeiten sind zwei monographische Bearbeitungen zu erwähnen. Es ist die bereits erwähnte Arbeit O. Zirojevićs, die auf Grund osmanischer Quellen, sowie auf Grund von Berichten europäischer Reisender den Abschnitt Belgrad—Sofia bearbeitet. Der Route von Niš nach Edirne widmete ihre Arbeit die tschechische Ethnographin H. Hynková, die die Angaben europäischer Reisender aus dem 15. und 16. Jh. über diesen Abschnitt der Konstantinopler Heerstrasse gesammelt hatte.¹⁸

Wie bereits erwähnt, können die Angaben aus den Itinerarien als Quellen nicht nur für die Topographie dienen, sondern auch für die Geschichte des Militärwesens und nach Ergänzung durch weiteres Material auch für die Fragen der Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, einschliesslich der Wirtschaftsgeschichte.

Der Feldzug des Grosswesirs Fazıl Ahmed Pascha gegen Ungarn im Jahre 1663 war nach einem mehr als fünfzigjährigen Waffenstillstand (seit der Friedensschliessung bei der Mündung des Flusses Žitava 1606) die erste grosse Aktion des jungen Grosswesirs.¹⁹ Hauptgrund des militärischen Auftretens der Osmanen gegen die Habsburger waren Streitfragen um Siebenbürgen, zu denen später auch Einwände gegen Zerinvár (Zrínyiújvár), das N. Zrínyi in der Nähe von Kanizsa erbauen liess, um der Plünderung seiner güter durch osmanische Truppen Einhalt zu gebieten, sowie Beschwerden über die Angriffe der kaiserlichen Armeen gegen einige kleine osmanische Festungen in Ungarn kamen.²⁰ Friedensverhandlungen im Laufe des Jahres 1662 und zu Beginn des Jahres 1663 scheiterten an der Unnachgiebigkeit beider Seiten.²¹ Im April 1663 beauftragte der Sultan in Edirne den Grosswesir Köprülüade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha mit der Führung des Feldzuges und die osmanische Armee zog über Plovdiv, Sofia, Niš, Belgrad und Ofen zu den Grenzen des Habsburger Kaiserreiches. In Ofen fiel die Entscheidung, dass das osmanische Heer die Festung Uyvar (heute Nové Zámky, dt. Neuhäusel) auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei, belagert wird.²² Nach der siegreichen Schlacht bei Parkan am 6. August 1663 belagerte die osmanische Armee am 17. August 1663 Nové Zámky. Nach einer Belagerung, die über einen Monat dauerte, ergab sich die Besatzung unter der

¹⁷ Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka. In: Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti XLIX—CXXX. Zagreb 1879—1897.

¹⁸ Europäische Reiseberichte aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert als Quellen für die historische Geographie Bulgariens. Sofia 1973.

¹⁹ Siehe J. von Hammer: GOR VI, S. 107 f.; J. W. Zinkeisen: Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa IV. Gotha 1856, S. 909 f.; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı: Osmanlı Tarihi III. Cilt I. Kısım. Ankara 1973, S. 402—413.

²⁰ Huber, A.: Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen zur Pforte 1658—1664. In: Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, 85, 1898, S. 511—587.

²¹ Die Hauptrelatation des kaiserlichen Residenten in Constantinopel Simon Reniger von Reningen 1649—1666. Hrsg. von V. A. Veltzé. In: Mitt. k. k. Kriegsarch. N. F. 12. Wien 1900, S. 59—169.

²² Kopčan, V.: Ottoman Narrative Sources to the Uyvar Expedition 1663. In: Asian and African Studies, 7, 1971 (1973), S. 91—92.

Bedingung des freien Abzuges am 25. September 1663. Ausser Nové Zámky eroberten die osmanischen Armeen im Herbst 1663 noch die Burgen Neutra (Nitra), Lewenz (Levice) und Neugrad (Nógrad) und kontrollierten ausgedehnte Gebiete der heutigen West- und Mittelslowakei.²³

Die Kriegshandlungen wurden auch im Jahre 1664 weitergeführt und endeten nach der schweren Niederlage der osmanischen Truppen bei St. Gotthard mit dem Frieden in Vasvár (Eisenburg) am 10. August 1664.²⁴

Der Verlauf des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen Nové Zámky war Gegenstand eines grossen Interesses osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber. Ausser Chroniken, die einen breiteren Zeitabschnitt der osmanischen Geschichte festhalten,²⁵ entstanden über diesen Feldzug auch einzelne, im Rahmen der Geschichte des Grosswesirats Köprülüade Ahmed Paschas oder eigens diesem Feldzug gewidmete Werke.²⁶ Es muss ebenfalls erwähnt werden, dass an diesem Feldzug auch Evliya Çelebi teilgenommen hat.²⁷

Hinsichtlich der grossen Publizität des Feldzuges in den Werken osmanischer Historiker ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass auch zwei Itinerarien dieses Feldzuges erhalten blieben, die wir in diesem Beitrag veröffentlichen.

Das erste Exemplar des Itinerars befindet sich im Werk Mehmed Necatî, *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık* (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan No. 1308),²⁸ vor dem Text des eigentlichen Werkes und stammt wahrscheinlich vom Autor selbst.²⁹

Das zweite Exemplar ist unbekannten Ursprungs und es ist zur Handschrift des Werkes Kemalpaşazade, *Tarih-i Al-i Osman* (Wien, Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 46a) dazugebunden.³⁰ Ein Teil dieses Itinerars wurde von L. Fekete ins Ungarische übersetzt.³¹

²³ Matunák, M.: *Nové Zámky pod tureckým panstvom 1663—1685*. In: Slovenské pohľady, 18, 1898, S. 129 f. Siehe auch Kopčan, V.: *Osmanské naračné pramene k novozámockej výprave*. Bratislava 1973, S. 63—86 (unpublizierte Dissertation).

²⁴ Wagner, G.: *Das Türkenjahr 1664. Eine europäische Bewährung*. Eisenstadt 1964.

²⁵ Mehmed Raşid, *Tarih-i Raşid*, I. İstanbul (1282 H.). Silahdar Findıklılı Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi I. İstanbul 1928. Mehmed Halife: *Tarih-i Gilmanı*. İstanbul 1340 H. Abdî Paşa, Vakayi' name (unpubliziert).

²⁶ Hasan Ağa, *Cevahir el-tevarih* (unpubliziert). Mehmed Necatî, Ms. İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi — Revan, No. 1308. Mustafa Zühdî, *Tarih-i Uyvar*, Ms. İstanbul, Üniversite Kütüphanesi, TY 2488.

²⁷ Çelebi, Evliya: *Seyahatnamesi*, VI. İstanbul 1318 H.

²⁸ Karatay, F. E.: *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu I*. İstanbul 1961, S. 263, Nr. 812.

²⁹ Levend, A. S.: *Ğazavât-nâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ğazavât-nâmesi*. Ankara 1956, S. 119.

³⁰ Flügel, G.: *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der k.-k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien, II*. Wien 1865, S. 221.

³¹ Fekete, L.: *Mehmed Chalife „Târich“-ja az 1625—1664, évek eseményeiről*. In: Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, Budapest, 26, 1925, S. 406—407.

Das Itinerar aus Necatîs Werk hält die Stationen auf der Route von Istanbul nach Ofen, deren Entfernungen in Stunden und das Datum der Ankunft in die bedeutendsten Etappen des Marsches (Edirne, Sofia, Belgrad), die Tage der Rast oder des Aufenthaltes, die Summe der Stunden der einzelnen Etappen (wenn auch fehlerhaft) und Notizen über die Säuberung oder Wiederherstellung der Strasse fest. Das zweite Exemplar, das über die Route von Edirne bis Nové Zámky berichtet, hält ausser den Stationen und den Entfernungen zwischen diesen, den Rasttagen, bzw. Tagen des Aufenthaltes an einzelnen Orten, auch die Trinkwasserquellen unterwegs und Angaben über Brücken fest. Ausserdem bietet es auch eine kurze Übersicht über die Begebenheiten bei der Belagerung von Nové Zámky.

Bei der Marschroute Edirne—Ofen, die von beiden Itinerarien festgehalten werden, findet man die grössten Unstimmigkeiten in der Etappe Edirne—Sofia. Während Necatî 17 Stationen (*menzil*) anführt, ist die Zahl dieser in der Wiener Handschrift nur 15 und Unstimmigkeiten gibt es auch bei folgenden Stationen: Necatî hat die erste Station von Edirne Çirmen, die Wiener Handschrift Kemal Çayırı; nach der Station Saruhan Beğlü hat Necatî Köstence und die Wiener Handschrift Asyab-ı Köprüli, und darüber hinaus führt Necatî nach Papaslı Kuru Baş und nach der Station Ihtiman Minareli Köy an. Viel grösser sind die Unterschiede bei den Entfernungen zwischen den einzelnen Stationen.

Beim Abschnitt Sofia—Belgrad stimmen die Stationen beider Itinerarien überein. Unterschiede sind jedoch bei den Angaben über die Entfernung zwischen den einzelnen Stationen, obwohl sich die 'gänzliche Summe voneinander lediglich um eine Stunde unterscheidet.

Auf der Etappe Belgrad—Ofen hält die Wiener Handschrift 21 Stationen fest, während Necatî nur 20. Unterschiede sind auch in der Reihenfolge der einzelnen Stationen. Nach der Station Voyka hat die Wiener Handschrift die Station Barka, während Necatî die Station Mitroŕa (Sremska Mitrovica) und nachher die Station Dimitroŕa anführt, obwohl es klar ist, dass es sich um zwei verschiedene Namen dieses Städtchens handelt. Die Wiener Handschrift hat darüber hinaus die Station Pentelin (Dunapentele). Auch hier gibt es Unterschiede in den Angaben über die Entfernungen zwischen den einzelnen Stationen. Der Abschnitt Ofen—Neuhäusel wird lediglich von der Wiener Handschrift festgehalten.

Diese Unterschiede lassen sich wohl dadurch erklären, dass sich die Autoren in unterschiedlichen Truppen befanden, bzw. ihre Informationen verschiedentlichen Quellen entnahmen. Die Angaben aus dem Itinerar in Necatîs Werk entsprechen wahrscheinlich der Bewegung des Kerns der osmanischen Armee, in dem sich Necatî als Schreiber des Diwans befand. Die Angaben über die, mit dem Termin *saat* (Stunde) angegebenen Entfernungen zwischen den einzelnen Stationen sind anscheinend keine absoluten, sondern eher von einer Norm vorgeschriebene oder durch eine allgemeine Schätzung gewonnene Angaben.

Wir veröffentlichen Fotokopien beider Itinerarien, ihre Transkription in die

• lateinische Schrift und Erläuterungen hierzu. Wir haben uns bemüht in den Erläuterungen die heutigen Namen der Stationen festzustellen, obwohl es sich in Wirklichkeit nicht immer genau um gegenwärtige Lokalitäten handeln muss. Wir führen auch Erwähnungen über Stationen, in den jeweiligen Quellen oder in der Literatur an. Aus der *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* und Jirečeks *Die Heerstrasse* oder aus anderen Werken zitieren wir auch umfangreiche Darlegungen. Zeitliche oder andere Angaben konfrontieren wir mit Angaben aus weiteren osmanischen Quellen, vor allem mit Chroniken.

استاندارد ادرنه و ارغجه واقع اولاد سازل

متر	متر	متر
داود پاشا	متر	متر
اورمیه	متر	متر
متر	متر	متر
سکری	متر	متر
اورمیه	متر	متر

متر	متر	متر
قارشدردن	متر	متر
متر	متر	متر
متر	متر	متر
متر	متر	متر
متر	متر	متر

متر	متر
ادرنه	ادرنه
متر	متر
متر	متر

متر	متر
متر	متر
متر	متر
متر	متر

متر	متر
متر	متر
متر	متر
متر	متر

متر	متر
متر	متر
متر	متر
متر	متر

متر	متر
متر	متر
متر	متر
متر	متر

منزل فدیہ منزل ہر چلنک باغی
 ۱۴ ۲۰

منزل بازار بازاری منزل مار خان بجلی
 ۳ ۲

منزل کوسٹینجہ منزل اہمات
 ۵ ۲

منزل سارہ و کوی منزل اور مانلو
 ۶ ۳

منزل صوفیہ مکی
 ۱۴ ۱۰۶

صوفیہ دن بلفارده و آرنجہ

منزل سلقہ فی بکار منزل صاری پروت
 ۵ ۶

منزل شکر کوی منزل پتقہ مدو پاشا
 ۵ ۷

منزل ایچہ در قرب منزل نیس
 ۶ ۲

منزل علک سجد منزل قالو زاد و جفتگی
۶ ۱

منزل پرو کین منزل یا غودینه
۴ ۴

منزل با سجد منزل پلنگه و حسن پاشا
۶ ۶

منزل قولور منزل حصار جی
۶ ۴

منزل بلغراد منزل بکری
۲۲ ۲۸

منزل بلبل منزل بلغراد دن بدونه واریجه
۱۲ ۱۲

منزل رضون منزل و بیه
۱۲ ۴

منزل من و بیه منزل دی یار و بیه
۴ ۴

منزل قولور منزل طهارت
۴ ۴

منزل اولقنار	منزل دال
۱۹	۳
منزل اولسک	منزل دازده
۲۰	۳
منزل برنوار	منزل مهاج
۲۱	۵
منزل باقرسک	منزل سکار
۲۲	۴
منزل پاکش	منزل قوطار
۲۳	۵
منزل جان قدتران	منزل ارجین
۲۴	۴
منزل حمید	منزل بدون
۲۵	۲۴
۲۶	

۱۰۰ ساعت
 ۱۰۱ ساعت
 ۱۰۲ ساعت
 ۱۰۳ ساعت
 ۱۰۴ ساعت
 ۱۰۵ ساعت
 ۱۰۶ ساعت
 ۱۰۷ ساعت
 ۱۰۸ ساعت
 ۱۰۹ ساعت
 ۱۱۰ ساعت
 ۱۱۱ ساعت
 ۱۱۲ ساعت
 ۱۱۳ ساعت
 ۱۱۴ ساعت
 ۱۱۵ ساعت
 ۱۱۶ ساعت
 ۱۱۷ ساعت
 ۱۱۸ ساعت
 ۱۱۹ ساعت
 ۱۲۰ ساعت
 ۱۲۱ ساعت
 ۱۲۲ ساعت
 ۱۲۳ ساعت
 ۱۲۴ ساعت
 ۱۲۵ ساعت
 ۱۲۶ ساعت
 ۱۲۷ ساعت
 ۱۲۸ ساعت
 ۱۲۹ ساعت
 ۱۳۰ ساعت
 ۱۳۱ ساعت
 ۱۳۲ ساعت
 ۱۳۳ ساعت
 ۱۳۴ ساعت
 ۱۳۵ ساعت
 ۱۳۶ ساعت
 ۱۳۷ ساعت
 ۱۳۸ ساعت
 ۱۳۹ ساعت
 ۱۴۰ ساعت
 ۱۴۱ ساعت
 ۱۴۲ ساعت
 ۱۴۳ ساعت
 ۱۴۴ ساعت
 ۱۴۵ ساعت
 ۱۴۶ ساعت
 ۱۴۷ ساعت
 ۱۴۸ ساعت
 ۱۴۹ ساعت
 ۱۵۰ ساعت
 ۱۵۱ ساعت
 ۱۵۲ ساعت
 ۱۵۳ ساعت
 ۱۵۴ ساعت
 ۱۵۵ ساعت
 ۱۵۶ ساعت
 ۱۵۷ ساعت
 ۱۵۸ ساعت
 ۱۵۹ ساعت
 ۱۶۰ ساعت
 ۱۶۱ ساعت
 ۱۶۲ ساعت
 ۱۶۳ ساعت
 ۱۶۴ ساعت
 ۱۶۵ ساعت
 ۱۶۶ ساعت
 ۱۶۷ ساعت
 ۱۶۸ ساعت
 ۱۶۹ ساعت
 ۱۷۰ ساعت
 ۱۷۱ ساعت
 ۱۷۲ ساعت
 ۱۷۳ ساعت
 ۱۷۴ ساعت
 ۱۷۵ ساعت
 ۱۷۶ ساعت
 ۱۷۷ ساعت
 ۱۷۸ ساعت
 ۱۷۹ ساعت
 ۱۸۰ ساعت
 ۱۸۱ ساعت
 ۱۸۲ ساعت
 ۱۸۳ ساعت
 ۱۸۴ ساعت
 ۱۸۵ ساعت
 ۱۸۶ ساعت
 ۱۸۷ ساعت
 ۱۸۸ ساعت
 ۱۸۹ ساعت
 ۱۹۰ ساعت
 ۱۹۱ ساعت
 ۱۹۲ ساعت
 ۱۹۳ ساعت
 ۱۹۴ ساعت
 ۱۹۵ ساعت
 ۱۹۶ ساعت
 ۱۹۷ ساعت
 ۱۹۸ ساعت
 ۱۹۹ ساعت
 ۲۰۰ ساعت

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Menzil-i Davud Paşa | saat 1 oturak: 8 yevm |
| Fi 7 Ş(aban) sene-i (10)73 | |
| (2) Menzil-i Küçük Çekmece | saat 2 |
| (3) Menzil-i Büyük Çekmece | saat 3 |
| (4) Menzil-i Silivri | saat 6 oturak: 1 yevm |
| (5) Menzil-i Kınıklı | saat 3 |
| (6) Menzil-i Çorlu | saat 3 |
| (7) Menzil-i Karışdırın | saat 4 |
| (8) Menzil-i Bergoz | saat 4 oturak: 1 yevm |
| (9) Menzil-i Baba-ı Atık | saat 5 |
| (10) Menzil-i Hafsa | saat 3 |
| (11) Menzil-i Sazlı Dere | saat 4 |
| İhdas olması ferman oldu | |
| (12) Menzil-i Edirne | saat 2 oturak: 8 yevm |
| Fi 28 Ş(aban) sene-i (107)3 | |
| Yekûn | saat 42 (!) |

Edirne'den Sofya (!) varınca

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (13) Menzil-i Çirmen | saat 4 |
| (14) Menzil-i Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa | saat 4 |
| (15) Menzil-i Harmanlı | saat 6 |
| (16) Menzil-i Büyük Dere der kurb-ı | |
| Uzunca Abad | saat 5 |
| (17) Menzil-i Semizce | saat 4 |
| İhdasdır | |
| (18) Menzil-i Kayalı | saat 3 |
| (19) Menzil-i Papaslı | saat 4 |
| (20) Menzil-i Kuru Baş | saat 3,5 |
| İhdasdır | |
| (21) Menzil-i Filibe | saat 1,5 oturak: 3 (yevm) |
| (22) Menzil-i Nehr-i Çaltuk Baş | saat 3,5 |
| İhdasdır | |
| (23) Menzil-i Tatar Bazarı | saat 3 oturak: 1 (yevm) |
| (24) Menzil-i Saruhan Beğli | saat 3 |
| (25) Menzil-i Köstence | saat 5 |
| (26) Menzil-i İhtiman | saat 4 |
| (27) Menzil-i Minareli Köy | saat 6 |
| (28) Menzil-i Ormanlu | saat 3 |
| İhdasdır | |

(29) Menzil-i Sofya saat 1,5 oturak : 16 (yevm)
Fi 26 R(amazan) sene-i (107)3
Yekûn saat 106

Sofya'dan Belgrad'a varınca

(30) Menzil-i Halkalı Binar saat 5 oturak : 1 (yevm)
(31) Menzil-i Sarıbrod saat 6
İhdasdır
(32) Menzil-i Şehir Köy saat 5
(33) Menzil-i Palanka-ı Musa Paşa saat 7
(34) Menzil-i İlçe-i der kurb-ı Niş saat 6
İhdasdır
(35) Menzil-i Niş saat 2 oturak : 2 (yevm)
(36) Menzil-i Aleksince saat 6
(37) Menzil-i Kınaluzade Çiftliği saat 8
(38) Menzil-i Perakin saat 3
(39) Menzil-i Yagodına saat 4 oturak : 1 (yevm)
(40) Menzil-i Batınca saat 6
(41) Menzil-i Palanka-ı Hasan Paşa saat 6
(42) Menzil-i Kolar saat 5
(43) Menzil-i Hıarcık saat 4
(44) Menzil-i Belgrad saat 5 oturak : 10 (yevm)

Fi 2 Zil(hicce) sene-i(107) 3

Yekûn saat 284

Cisr-i saat 1/2 Adem-i aded : 3.346

Belgrad'dan Budun'a varınca

(45) Menzil-i Zemun saat 1,5 oturak : 2 (yevm)
(46) Menzil-i Voyka saat 4
Kuyulardır
(47) Menzil-i Mitrofça saat 3,5
(48) Menzil-i Dimitrofça saat 3
(49) Menzil-i Kulufça saat 4
Kuyulardır
(50) Menzil-i Tovarnık saat 4
Kuyulardır
(51) Menzil-i Vulkovar saat 5
(52) Menzil-i Dal saat 3
İhdasdır
(53) Menzil-i Ösek saat 2 oturak : 6 (yevm)

Cisr-i saat 1,5 Adem-i aded : 6.650

2a

2b

(54) Menzil-i Darda	saat 3 oturak: 1 (yevm)
(55) Menzil-i Paranvar	saat 4
(56) Menzil-i Mihac	saat 5
(57) Menzil-i Batosek	saat 4 Baran-ı azîm
(58) Menzil-i Seksar	saat 4
(59) Menzil-i Bakşa	saat 5
(60) Menzil-i Fotvar	saat 5 oturak: 1 (yevm)
(61) Menzil-i Can Kurtaran	saat 8
(62) Menzil-i Ercîn	saat 3,5
(63) Menzil-i Hamza Beg	saat 3
(64) Menzil-i Budun	saat 2,5 oturak: 13 (yevm)
Yekûn saat 361	

124a

Der beyan-ı Vezir-i âzam Köprüli Paşa oğlu Ahmed Paşa Hazretleri Edirne'den Sefer-i hümayuna tevcih buyurduklarında nüzul olunan menazillerdir

Fi 6 şehr-i Ramazan el-mübarek sene-i 1073

(1) Kemal Çayırı	su-yı hark	saat 2,5
(2) Mustafa Paşa Köprüsi	su-yı nehr-i Meriç Meriç üzerinde köpri-yi âzam	saat 3,5
(3) Harmanlı	su-yı nehir	saat 6
Öne (!) köpri-yi taşdır		
(4) Ulu Dere der kurb-ı Uzunca Ova	su-yı çay	saat 5
(5) Karye-yi Semizce	su-yı çay	saat 4
(6) Kıalu	su-yı çay	saat 4
(7) Papaslı	su-yı çay	saat 6
Mabeyinde Köpri-yi 'aded		
(8) Filibe	su-yı nehr-i Meriç üzerinde köpri-yi âzam	saat 6 oturak: 3 yevm
(9) Çeltik		saat 5
(10) Tatar Bazarı	su-yı çay	saat 3
(11) Saruhan Beğli	su-yı çay	saat 4
(12) Asyab-ı Köprüli	su-yı çay	saat 6 Derbent
(13) İhtiman		saat 4
(14) Ormanlı		saat 6
(15) Sofya	su-yı çay	saat 6 oturak: 16 yevm
(16) Halka Binar	su-yı çay	saat 6 oturak: 1 yevm
(17) Sarıbirot	su-yı nehir	aded 6
Mabeyinde iki köpri		
(18) Şehir Köy	su-yı nehir	saat 5

	(19) Palanka-yı Musa Paşa	saat 6
	su-yı nehir	
	(20) İlice	saat 6
	su-yı çay	
	Mabeyinde köpri	
	(21) Niş su-yı nehir İçinde köpri	saat 2 oturak : 3 yevm
	(22) Aleksince	saat 6
	su-yı nehir	
	(23) Çiftlik-i Kınalı oğlu	saat 7
	su-yı hark	
	(24) Perakin	saat 3
	su-yı çay	
	Mabeyinde âzam köpri ve bir iki küçük köpri	
	(25) Yagoduna	saat 5 oturak : 2 yevm
	(26) Batorçına	saat 6
	su-yı çay	
	(27) Palanka-yı Hasan Paşa	saat 6
	su-yı çay Önünde bir köpri	
	(28) Kolar	saat 5
	su-yı çeşmeler	
	(29) Hisarcık	saat 4
	su-yı Tuna	
	(30) Belgrad	saat 4 oturak : 11 yevm
	Mabeyinde Sava'da cisr-i âzam	
	(31) Zemun	saat 2 oturak : 2 yevm
	su-yı Tuna	
	(32) Vatka	saat 5
	su-yı kuyulardır	
	Mabeyinde Sava kurbına konuldu	
	(33) Barka	saat 4
	(34) Kasaba-yı Mitroviçe	saat 3
	su-yı Sava	
	(35) Sahra-yı Kuyufça	saat 4
	su-yı kuyu ve göl	
	(36) Tovarmı	saat 5
	su-yı kuyu ve akar su	
	Mabeyin nısfında kale-yi Nemçedir bala-yı Tuna	
	(37) Vukavar	saat 4
	su-yı nehr-i Vuka	
	Önünde bir âzam köpri var Mabeyinde köpri-yi aded	
	(38) Sahra-yı Dal	saat 3
	su-yı Drava	
	(39) Kasaba-yı kale-yi Ösek	saat 3 oturak : 8 yevm
	su-yı Drava	
124b	(40) Darda	saat 2,5 oturak : 1 yevm
	su-yı Drava	
	Bir buçuk saatlik zaman köpridir	
	Mabeyinde iki köpri var	
	(41) Birnovar	saat 3
	su-yı	
	Mabeyinde bir köpri	
	(42) Mihac	saat 5
	su-yı Tuna	
	Nısf-ı mabeyinde Palanka-yı Seçeві var Dörd mahalde köpri var	
	(43) Batosek	saat 4
	su-yı nehr-i cari	

- Mabeyinde Batosek yanında bir köpri var
- (44) Senkhisar saat 3
su-yı göl ve nehr-i cari
Bundan buçuk saatlikdir Yeni Palanka ve önünde köpri var
- (45) Pakşa su-yı Tuna saat 5,5
- (46) Fotvar su-yı Tuna saat 5,5
Bir saatlik berü tarafına konuldu oturak : 1 yevm
Mabeyinde bir köpri var
- (47) Pentelin su-yı Tuna saat 3
Mabeyinde bir köpri var Can Kurtaran kurbındadır
- (48) Can Kurtaran su-yı Tuna saat 4,5
Saat 7,5 ikisini bir edüb konuldu
Mabeyinde bir köpri var Can Kurtaran karib
- (49) Erçin saat 4
Bir taş küçük köpri var
- (50) Hamza Beg saat 4
- (51) Budun saat 2,5 oturak : 12 yevm
Zilhiccenin on birinci günü nüzül olunmuşdur
- (52) Vadi-yi Kara Gavga saat 3
su-yı derede bir nehir
İkisi beyinde Kızıl Hisar nam bir palanka vardır
- (53) Kale-yi Estergon saat 6
oturak : 7 yevm yedi gün
su-yı Tuna ve nehir
- Tuna üzerinde üstüvar olunan cistr-i h... ubur olunub Ciğerdelen'e konuldu Fi 4 Muharrem sene-i (10) 74, pencşenbih Saat 1
- İşbu Estergon oturağında iken Tuna üzerine üstüvar olan cistr bin yetmiş dört Muharrem gurresi duşenbih günü vakt-i zuhrda tamam olub ol saatde Paşalardan altı yedi Beğlerbeği ve nice asker ahşama dek ve acire (?) dek geçmiş idi Ökvar Kırall Forkaşı nam Macar-ı pelid ol gün iki bin Nemçe ve Macar anıdlar ile ılgar edüb köpri-yi na-tamam mülâhazasıle basdık Ve guzat-i müslimin göz açdırmıyub cümle-yi evvelde bozub ta kalesine dek takib edüb yüz kadar kimesne ile ancak kendüsi halâs olub baki bilcümle tama-yı şemşir ve bin yedi yüzi (!) esir-i zincir olmuşdur Bu gaza mah-i mezburun ikinci günü yevm-i salı vaki olmuşdur
- (54) Ciğerdelen oturak : 3 yevm
- (55) Menzil-i Karye-yi Yaz Faluya saat 5
su-yı göldir
- (56) Menzil-i Karye-yi Utvar saat 2 oturak : 1 yevm
Mabeyinde bir köpri var

- (57) Menzil-i Sahra-yı Kale-yı Ökvar
 der canib-i şarkî saat 0,5 oturak : 1 yevm
 Mabeyinde bir köpri var
- (58) Menzil-i diğer Sahra-yı Kale-yı mezbur
 der canib-i garbî saat 0,5
 Fî 12 Muharrem yevm-i azîne

Bu menzile mah-i Muharrem'in on ikinci Cuma gün otak-ı hümayun nazil olub dahi ol ahşam ki şenbih gecesidir meterise girilmiştir Ve mah-i mezburun yirmi dördüncü günü çeharşenbih gün Hanzade Sultan ve Yalı Ağası ve Kagılgay seksen bin Tatarla ve Hatvan (!) iki bin Kazakla gelüb ve ertesi Eflak Beği ve Boğdan Beği otuz bin askerle gelüb cümlesine ziyafet verüb yedlerine hil'at ihsan olmuştur.

Ve mah-i Muharrem'in âhîrinde Beyko Ali Paşa ki Rumili Beğlerbeğisidir ve mah-i Saferin sekizinde Sipahi Ağası San'ullah Ağa ve on dokuzunda Anadolu Beğlerbeğisi Yusuf Paşa şehid olmuştur Ve mah-i mezburun on beşinden yirmisine dek bir kaç defa yürüşlerdir Çorbacılar ve Alay Beği ve Serdengeçti Ağaları ve nice şehbazlar serdengeçüb şehid olmuşlardır Ve yirminci yevm-i selâse yedlerine vere edüb iki gün mehl ile çeharşenbih gün ol hâksarlar çıkub Müslimîn girmişlerdir Ve mah-i mezburun dokuzunda Kapucılar Kethüdası gelüb Reis Samizade'nin ve Damadının başını alub götürmüştür.

ERLÄUTERUNGEN

İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan No. 1308. Die von Pforte bis Edirne sich befindenden Stationen.

1. Station Davud Paşa. 1 Stunde. Aufenthalt: 8 Tage. Am 7. Şaban des Jahres 1073 H./17. März 1663

„... Däüd Pascha, welcher der Knecht albanischer Herkunft des Sultans Mehmed II. war, später Bei von Bosnien, Beilerbei von Anadolu und dann 14 Jahre lang (1483—1497) Grosswesir. Später erhielt er zu besseren Unterscheidung den Beinamen (laqab) Oğa. Er war es, der ausserhalb der Stadtmauer von Istanbul jenes Saray erbaute, nach dem dann das dortige Feld, der Ausgangspunkt der in europäische Kriege ziehenden Heere, Däüd Paşa şağrası („Däüd Pascha-Feld“) hiess.“ L. Fekete, Das Siyâqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung. I. Budapest 1955, S. 164, Fussnote 1. Siehe auch M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, XV—XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı. İstanbul 1952, S. 405 f. Silahdar Tarihi I. İstanbul 1928, S. 238 „Ve dokuzuncu düşenbih gün (19. März 1663) Padişah-ı âlempenah... İstanbuldan çıkub Davud Paşa sahrasına otağ-ı hümayunlarına şeref-i nüzül buyurdılar... Ve ol faza-yı dîlküşade altı gün ikamet buyurılıb...“ Ähnlich auch Mehmed Halife, Tarih-i Gılmanı. İstanbul 1340 H., S. 75. Necatî, 5a bestätigt die Angaben des İtinerars.

2. Station Küçük Çekmece. 2 Stunden.

Heute: Küçük Çekmece. Rumeli und Bosna geographisch beschrieben von Mustafa Ben Abdalla Hadschi Chalfa. Aus dem Türkischen übersetzt von J. von Hammer. Wien 1812, S. 60 „10 Miglien

von Constantinopel“. Hammer, GOR, III, S. 798. C. J. Jireček, Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe. Prag 1877, S. 134.

3. Station Büyük Çekmece. 3 Stunden.

Heute: Büyük Çekmece. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 60. GOR, III, S. 798. Ahmed Feridun Beg, Münşeat üs-selatin II. İstanbul 1275 H., S. 408. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 134.

4. Station Silivri. 6 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.

Heute: Silivri. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 60. GOR, III, S. 799. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 134. „Über Lagunenmündung begann Suleiman 1563 anstatt der alten röm.-byz. Brücke, eine neue zu bauen, ... der unter Selim II. vollendet wurde.“

5. Station Kınıklı. 3 Stunden.

Heute: Keniklü. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 189 — Kınıklı. GOR, III, S. 799 — Kınıklı richtiger Koinikli.

6. Station Çorlu. 3 Stunden.

Heute: Çorlu. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 19. GOR, III, S. 799. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 134. F. Tauer, Histoire de campagne du Sultan Suleyman I^{er} contre Belgrade en 1521. Prague 1924, S. 26.

7. Station Karışdıran. 4 Stunden.

Heute: Büyük Karıştrın. Feridun, II, S. 408. GOR, III, S. 799. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 133. Tauer, Histoire, S. 26.

8. Station Bergoz. 4 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.

Heute: Lüleburgaz. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 20. GOR, III, S. 799. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 133. Tauer, Histoire, S. 26.

9. Station Baba-ı Atık. 5 Stunden.

Heute: Babaeski. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 22. GOR, III, S. 799—800 — Baba Eskisi oder Eski Baba. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 133 — Eski Baba alte Bulgarofygon. Tauer, Histoire, S. 26.

10. Station Hafsa. 3 Stunden.

Heute: Havsa. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 22. GOR, III, S. 800. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 133. Tauer, Histoire, S. 26.

11. Station Sazlı Dere. 4 Stunden. Es wurde zur Erneuerung (der Strasse) befehlt.

Heute: Sofern es um die Lokalisierung des Ortes geht, siehe: M. T. Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı, S. 205. Die Station dieses Namens in einer anonymen persischen Beschreibung des Feldzuges von Sultan Süleyman I. im Jahre 1521 gegen Belgrad sich erwähnt erst zwischen Hisarlı und Geçerlü, siehe Tauer, Histoire, S. 27.

12. Station Edirne. 2 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 8 Tage. Zusammen 42 (richtig 40) Stunden. Am 28. Şaban des Jahres 1073 H./7. April 1663.

Heute: Edirne. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 1—5. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 133. Tauer, Histoire, S. 26. Hynková, S. 82—83.
Necati, 5a. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 237. Mehmed Halife, S. 75.

Von Edirne bis Sofia

13. Station Çirmen. 4 Stunden.

Heute: Ormenion (Griechenland). Rumeli und Bosna, S. 49. GOR, III, S. 801 „Rechts von der

Strasse, welche auf dem rechten Ufer der Mariza (d. i. des Hebrus) fortläuft, liegt im Gebirge Tschirimen, der Hauptort des gleichnamigen Sandschaks...". Hynková, S. 81.

14. Station Cisir-i Mustafa Pascha. 4 Stunden.

Heute: Svilengrad (Bulgarien). Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 49. GOR, III, S. 800 und VI, S. 282, und 751. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 132. Hynková, S. 79—81.

15. Station Harmanlı. 6 Stunden.

Heute: Charmanlı. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 50. GOR, III, S. 801 und VI, S. 282 und 751. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 132. Hynková, S. 77.

16. Station Büyük Dere der kurb-ı Uzunca Abad. 5 Stunden.

Heute: Goljam dol bei Uzundžova. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 5. GOR, III, S. 801 „... so heisst das lange Thal, der kleine Ort auf der Höhe des Passes rechts Owadschik...". Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 132. Tauer, Histoire, S. 27. Hynková, S. 73.

17. Station Semizce. 4 Stunden. (Die Strasse) ist erneuert.

Heute: Klokotnica. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 184. GOR, III, S. 801 und VI, S. 282. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 132 „... und Semizče (türk. fettlich) noch 1553 Klokotnica genannt, an der Banska Virovo seit dem XVI. Jahrhundert nicht mehr genannt...". Hynková, S. 70—71.

18. Station Kayalı. 3 Stunden.

Heute: Filevo, ehemalige Vărbica. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 184 — Kiali. GOR, III, S. 801 und VI, S. 282. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 132 — Kajali. Hynková, S. 68.

19. Station Papaslı. 4 Stunden.

Heute: Popovica. Feridun, II, S. 408 — 6 Stunden von Kayalı. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 184. GOR, III, S. 802 und VI, S. 282. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 132: „Die letzte Station war entweder Konuş im Binneland oder Papazlı näher an der Maritza mit einem grossen Chan...". Hynková, S. 67.

20. Station Kuru Baş. 3,5 Stunden. (Die Strasse) ist erneuert.

Heute: nicht identifizierbar. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 184 — Kurubaschi. GOR, VI, S. 282 — Kuribaschi.

21. Station Filibe. 1,5 Stunde. Aufenthalt: 3 Tage.

Heute: Plovdiv. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 52. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 131. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 241 „Yedinci menzilde ki şehir-i mezburun on birinci ruz-ı cumada Filibe'ye varılıb dört gün meksiden sonra kalkıldı". Hynková, S. 64—65.

22. Station Nehr-i Çaltuk Baş. 3,5 Stunden. (Die Strasse) ist erneuert.

Heute: Orizare. GOR, III, S. 802

23. Station Tatar Bazarı. 3 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.

Heute: Pazardžik. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 55. GOR, III, S. 802. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 130 Das Städtchen wurden im Jahre 1485 von Bayezid II. an der Mündung der Flüsse Maritza und Topolnitza gegründet. Seine ersten Einwohner waren die Tataren aus Bessarabien. Tauer, Histoire, S. 29. Hynková, S. 60—61.

24. Station Saruhan Beğli. 3 Stunden.

Heute: Septemvri, ehemalige Saranbej. GOR, III, S. 802. M. T. Gökbilgin, op. cit., S. 407, 410, 498. Hynková, S. 60.

25. Station Köstence. 5 Stunden.

Heute: Kostenec. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 56. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 130 „Im XVII. und XVIII.

Jahrhundert reiste man meist durch den leichteren Sulu Derbent, überschritt die Maritza einige Stunden unterhalb ihrer Quelle, betrat die grosse bosnische Strasse bei Kostenec (Köstence) und ritt auf ihr am Chan von Gabrovitza vorbei..." Hynková, S. 59.

26. Station Ihtiman. 4 Stunden.

Heute: Ihtiman. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 57. GOR, III, S. 802. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 129. Tauer, Histoire, S. 29. Hynková, S. 35—37.

27. Station Minareli Köy. 6 Stunden.

Heute: Wahrscheinlich Vakarel. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 128. Hynková, S. 32—35.

28. Station Ormanlu. 3 Stunden. (Die Strasse) ist erneuert.

Heute: Lesnovo, ehemalige Ormanli. GOR, III, S. 802. J. Grzegorzewski, Z sidzylatów, S. 103.

29. Station Sofya. 1,5 Stunde. Aufenthalt: 16 Tage. Zusammen 106 Stunden. Am 26. Ramazan des Jahres 1073 H./4. Mai 1663.

Heute: Sofia. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 51. GOR, III, S. 803. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 128—29. Tauer, Histoire, S. 29.

Necati, 6b. Cevahir el-tevarih, Wiener Handschrift (H. O. 84a) 9a, Pariser Handschrift (Suppl. turc 506) 7b. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 241. Mehmed Halife, S. 75.

Von Sofia bis Belgrad

30. Station Halkalı Binar. 5 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.

Heute: Slivnica. GOR, III, S. 803. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 127—128. Zirojević, S. 192. Hynková, S. 26.

Cevahir el-tevarih, W 9b, P 7b. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 242. Mehmed Halife, S. 75.

31. Station Saribrot. 6 Stunden. (Die Strasse) ist erneuert.

Heute: Dimitrovgrad, ehemalige Caribrod (Jugoslawien). Der name Saribrot oder in zweiten Itinerar Saribrot ist unzweifelhaft türkische Verballhornung des slawischen Caribrod. GOR, VI, S. 751 — Ssari Beirut, Pass von Dragoman. Zirojević, S. 189—190. Hynková, S. 23.

32. Station Şehir Köy. 6 Stunden.

Heute: Pirot. Feridun, II, S. 408. GOR, III, S. 803. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 127 „Pirot, tür. Şarköi war im XVI. Jahrhundert ein schöner Marktflecken...". Zirojević, S. 185—188. Hynková, S. 20. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 242.

33. Station Palanka-ı Musa Pascha. 7 Stunden.

Heute: Bela Palanka. GOR, III, S. 804. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 126—127. Zirojević, S. 182—183.

34. Station İllice-i der kurb-ı Niş. 6 Stunden. (Die Strasse) ist erneuert.

Heute: Niška Banja. Feridun, I, S. 508. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 58. GOR, III, S. 804 „Unmittelbar vor Nissa ist der siebente oder erste Pass, an dessen Ausgang gegen Nissa ein warmes Bad, ... bey den Türken aber Ilidsche heisst." Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 126. Zirojević, S. 179—180.

35. Station Niş. 2 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 3 Tage.

Heute: Niş. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 58. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 126. Zirojević, S. 172—176. Hynková, S. 12—13.

Cevahir el-tevarih, W 9b, P 8a. Silahdar Tarihi I, S. 242.

36. Station Aleksince. 6 Stunden.

Heute: Aleksinac. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 125—126 „... es war eine Stadt mit einem berühmten

Markte. Die Alexina Palanka erscheint zuerst 1616 ; seit der Zeit ist der Weg von diesem Ort nicht abgewichen“. Zirojević, S. 164—166.

37. Station Kinaluzade Çiftliği. 8 Stunden.

Heute: Ražanj. GOR, VI, S. 751 — Maierhof von Kinalioghlı. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 125. Zirojević, S. 161—162.

38. Station Perakin. 3 Stunden.

Heute: Paračin. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 147. GOR, VI, S. 751. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 125. Zirojević, S. 158—159.

39. Station Yagodina. 4 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.

Heute: Jagodina. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 153. GOR, VI, S. 751. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 125 „... das freundliche Städtchen Jagodna mit 4 Karawanserais, 2 Moscheen mit Marmorbrunnen...“. Fekete, Siyāqat-Schrift, S. 809. Zirojević, S. 26—27, 138—142.

40. Station Batnca. 6 Stunden.

Heute: Batočina. Feridun, II, S. 408. GOR, VI, S. 751. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 124. Zirojević, S. 155—156.

41. Station Palanka-ı Hasan Pascha. 6 Stunden.

Heute: Smederevska Palanka. Feridun, II, S. 408. GOR, VI, S. 751. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 124 „Bela Crkva (Ak kilisa) oder Büyük Palanka oder... Hasan Pascha Palanka genannt, an der Jasenica“. Zirojević, S. 150—152.

42. Station Kolar. 5 Stunden.

Heute: Kolari. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 186. GOR, VI, S. 751. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 124. Zirojević, S. 149—150.

43. Station Hisarcık. 4 Stunden.

Heute: Grocka. Feridun, II, S. 408. GOR, VI, S. 751. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 124. Zirojević, S. 119—121.

44. Station Belgrad. 5 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 10 Tage. Zusammen: 284 (nur 184) Stunden. Am 2. Zilhicce des Jahres 1073 H./23. Juni 1663.

Heute: Beograd. Feridun, II, S. 408. Rumeli und Bosna, S. 149—152. Jireček, Heerstrasse, S. 122—123. Zirojević, S. 21—22.

Cevahir el-tevarih, P 8a—10b, W 10a—13a. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 242—45. Mehmed Halife, S. 75. Necatî, 6a—b.

Die Brücke 1/2 Stunde. Zahl der Schritte 3.346.

Von Belgrad bis Buda

45. Station Zemun. 1,5 Stunde. Aufenthalt: 2 Tage.

Heute: Zemun.

Cevahir el-tevarih, P 10b, W 13a. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 245.

46. Station Voyka. 4 Stunden. Brunnen.

Heute: Voyka. Necatî, 6a „Velâkin Ösek nam mahale varınca bir kaç menzilde su olmıyub ... kuyuya muhtac oldukları ecilden asâkir-i islam vardıkda zaruret çekilmemek üzere mukaddim adamlar gidüb her menzilde bir kaç yüz kuyular hafr olunması ferman olunmuşdur“.

47. Station Mitrofça. 3,5 Stunden.
 Heute: Sremska Mitrovica. Die osmanischen Quellen nennen Sremska Mitrovica Mitrofça (z. B. Evliya Çelebi; Seyahatname, VI, S. 173—75) oder Dimitrofça (z. B. Mehmed Halife, S. 76). Der Abschnitt aus Vojka bis Sremska Mitrovica war ziemlich lang. Die Angabe des Itinerars aus der Wiener Handschrift, die Station Barka anführt, ist wahrscheinlicher.
48. Station Dimitrofça. 3 Stunden.
 Heute: Sremska Mitrovica. Mehmed Halife, S. 76 „Mah-ı Zilkadenin on altısında cuma günü Dimitrofça nam kasaba kurbında konuldr“.
49. Station Kulufça. 4 Stunden. Brunnen.
 Heute: Kukujevcı. Mehmed Halife, S. 76.
50. Station Tovarnik. 4 Stunden. Brunnen.
 Heute: Tovarnik. Mehmed Halife, S. 76. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 176.
51. Station Valkovar. 5 Stunden.
 Heute: Vukovar. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 176—177.
52. Station Dal. 3 Stunden. (Die Strasse) ist erneuert.
 Heute: Dalj.
53. Station Ösek. 2 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 6 Tage.
 Heute: Osijek. Necatî, 6b. Cevahir el-tevarih, P 10b, W 13a. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 245 gibt 7 Tage des Aufenthaltes. Mehmed Halife, S. 77. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 178—188.
 Die Brücke: 1,5 Stunde. Zahl der Schritte 6.650.
54. Station Darda. 3 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.
 Heute: Darda. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 248. Evliya Çelebi VI, S. 188.
55. Station Paranvar. 4 Stunden.
 Heute: Branjin Vrh. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 189.
56. Station Mihac. 5 Stunden.
 Heute: Mohács. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 189—192.
57. Station Batosek. 4 Stunden. Grosser Regen.
 Heute: Bátorsek. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 203—204.
58. Station Seksar. 4 Stunden.
 Heute: Szekszárd. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 204—205.
59. Station Bakşa. 5 Stunden.
 Heute: Paks. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 206—207.
60. Station Fotvar. 5 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.
 Heute: Dunaföldvár. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 207—208. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 248.
61. Station Can Kurtañan. 8 Stunden.
 Osmanische Palanke am rechten Ufer der Donau, bei Adony. L. Fekete, Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nicolaus Esterházy. Budapest 1932, S. 352.
62. Station Ercin. 3,5 Stunden.
 Heute: Ercsi. Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 212.

63. Station Hamza Beg. 3 Stunden.

Heute: Erd. Evlyia Çelebi, VI, S. 212—213. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 248.

64. Station Budun. 2,5 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 13 Tage. Zusammen 361 (!) Stunden.

Heute: Buda, Theil von Budapest, am rechten Ufer der Donau. Necatî, 7a. Cevahir el-tevarih, P 11a—12a, W 13b—15a. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 248—254. Mehmed Halife, S. 80 gibt den Aufenthalt in Buda nur mit 12 Tagen an.

Wien, Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 46a.

Die Beschreibung der Stationen, auf denen sich seine Exzellenz der Grosswesir Ahmed Pascha, Sohn des Köprülü Pascha aufhielt, als er im Begriff war sich von Edirne zum kaiserlichen Feldzug aufzumachen.

1. Kemal Çayırı. 2,5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Bewässerungskanal.

Heute: Kemal? GOR, VI, S. 769 „Die Wiese Kemaltschair, 1 Stunde vor der Stadt (Edirne), auf dem Wege nach Akbunar und Bujukderbend.“ VI, S. 751 — Kemaltschairi.

2. (14) Mustafa Pascha Köprüsi. 3,5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss Maritza. Über dem (Fluss) Maritza eine grosse Brücke.

3. (15) Harmanlı. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss. Vor (Station) eine Steinbrücke. (Jireček, S. 132 „Harmanli hatte eine 160 Schritte lange steinerne Brücke über den Uzundschaffluss...“)

4. (16) Ulu Dere der kurb-ı Uzunca Ova. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

5. (17) Dorf Semizce. 4 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

6. (18) Kialu. 4 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

7. (19) Papaslı. 6 Stunden Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

Zwischen ihnen die Zahl der Brücken:

8. (21) Filibe. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus Maritza, über dem (Fluss) eine grosse Brücke. Aufenthalt: 3 Tage.

9. (22) Çeltik. 5 Stunden.

10. (23) Tatar Bazarı. 3 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

11. (24) Saruhan Beğli. 4 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

12. Asyab-ı Köprüli. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss. Engpass. (Wahrscheinlich sog. Sulu Derbent, heute Momin Prochod.)

13. (26) İhtiman. 4 Stunden.

14. (28) Ormanlı. 6 Stunden.

15. (29) Sofya. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss. Aufenthalt: 16 Tage.

16. (30) Halka Binar. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.

17. (31) Sarıbırot. Die Zahl 6. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

Zwischen ihnen zwei Brücken:

18. (32) Şehir Köy. 5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

19. (33) Palanka-yı Musa Pascha. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

20. (34) İlice. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.

Zwischen ihnen eine Brücke.

21. (35) Niš. 2 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 3 Tage. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss. In (der Stadt) die Brücke. (Es handelt sich um die Brücke über Nišava. Siehe Zirojević, S. 35.)
22. (36) Aleksince. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.
23. (37) Çiftlik-i Kınalı oğlu. 7 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Kanal.
24. (38) Perakin. 3 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.
Zwischen ihnen eine grosse Brücke und eins-zwei kleine Brücken. (Es handelt sich um die Brücken über die Morava.)
25. (39) Yagoduna. 5 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 2 Tage.
26. (40) Batořina. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss.
27. (41) Palanka-yı Hasan Pascha. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss. Vor (der Station) eine Brücke. (Die Brücke über die Jasenica.)
28. (42) Kolar. 5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus den Quellen.
29. (43) Hisarcık. 4 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus der Donau.
30. (44) Belgrad. 4 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 11 Tage.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
Zwischen ihnen über die Sava eine grosse Brücke.
31. (45) Zemun. 2 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 2 Tage. Trinkwasser aus der Donau.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
32. (46) Votka. 5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus den Brunnen.
Zwischen ihnen in der Nähe der Sava wurde gelagert.
33. Barka. 4 Stunden.
Heute: Jarak. Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406. G. Fehér, Recent Data on the Turkish Campaign of 1543. In: Studia Turcica. Budapest 1971, S. 165.
34. (47) Städtchen Mitroviça. 3 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus der Sava.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
35. (49) Feld von Kuyufça. 4 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Brunnen und aus dem See.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
36. (50) Tovarni. 5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Brunnen und vom fliessenden Wasser.
Feteke: HK, 26, S. 406.
In der Hälfte zwischen ihnen ist die „nemçe“ Festung, über der Donau.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406 gibt folgende ungarische Übersetzung „Ez és a következő hely közt, a Busa mellett fekszik Nemce vára.“
37. (51) Vukavar. 4 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Fluss Vuka.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
Vor (der Station) gibt es eine grosse Brücke.
Zwischen ihnen die Zahl der Brücken: _
38. (52) Feld von Dal. 3 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus der Drava.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406

39. (53) Städtchen der Burg von Ösek. 3 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 8 Tage. Trinkwasser aus der Drava.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
40. (54) Darda. 2,5 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag. Trinkwasser aus der Drava.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
Ein und eine halbstündliche Dauer des Übergangs über die Brücke.
Zwischen ihnen sind zwei Brücken.
41. (55) Baranvar. 3 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus...
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
Zwischen ihnen eine Brücke.
42. (56) Mihac. 5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus der Donau.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
In der Hälfte zwischen ihnen gibt es die Palanke Seçevi. An vier Orten sind die Brücken.
(Es handelt sich um die Palanke Szekcső, heute Dunaszekcső am rechten Ufer der Donau.)
43. (57) Batosek. 4 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem fließenden Wasser.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
Zwischen ihnen in Nähe von Báticaszek gibt es eine Brücke.
44. (58) Senkhisar. 3 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem See und aus dem fließenden Wasser.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
Von hier eine halbe Stunde gibt es Yeni Palanke und vor ihr die Brücke. (Es handelt sich um eine Puszta namens Palanka im Komitat Tolna. Siehe Evlija Cselebi magyarországi utazásai I. Budapest 1904, S. 206.)
45. (59) Pakşa. 5,5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus der Donau.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
46. (60) Fotvar. 5,5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus der Donau. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
Eine Stunde wurde auf dieser Seite gelagert.
Zwischen ihnen gibt es eine Brücke.
47. Pentelin. 3 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus der Donau.
Heute: Dunapentelen. Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
Zwischen ihnen gibt es eine Brücke, in der Nähe von Can Kurtaran.
48. (61) Can Kurtaran. 4,5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus der Donau.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
Die zwei (Stationen) wurden vereinigt und wurden gelagert. 7,5 Stunden.
49. (62) Erçin. 4 Stunden. Eine kleine Steinbrücke.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.
50. (63) Hamza Beg. 4 Stunden.
Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.

51. (64) Budun. 2,5 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 12 Tage. Am 11. Zilhicce (17. Juli 1663) drang sie ein.

Necatî, 7a. Cevahir el-tevarih, P 11a, W 13b. Silahdar Tarihi, I, S. 248.

52. Tal von Kara Gavga. 3 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem Bach im Tal.

Heute: Ein Tal zwischen Pilisvörösvár und Piliscsaba. Silahdar Tarihi I, S. 253 spricht von Station Visegrád. Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406—407.

Zwischen beiden befindet sich eine Palanke namens Kızılhisar. (Es handelt sich um Pilisvörösvár. Siehe auch Evliya Çelebi, VI, S. 257.)

53. Festung von Estergom. 6 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus der Donau und aus dem Bach. Aufenthalt: 7 Tage.

Heute: Esztergom, dt. Gran.

Necatî, 8b—10b. Cevahir el-tevarih, P 18a—19b, W 22b—24b. Silahdar Tarihi I, S. 254. Tarih-i Raşid, I, S. 38—39. Mehmed Halife, S. 80—82. Evliya Çelebi VI, S. 256—78. Fekete: HK 26, S. 407.

Sie überquerten die Brücke, die sie fest über die Donau errichteten und bezogen Lager bei Ciğerdelen. Am. 4. Muharrem 1074 Jahres. Donnerstag (!). 1 Stunde. (8. August 1663.)

Als sie sich in Estergom aufhielten, am ersten Tag (des Monats) Muharrem des Jahres 1074 (5. August 1663), am Montag zu Mittag wurde die Brücke über die Donau fertiggestellt. Zu jener Stunde sechs oder sieben Beğlerbeği aus den Paschas und manche Soldaten bis zum Abend und ... gingen hinüber (auf die andere Seite). Der König von Neuhäusel mit Namen Forkaşî (Graf Adam Forgách), ein unsauberer Ungare, kam plötzlich an diesem Tag mit zwölftausend deutschen und ungarischen Dickköpfen im Glauben die Brücke sei noch nicht fertig, und griffen an. Die muslimischen Kämpfer, ohne sich Ruhe zu gönnen, schlugen zuerst alle und verfolgten sie bis zu derer Festung. Es retteten sich von ihnen nur kaum hundert Leute. Alle anderen wurden ein Futter des Schwertes und eintausend siebenhundert (Menschen) wurden gefangen genommen. Diese Schlacht spielte sich ab am zweiten Tag des erwähnten Monats, am Dienstag. (Die Schlacht bei Ciğerdelen — Parkán fand am 6. August 1663 statt und die osmanischen Armeen besiegten in ihr den Befehlshaber der Festung Neuhäusel Adam Forgách und weitere Kommandanten mit dem Heer der Festung Neuhäusel, sowie Truppen ungarischer Insurgenten aus einigen Komitaten.)

54. Ciğerdelen. Aufenthalt: 3 Tage.

Heute: Štúrovo, ehemalige Parkán (Tschechoslowakei). Necatî, 11a. Cevahir el-tevarih, P 19b, W 24a.

55. Station das Dorf Yaz Faluya. 5 Stunden. Trinkwasser aus dem See.

Heute: Jásová. Fekete: HK, 26, S. 407.

56. Station das Dorf Utvar. 2 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.

Heute: Dvory nad Žitavou. Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.

Zwischen ihnen gibt es eine Brücke.

57. Station das Feld von Ukvar von der östlichen Seite. 2 Stunden. Aufenthalt: 1 Tag.

Heute: Nové Zámky. Fekete: HK, 26, S. 406.

58. Station das Feld von erwähnter Festung von der westlichen Seite. 1/2 Stunde. Am 12. Muharrem, Freitag (16. August 1663).

Am zwölften Tag des Monats Muharrem (16. August 1663), am Freitag, schlugen sie auf dieser Station das kaiserliche Zelt auf und noch am selben Abend, in der Nacht zum Sonnabend, gingen sie in die Schützengraben. Am vierundzwanzigsten Tag des erwähnten Monats, am Mittwoch (28. August 1663) kam der Sohn des (Krim-)Chans, Yalı Ağa und Kagılgay mit achtzigtausend Tataren und Hetman mit zwanzigtausend Kosaken. Am folgenden Tag kamen der walachische und der moldauische Fürst mit dreissigtausend Soldaten. Allen wurde ein Gastmahl vorgesetzt und sie wurden mit dem Ehrenkleid beschenkt.

Erläuterung. Am letzten (Tag) des Monats Muharrem (3. September 1663) wurden Beyko Ali Pascha, der Statthalter von Rumelien, am achten Tag des Monats Safer (11. September 1663) Sipahi Ağası San'ullah Ağa und am neunzehnten (22. September 1663) der Statthalter von Anatolien, Yusuf Pascha zu Blutzeugen. Und vom fünfzehnten bis zum zwanzigsten des erwähnten Monats griffen die Çorbacıs, die Alaybeğs und die Ağas der Serdengeçtis und vielen Helden an, drangen nach vorn und wurden zu Märtyrern. Und am zwanzigsten (23. September 1663), am Dienstag, ergaben sie sich in ihre (muslimische) Hände mit zweitägigen Aufschub, am Mittwoch kamen die Staubähnlichen heraus und die Muslims gingen hinein (in die Festung). Am neunten des erwähnten Monats (12. September 1663) kam der Kethüda der Kapıcıs und nahm die Häupter Reis Efendi Şamizades und dessen Schwiegersohnes und trug sie davon.

KABAKA MWANGA AND EARLY ANTI-COLONIAL PROTEST IN BUGANDA

VIERA PAWLIKOVÁ, Bratislava

Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda has been judged rather harshly by both his contemporaries as well as recent historical scholarship. This study attempts to bring fresh evidence on Mwanga's motivations during his political and military career and by emphasizing his role in the Baganda anti-colonial struggle, draws a new synthesis that might reintegrate his seemingly split personality.

On December 18th, 1890 Captain (later Lord) Lugard led his safari to Mengo, the capital of Mwanga, the Kabaka of Buganda. "It was at this very moment, as it turned out", writes Professor Low, one of the leading authorities on Buganda's history, "that the first British agents finally advanced into Buganda, and, as Dame Margery Perham has spelled out in her life of Lord Lugard, *established their imperial control over it without coming across any concerted opposition*."¹ The previous two years in Buganda were full of turmoil and civil wars which, however, ended with the victory of the missionaries' converts, who, Professor Low continues elsewhere, "having acquired arms from one of the few European traders now in the area, had after some anxious moments, re-conquered their country (with, as it chanced — such were the confusions of the time — their former persecutor Kabaka Mwanga at their head). So precarious, however, was their position that they were soon sending to the British Company's agent for help. In effect this meant that *they called the British empire-builders into the country*".² "From this beginning", concludes Professor Low, "there emerged the special relationship between the British and the Baganda which was to prevail for the next sixty years — as well as the strange contradictions at its core. For while the British had defeated the Kabaka, and had imposed their own settlement on the country, *they had in the first place been deliberately invited into the country, and had not defeated its dominant party*. This party, moreover, owed the security of its position to its alliance with the British. At the same time the British

¹ See Low, D. A.: *Conversion, Revolution and the New Regime in Buganda 1860—1900*. In: *Buganda in Modern History*. Berkeley—Los Angeles, University of California Press 1971, p. 35. From among other Low's works see e.g.: *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875—1900*. East African Studies, No. 8. Nairobi 1957; *Uganda and the British, 1862—1900*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Exeter College, Oxford 1957; Low, D. A.—Pratt, R. C.: *Buganda and British Overrule: 1900—1955*. London 1960.

² Low, D. A.: *The British and the Baganda*. In: *Buganda in Modern History*, op. cit., p. 86. In a somewhat different form this study was originally published in *International Affairs*, XXXII, 3, July 1956.

position in the country rested primarily upon their association with it.”³ (All emphasis is mine, V. P.)

So much Professor Low. It may be worth looking more closely at some of his central claims, and assess the validity or otherwise of his statements.

In 1884, after Kabaka Mutesa's death, his son Mwanga succeeded him and assumed his father's responsibilities. Mwanga assumed the royal powers at very difficult times for African rulers. These were the times when Europeans of various nationalities walked up and down Africa with packets of treaties in their pockets, armed troops and Maxim guns, and the threat of European colonialism became imminent. Mwanga was thus fated to see during his reign the approach of foreign empire-builders and experience painfully the establishment of British colonialism that ended the independence of his kingdom.

The literature on Mwanga leaves the impression that he was of a vacillating and weak character. His facial features were invariably read at first glance by both missionaries and colonial officials as portraying quite a number of undesirable traits. He was described as nervous, unstable, fickle, fitful, sensual, revengeful, capable of the most unpredictable actions, highly impressionable and consequently easily led. Such was Mwanga's characteristics given by the Church Missionary Society (hereafter referred to as C. M. S.) missionary Walker: "A man with a weak-looking mouth and rather a silly sort of laugh and smile, he raises his eyebrows very high, and switches them in surprise, or in giving assent to a statement. He looks a young, frivolous sort of man, very weak, and easily led, passionate, and if provoked, petulant. He looked as if he would be easily frightened and possessed of very little courage or self-control."⁴ This harsh judgment was also shared by Mwanga's Baganda contemporaries.⁵ Still, all the signs are, that at the time of his accession, Mwanga was a perfectly acceptable heir. "We, the young men, were very pleased with this joyous prince of good manners", wrote one of Mwanga's contemporaries.⁶ Prince Mwanga Bassamula was, besides, considered a very good friend of young men, many of whom were "readers" either at the C. M. S. or the White Fathers' mission.⁷ He shared their background for he belonged to those who had learned how

³ Low, D. A.: *The British and the Baganda*, p. 87.

⁴ Taken almost verbatim from Walker's letter in C.M.S. Intelligencer, November 1888, p. 700, et seq. Quoted also in Ashe, R. W.: *Chronicles of Uganda*. London—New York 1894, pp. 89—90.

⁵ All Baganda historians, Mwanga's contemporaries left vivid descriptions of his character. It should be remembered, however, that they all collaborated with the British; none of them supported Mwanga. See e.g. 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. 1938. Typescript in Makerere College Library; Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka* (Buganda and the King). Kampala 1938. Of them only Zimbe expressed some sympathy with Mwanga and his lot.

⁶ Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, op. cit., p. 70.

⁷ Mwanga was especially well-disposed towards Catholic pages and appointed a leading Catholic page Mukasa Balikuddembe as leader of the pages of the inner court and he was also to advise the Kabaka in

to read first and had been instructed for a while by both the C.M.S. and the White Fathers. Thus for a short time at least it seemed that the wish of missionaries and their converts for a Christian Kabaka would be answered.⁸ History, however, took a different course and historians of Mwanga's reign have judged him rather harsh.⁹ Mwanga thus became a ruler "lacking any outlook beyond his own country, with no idea whatsoever of self-discipline, without regard for life or property as long as he achieved his end — a man with a guilty conscience which was with him all his life".¹⁰

Very often Mwanga's reign was compared unfavourably with the wise, firm and prosperous rule of his father Mutesa, who peacefully opened his country to new civilizations and cultures and successfully played off one party against another thus securing his autocratic authority. Mwanga's unfortunate career has been ascribed to his character and not to the changed historical conditions he had to face. "The various movements which took place so rapidly produced confusion in a weak, and undisciplined mind. To steer a straight course through a time when such radical changes were taking place a man needed to be the possessor of a strong character, a firm will and a wide vision. These characteristics Mwanga did not possess and hence he died in exile. But", concludes more sympathetically the missionary Fletcher, "though he may have sinned, yet he was sinned against, especially by his own people."¹¹

The disgracefulness of Mwanga's historical images calls for fresh evidence on Mwanga's motivations during his political and military career and for a new synthesis that might reintegrate his seemingly split personality. One plausible hypothesis emerging from re-reading the available documentary sources suggests that although Mwanga may at times have been all the things made of him by historians, other

high matters of state. Two other Catholic adherents Charles Lwanga and Andrew Kagwa became his close associates.

⁸ Catholic optimism at the succession of Mwanga to the throne is well expressed by Père Lourdel's letter to his Superior of 1st December 1884, urging a quick return of the White Fathers from their temporary exile at the South of the Lake. "Il est donc urgent de rentrer au plutôt dans le Buganda, si l'on veut profiter de ses bonnes disposition actuelles qui, peut-être, pourront changer bien vite sous l'influence des Arabes." White Fathers Archives, C 14—48. White Fathers' expectations seemed to have been fully met upon their return to Buganda and Father Lourdel could report to Cardinal Lavigerie: "Mwanga had rejected superstition and witch-doctors and had refused to send the traditional presents to the shrines of the tribal gods. A proposal to adopt Islam as a state religion had been coldly received, and complete liberty to each religion had been given to the Catholics." W. F. A., C 14, quoted in an English translation in Faupel, J. F.: *African Holocaust*. London, Geoffrey Chapman 1962.

⁹ Two of the most recent appraisals of Mwanga and his career are 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, and Wright, Michael: *Buganda in the Heroic Age*. Nairobi—London—New York, Oxford University Press 1971.

¹⁰ Fletcher, T. B.: *Mwanga, the Man and His Times*. In: *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 4, 1936—1937, p. 167.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

themes, emphasizing the obstacles he faced, lend coherence to his apparently erratic career. These are in the domestic politics his persistent effort and inability to hold political power of the sort he sought and in the foreign politics his struggle to maintain the independence of his kingdom in a time of extreme political instability and in the face of opposition from one of the dominant internal political factions in the country.

As has already been mentioned here Mwanga was invariably compared unfavourably with his predecessor and father Mutesa. Mutesa was lucky to have always cherished the favourable reputation established on the basis of his having invited missionaries into the country. For whereas in the eyes of the missionaries Mutesa was the ruler who "invited" them into the country, Mwanga was the one who had their converts massacred and Bishop Hannington murdered. Hence his guilty conscience referred to above. This historical myth is based on Mutesa's invitation of missionaries as expressed in Stanley's famous letter to the *Daily Telegraph*,¹² one incident from the history of Buganda that fully demonstrates the inability of the European contemporaries in general to look at the situation from the Kiganda point of view. Henry Stanley, who visited Mutesa's court in 1875 had stayed there long enough to assist Mutesa in his war against the Bavuma islanders, which, according to a contemporary, "endeared him to the king",¹³ and to impress him to such an extent that Mutesa, who had through the long contact with Islam and Zanzibari traders already come to believe in the value of acquiring and adopting a culture of the country associated with greater military power, welcomed the opportunity to harness the sources of white power. Mutesa was at that time anxious to widen his diplomatic, political and commercial contacts and thus keen to welcome white men who would help him to understand the wider world that was increasingly impinging upon him and his country¹⁴ and get him the much desired military and technical assets associated with the European culture. As a consequence, the first two missionaries of the Church Missionary Society arrived on 30 June 1877, but due to a number of

¹² Stanley, H. M.: *Through the Dark Continent*. 2. Volumes. New York, Harper 1878. Vol. 1, p. 209. See also Mukasa, Ham: *Some Notes on the Reign of Mutesa*. In: *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 2, 1934, No. 1, pp. 60—70 (both in Luganda and English) and Gray, Sir John Milner: *Mutesa of Buganda*. In: *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 15, 1951, No. 1, pp. 1—16.

¹³ Zimbe, B. M., op. cit., p. 211.

¹⁴ The 1870s were dominated by interests and territorial ambitions of the Khedive and his British agents in the region of the great lakes. This brought home to Mutesa the nearness of the menace to the independence and autonomy of his country. For details see: Gray, Sir J. M.: *Mutesa of Buganda*, op. cit.; Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *A History of Buganda*, pp. 160—166; Gray, Sir J. M.: *Sir John Kirk and Mutesa*. In: *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 15, 1951, No. 1. Islam was first introduced into Buganda under Mutesa's father Suna. Mutesa allowed and encouraged trade with Arabs and Zanzibaris, especially after 1866. At about the same time he also adopted Islam and continued to observe Ramadan for over ten years. He also learnt Arabic, adopted Arab dress and manners and maintained diplomatic relations with the Sultan of Zanzibar. The court became islamised, mosques were built by chiefs and a number of future Christian converts who were young pages at this time, adopted Islam.

misfortunes and difficulties the work of evangelization did not actually begin until after the arrival in February 1879 of the second party of the C. M. S., to be followed in only one week by the Famous Father Lourdel of the White Fathers' Society.¹⁵ Bitter hostility and rivalry of the representatives of these two Christian denominations present at his court soon revealed to Mutesa that to adopt one of them would be unpolitic. After a short initial enthusiasm for Christianity Mutesa gradually came to the conclusion that the presence of missionaries was unprofitable and already by December 1879 abandoned Christianity for Islam and the Kiganda religion. Though the missionaries of both denominations were allowed to teach, their presence at the court was towards the year 1880 no longer regarded as an asset and the White Fathers actually left Buganda in 1882 to return only after Mwanga's accession to the throne two years later.¹⁶

There are other incidents from Mutesa's and Mwanga's reigns that prove the falseness of their perpetuated historical images. It seems to be very rarely remembered that Mutesa's praise name was Mukabya or the bringer of tears, which he earned at the time of stabilizing himself on the throne. Then faced with political threats by over-powerful chiefs he ordered wholesale purges and executions. He acted similarly against Muslim converts in his later years and in the persecution that followed, some seventy chiefs and pages were burned at Namugongo in October 1876 and up to a thousand persons were slain throughout the country.¹⁷ In January

¹⁵ See Oliver, Ronald: *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. London, Longmans 1952; Nicq, A.: *La Vie du Vénérable Père Siméon Lourdel*. Paris 1896; Lourdel to his superior, 29 October 1879, W.F.A., C14—15, C14—16(I); Livinhac à Lavigerie, C13—287; C13—122; C13—289, C13—292.

¹⁶ It is difficult to give a meaningful selection of references, but for the first years of the missionary work in Buganda, the disappointment and the reasons for the temporal withdrawal of the White Fathers see e.g. Livinhac au Supérieur Général, 20 Janvier 1880, *Chronique de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique* (Pères Blancs), No. 84, I, de 1879 à 1885, "Comme tous les voyageurs qui ont visité l'Ouganda, nous avons été trompés par l'apparence de civilisation du roi et des grands du royaume, et surtout par le grand désir qu'ils assuraient avoir de connaître et d'embrasser notre religion". Also Livinhac à Lavigerie, 22 Janvier 1880, W.F.A., C13—9, "Le roi et les grands qui paraissaient si bien disposés à notre arrivée, se montrent maintenant très indifférents"; Livinhac à Lavigerie, 19 August 1879, W.F.A., C13—303; Livinhac à Lavigerie, 28 August 1880, W.F.A., C13—22, "Nous sommes peu connus, au loin surtout, et il nous est impossible de faire des voyages, même des promenades pour nous faire connaître; quand on voit un blanc se promener en dehors de Roubaga, on ne doute plus qu'il ne soit venu uniquement dans dessein d'étudier le pays pour pouvoir le manger plus facilement"; Livinhac à Lavigerie, 15 April 1880, W.F.A., C13—15, "Ce qu'il veut, il ne cesse de le dire, ce sont des fusils et des munitions, pour pouvoir aller se procurer chez les voisins, femmes, enfants et troupeaux. Si les blancs étaient réellement ses amis, ils lui donneraient des armes. S'ils ne lui en donnent pas c'est parce qu'ils ne veulent pas qu'il soit grand. Ils veulent le laisser avec ses lances, pour pouvoir s'emparer plus facilement du pays"; Livinhac à Lavigerie, 17 May 1880, W.F.A., C13—17; Livinhac à Lavigerie, 26 October 1880, W.F.A., C13—24, "Nous sommes sûrs que Mtesa ferait tout ce qu'il pourrait pour nous faire disparaître"; Livinhac à Lavigerie, 26 Octobre 1881, W.F.A., C13—34; Livinhac à Lavigerie, 9 November 1882, W.F.A., C13—43 gives reasons for temporary evacuation of Buganda by the White Fathers; see also *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 19, Juillet 1883.

1885 his son Mwanga reacted similarly and the first three Christians were burned to death. Altogether Mwanga's action against Christian adherents in the years 1885—1886 cost the lives of hardly a hundred people throughout the country, many of them non-Christian. Compared with his father, Mwanga was perhaps less bold and decisive, but certainly less cruel and bloodthirsty. Too much has been written on the subject, but one point stands clear.¹⁸ Mwanga's action against Christian converts was a far cry from a thorough, wholesale purge of Christians. When the first three Christian "readers" were executed, Mwanga's contemporary commented: "Much horror was raised by this and the Christians thought a general persecution had started. Such, however, was not the case... Mwanga never ordered a single Christian to be put to death because of his religion. All Mengo was full of Christians at this time."¹⁹ Also, "in killing bishop Hannington Mwanga was not persecuting religion", argues Zimbe, and soon afterwards "there was peace and many learnt Christianity everywhere".²⁰ It seems that Mwanga's anger, as Mutesa's some years earlier, was directed against those who dared openly to challenge and defy his royal authority. Among the victims were primarily such "readers" who had given Mwanga personal annoyance. Not a few were just caught by chance or were purposefully pointed out by the Katikkiro Mukasa and some chiefs who seized upon the opportunity to exterminate their own political rivals.²¹

On the contrary, the years before Mwanga's overthrow in September 1888 were the heyday for Christians who were immensely favoured by the king. It should be remembered that during the first four years of his reign, from October 1884 to his first expulsion from the throne in 1888, young Mwanga, only eighteen years old was settling and stabilizing himself on the throne. These years were inflicted with a series of catastrophes, fires destroying houses and property, an epidemic of plague, a heavy defeat of Mwanga's army by the Banyoro, to mention but a few, which made the reign of the young Kabaka rather disturbed.²² Barely four months after his

¹⁷ Katumba, Ahmed—Welbourn, F. B.: *Muslim Martyrs of Buganda*. In: Uganda Journal, Vol. 28, 1964, No. 2, pp. 115—164; Mukasa, Hamu: *Simuda Nyuma: Ebiro bya Mutesa*. London, S. P. C. K. 1938, pp. 18—23.

¹⁸ See e.g. Rowe, J. A.: *The Purge of Christians at Mwanga's Court*. In: The Journal of African History, Vol. V. 1964, No. 1; Faupel, F.: *African Holocaust*. London—New York 1962. Recent assessments are in Pirouet, Louise: *Strong in the Faith. The Witness of the Uganda Martyrs*. Mukono, Church of Uganda Literature Centre 1969; Kavulu, David: *The Uganda Martyrs*. Makerere History Paper No. 2, Kampala, Longmans of Uganda 1969; there are many references in W.F.A., see e.g. Lourdel to Superior, 25 Juin 1886, C14—63(1).

¹⁹ Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, p. 124.

²⁰ Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, p. 135.

²¹ Rowe, J. A.: *Baganda Chiefs Who Survived Kabaka Mwanga's Purge of 1886*. An unpublished paper obtainable from Makerere Institute of Social Research, date unknown; Kavulu, D.: *The Uganda Martyrs*, pp. 20—21; Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *A History of Buganda*, p. 197.

²² See Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, pp. 75—152; Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 252—297; *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 32, October 1886.

accession there were rumours of a plot by some old chiefs he had inherited from his father to have him assassinated and to place another prince on the throne.²³ To secure himself against all internal and external threats Mwanga chose to rely upon the loyalty and support of young men of his own age and strengthen his position by placing a number of young Christian and Muslim adherents in important posts. The promoted young converts came from among leaders of separate groups of the royal pages and chiefs' servants in the capital and royal enclosure for it was among them that Christianity first planted in Buganda in Mutesa's reign made most headway. Ambitious youths were soon attracted by wonders of European civilization and the art of writing and reading. In the year 1882, the first baptisms took place and though by the time of Mutesa's death Christianity still did not enjoy a position comparable with that of Islam, Christian converts were estimated to number perhaps a hundred for each of the missions. Being organized in the newly formed regiments, the *Ekitongole Ekyegwanika* under Apolo Kagwa, a Protestant and future Katikkiro, the *Ekitongole Ekiwulizira* under Kiwanuka Katege, a Muslim, and the *Ekitongole Ekisalosal* under Honorat Nyonyintono a Catholic,²⁴ and provided with guns, the young Christian and Muslim chiefs had the royal consent for plundering and attacking old chiefs and *bataka* and their number had consequently risen as large numbers of young men came flocking to join these regiments, deserting other chiefs and bringing their guns with them. The royal favour was on the side of the young chiefs. By 1888 the four new Bitongole had nearly 100,000 men and contained all the leading and most powerful young chiefs, who had an active backing of their royal master to terrorise, pillage and plunder the countryside and distribute the booty.²⁵ A contemporary observed: "Mwanga's plunder of his parents and the young men's maltreatment of the people, the beating and shooting of men, estranged the hearts of all and were a big factor in bringing about the wars. We, the young men, indeed had freedom during this reign."²⁶

Soon, however, Mwanga discovered that he had overreached himself and had given too much power to young chiefs, whose cohesion and strength as an

²³ Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*. Chapter 19; Nicq, A.: *Le Père Siméon Lourdel*, pp. 306—307; C.M.S. Archives G3A5/02; Livinhac à Lavigerie, W.F.A., C13—75 29 September 1886.

²⁴ Mwanga had previously created another Kitongole, a royal bodyguard under a Mujasi which was theoretically to be "of the rifle men". He named it Ekijasi and put Kapalaga, a Muslim, in charge of it. See Kiwanuka, M.S.M.: *A History of Buganda*, p. 198; Fallers, L. A. (Ed.): *The King's Men. Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*. London, Published on behalf of the E. A. I.S.R. by Oxford University Press 1964, pp. 64—116; Kagwa, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*. London, Sheldon Press 1927, pp. 142—143; Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, Chapter 23.

²⁵ The system of clientage and of transfer of allegiance (*okusenga*), traditional in Kiganda society, swelled the number of their followers. See Kiwanuka, M.S.M.: *A History of Buganda*, p. 189; also Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, pp. 75—152 and Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 252—297.

²⁶ Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, p. 162.

overpowerful, well-organized and armed ruling class, with common interests, ready to combine and oppose himself if he now attempted to curb their privileges, dangerously threatened his own dominant position. Even militarily Mwanga could not challenge them as long as they remained united.

The twists and turns of the first four years of Mwanga's rule thus resulted in the emergence of three political factions based on religious divisions which coloured and disguised their political actions. Each of these three competing political factions, Catholics, Protestants and Muslims, was identified with one group of foreigners present in the country: Arab and Zanzibari traders, French Catholic missionaries of the White Fathers and English Protestant missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. The religious terms that were used to denote these political parties gave a false impression of the widespread nature of Christianity and Islam at that time. Only those who held positions of power were either Christians or Muslims, the rank and file members of any party were not converted and it is very unlikely that the ordinary members of these religio-political parties understood the confessional distinctions.²⁷ After assessing the precariousness of his situation, Mwanga made plans to protect himself. He therefore planned an expedition to the Ssesse islands during the course of which Christian chiefs were to be marooned on a deserted island and to be left there to starve. In this rather naive plot designed to rid himself of his potential enemies, Mwanga lost and when these actually joined to attack him, he was opposed by much larger numbers to put up any effective resistance. Nevertheless, he was not discouraged, although the rebels had secured the keys of the royal armoury and he himself had but a few people round him. He began firing, but after a man was shot dead next to him, he made off to the port of Munyonyo where he got in his boat *Waswa* with a small entourage of 60 guns led by Morisi Kinywakyamagwa and sailed first to Kome island and then to Sukuma in Tanganyika where he took refuge with the Arabs.²⁸

The expulsion of Mwanga was a quick business and as a matter of fact only a small portion of the Baganda took an active part in the revolt against the king. The alliance between Christian and Muslim chiefs who had joined in his overthrow was, however, soon to be broken and within a month Christian converts and missionaries, expelled

²⁷ Bishop Tucker, who reached Buganda nine days after Lugard, reported in December 1890 that there were then only two hundred baptized Protestants in the whole country. The Catholics claimed 1200 baptized by April 1890. See Rowe, J. A.: *Lugard at Kampala*. Makerere History Paper No. 3, Kampala, Longmans of Uganda 1969, pp. 8—9, 28.

²⁸ An eyewitness account of the events of 1888—1889 is given in Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, pp. 135—208; for the best full account of the events see Sir John Milner Gray's authoritative study *The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda — Mwanga, Kiwewa, Kalema, 1888—1889*. In: *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 14, 1950, No. 1, pp. 15—53. Descriptions by Catholic missionaries can be found in W. F. A., Livinhac à Lavigerie, 6 November 1888, C13—105; 15 September 1888, C13—103; 26 July 1889, C13—111; 3 November 1889, C13—115; 12 December 1889, C13—117; Lourdel à Livinhac, C14—82; Denoit à Révérend Père, 30 September 1889, C14—429.

from the country by their former comrades in arms, followed Mwanga into exile. Muslims became the sole masters of Buganda, and when Mwanga's successor Kiwewa was discovered plotting against them, they replaced him by a more submissive Kalema. Kiwewa was eventually killed together with most other members of the royal family, leaving only Mwanga and Mutesa's brother Mbogo as potential pretenders to the throne. Christian refugees who had dispersed and settled near the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions in Usambiro and Bukumbi, Kabula, Ankole, Buganga and Saza Singo, now joined forces to reconquer Buganda from the hands of the Muslims. In April 1889 a joint delegation of Protestant and Catholic Baganda from Ankole visited Mwanga at the White Fathers' station at Bukumbi, where Mwanga had taken shelter the previous December, proposing a joint campaign to restore him to his throne. Though the C. M. S. missionaries from Usambiro refused any assistance, the White Fathers and the former C. M. S. lay missionary and the free-lance trader and gunrunner Charles Stokes lent their aid. Stokes actually provided a boat and some ammunition and on the 29th April Mwanga set sail for Buddu where inhabitants were flocking to his camp. But fortune was not yet on his side and Mwanga's forces were soon driven off the mainland by Kalema's army. Mwanga took up his position on the little island of Bulingugwe in the Murchison gulf, only some eight miles from the capital and from there he not only invited the missionaries of both denominations to join him, but advised by Stokes, he also sent an appeal for help to the leader of the Imperial British East Africa's caravan, F. J. Jackson. "I pray you be good enough to come and put me on my throne. I will give you plenty of ivory and you may do any trade in Uganda and all you like in the country under me", promised Mwanga in his appeal written by Father Lourdel and addressed to "the white men, Englishmen, who are passing through Masailand towards Usoga."²⁹

Jackson responded with a flag and a letter requiring not only material compensation promised by Mwanga but also a treaty which would place Buganda under British protection. In the meantime, however, events took a better turn and Mwanga's forces from Ankole and Bulingugwe managed to retake the capital without help from the outside. On 11th October 1889 Mwanga returned to Mengo in triumph. The dilemma of whether or not to accept external help could be fortunately dropped. But not for long. The wheel of fortune soon turned against Mwanga again. Kalema's forces assisted by some troops of Omukama Kabarega of Bunyoro reoccupied Mengo and drove Mwanga back to the islands. From here another appeal to Jackson was sent on 25th November. But even then, though hard-pressed, Mwanga was not prepared to accept the treaty, his reply was evasive and only on the 1st of December was he persuaded by missionaries to accept the flag and Jackson's conditions. No

²⁹ Kabaka Mwanga à F. J. Jackson, 15 June 1889. London, F. O. 84/2061. Quoted in Low, D. A.: *The Mind of Buganda. Documents of the Modern History of an African Kingdom*. Berkeley—Los Angeles, University of California Press 1971, p. 24.

help from Jackson had materialized, but Mwanga's scattered forces nevertheless once again rallied and led by Gaburieli Kintu early in February 1890 decisively defeated Kalema's army. Kalema with remnants of his army fled to Bunyoro and Mwanga re-entered his capital in triumph.³⁰

Mwanga at this time seemed to believe in the value of acquiring outside military and economic assistance which he could control in his own interest to provide a temporary support for his domestic designs and to compensate for the weakness of his position in domestic Kiganda politics as well as any opposition to his authority. There is considerable evidence in the accounts of his contemporaries and missionary sources that Mwanga detested taking orders from his chiefs and throughout his career he was striving to build a position comparable to that of his father and constantly intriguing to recapture his independent position. After his overthrow and restoration in 1888—1890 much of his strategy both in internal and external politics was directed towards securing means of strengthening his intrinsically weak domestic position. Mwanga's strategy was a realistic response to his situation. The social and political order into which he was born had been grievously disrupted and he knew that he lacked strength to cope with the complexities of the wider world that was increasingly encroaching upon him. He thus felt justified in seeking external help by opening his country to international trade and to white missionaries and physicians that would "give him power" to meet his ends and enable him to resist any political threats. This can best explain Mwanga's willingness to throw his country open to white missionaries expressed in his letter to Cardinal Lavigerie of 4 November 1889³¹ as well as the readiness with which he signed the treaty with Carl Peters, the first treaty Mwanga signed with the representative of a European power. The story of Carl Peters is quite well known. Having arrived in Kavirondo at the head of the German Emin Pasha Relief Expedition during Jackson's absence, Peters opened and read letters which were not addressed to him and taking advantage of their contents proceeded to Buganda ahead of Jackson and concluded a treaty with Mwanga. What should interest us here are the reasons which prompted Mwanga to accept the treaty offered by Peters and reject the one forced upon him by Jackson.

When Mwanga appealed to the imperial agents for help, his aims were political, military and material. In welcoming Jackson, Mwanga did so because he expected

³⁰ Livinhac à Lavigerie, 23 February 1890, W.F.A., C13—120 and 20 March 1890, C13—121.

³¹ See Livinhac à Lavigerie, 15 December 1889, W.F.A., C13—410, transmitting Mwanga's letter of 4 November 1889; "... si les blancs veulent bien me donner la force, je veux les aider dans cette œuvre et empêcher le commerce des hommes (des esclaves) dans tous les pays qui avoisinent le Nyanza". At about the same time Mwanga wrote for help to the French, British and German Consuls. Rubaga Diary-Diaire de Rubaga, 30 October 1889, quoted in *Chronique trimestrielle de la Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*, No. 50, April 1891. "Le roi m'appelle aujourd'hui pour écrire des lettres aux consuls de France, d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne; ce brave roitelet se croit déjà arrivé à l'apogée de la civilisation et il veut se mettre en rapport avec les puissances d'Europe. Il craint surtout le retour des Arabes, et il appelle les Blancs à son secours, sous prétexte de commerce et de religion."

him to counter the Muslims and help him to regain his throne. Never he had intention of giving up or forfeiting the autonomy and independence of his country. From Mwanga's point of view, not only did Jackson let him down, but the very conditions of his "protection and help" were incompatible with Mwanga's policy. On the other hand, in at least Mwanga's opinion, Peters in his treaty entitled *The Congo Contract for Free Trade* seemed to offer him the much desired and needed military and material help in exchange for provisions that Mwanga was ready to grant, such as freedom of trade and the right of travel and settlement for Europeans of all nationalities. Under such conditions, Mwanga was ready to sign, because the clauses of the pact seemingly did not counter his desire "to be servant of no European", "to remain like Mutesa" and "to belong to no one".³² A fact that Mwanga could hardly realize was the insignificance of his decision to accept protection of this or that colonial power, for no sooner had he struck a bargain with the Germans, than he was to learn that it had been decided in Europe that Buganda was to be British.

On April 14th, about a month after Peters had left, Jackson arrived in Mengo claiming that Buganda was in the British sphere of interest and offering a treaty which even the C.M.S. missionaries agreed to be erroneous and as the C.M.S. missionary Ashe recognized, "unreasonable in its demands".³³ Small wonder that Mwanga refused. But to his dismay and perhaps for the first time Mwanga was to discover that he would have his wishes blocked by the opposition of his chiefs.

Mwanga's policies before 1888 led to what happened to be a major conflict between the monarchy and administrative chiefs. By the time European empire-builders appeared on the scene, the victorious Christian factions held all the important offices in the state, while the Muslim faction, though temporarily beaten, still dangerously hovered on the Buganda-Bunyoro border. Despite their victory over the Muslims, the situation in the country remained tricky for the two victorious factions, each of which was striving to gain the sole control of the political system. Power would normally have fallen to whichever of the competing factions could combine astute political manoeuvring with superior numbers. Even before his overthrow Kabaka Mwanga, though himself never converted, was always on more intimate terms with pages of his audience chamber who were overwhelmingly Catholic rather than those of the storehouse who were Protestant and led by Apolo Kaggwa. He was also friendly with French missionaries, especially Father Lourdel, and during his exile he took refuge with the White Fathers at Bukumbi.³⁴ After the successful campaign to reconquer Buganda from the Muslims, the victorious

³² For the detailed story and the texts of early treaties see Wild, J. V.: *The Story of the Uganda Agreement*. London, Macmillan 1965, pp. 12—34. Also Rubaga Diary, entries from October 1889 to March 1890, which cover the story of Mwanga's correspondence with F. J. Jackson, his relations with Peters etc. They also appear in *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 50, April 1891.

³³ Ashe, R. W.: *Chronicles of Uganda*, p. 145.

³⁴ Until his death in April 1890 Father Lourdel was Mwanga's closest friend from among French missionaries whose advice in political strategy the Kabaka often sought. Lourdel gave him political advice

Christian chiefs painstakingly divided all the offices of state evenly between Protestants and Catholics. Since Mwanga became firmly identified with the Catholic faction, the next highest office in the country after the Kabakaship, that of Katikkiro, went to Apolo Kaggwa, a Protestant. The balance of power, as expressed in the exact division of the offices of state, was, however, more fictional than real. It can be safely said that the Kiganda monarchy was in much better shape in early 1890 than has been supposed and suggested.³⁵ Mwanga's prestige was still high and he commanded great loyalty among the general populace which was non-Christian or even anti-Christian. The bakopi followed their chiefs as they had always done with little regard for religion and, as Professor Rowe very correctly suggested, they preferred to become the Kabaka's men or Abasajja ba Kabaka rather than Abasajja ba Katikkiro or those of the Katikkiro.³⁶ The position of the Katikkiro's faction was therefore steadily eroding and that of the Kabaka became reinforced.

The emergence of the British as a serious military and political force in Buganda must be seen against this background. For while Mwanga and the Catholic chiefs, backed by the vast majority of the population refused Jackson's proposal of the treaty, the weaker Protestant faction proved to be enthusiastic to enter under the protection of a British company, taking for granted, an opinion shared by everyone in Buganda, that the English would help the friends of English missionaries to "have chief power in Uganda".³⁷ Protestant chiefs led by the Katikkiro Apolo Kaggwa threatened to leave the country unless the treaty was signed and throw Mwanga and the Catholics at the mercy of the Muslims who were gathering strength for a new invasion. The two opposing reactions nearly precipitated a crisis. Eventually two chiefs, one from each party, were selected to accompany Jackson to the coast with

and expressed his diplomatic intentions in correspondence. It appears that none of his colleagues was after his death able to exert such a compelling influence on Mwanga.

³⁵ It has been suggested that the spread of new ideologies, Islam and Christianity, in Buganda shattered the solidity of the old social and political order and resulted in the so-called "Christian revolution", the decline of the Kabakaship and the rise of a new ruling oligarchy. See Wrigley, C. C.: *The Christian Revolution in Buganda*. Comparative Studies in Society and History, II, 1959, pp. 33—48 and Low, D. A.: *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1975—1900*, op. cit., also Low, D. A.: *Conversion, Revolution and the New Regime in Buganda 1860—1900*, op. cit. Much of what has been suggested here is true but in the present writer's opinion the decisive loss of royal power was brought about by British imperialism in early 1890's and especially the way Mwanga was restored after his defeat in the anti-colonial war of January 1892.

³⁶ Rowe, J. A.: *Lugard at Kampala*, p. 5.

³⁷ See a letter of a Muganda Anglican clergyman, Henry Wright Duta Kitakule to a Missionary in Zanzibar, 5 April 1892, written after the battle of Mengo in January 1892; "We hope that the Protestants will now have chief power in Uganda, and I think the land will perhaps be at peace." In: Low, D. A.: *The Mind of Buganda*, p. 27. Protestants clearly revealed their expectations in their appeal to the British consul "to send back Mr. Jackson with help sufficient to enable them to subject their enemies... and to establish the government in their own hands... since they fully recognized that from the British company alone sufficient help and permanent support could come". See The C. M. S. Intelligencer, January 1891, pp. 34—35, quoted also in Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *A History of Buganda*, p. 226.

letters from Mwanga and Kaggwa, to find out whether Buganda was in the English, French or German sphere of interest. The different attitudes of Mwanga and Apolo Kaggwa's Protestant clique are fully revealed in their letters to the British Consul-General in Zanzibar, Colonel Euan-Smith. While Kaggwa for his part openly declares that he and his party "in no way want any other plan, because we have already agreed to place ourselves under English protection, if they help us", Mwanga, who asks "for guns and powder to reach Uganda, that we may thoroughly drive out the Mahommedans", is above all concerned to learn "if they want to help us, what repayment should we make to them? Because I do not want to give them (or you) my land. I want all Europeans of all nations to come to Uganda, to build and trade as they like", and does not forget to point out that when Jackson came and proposed "to put his flag up and that I should enter into his hands", he and his people refused.³⁸

On his departure Jackson left Gedge with some thirty-five men in Buganda and all the rifles he could spare to represent the Company. It seemed that Mwanga, for a time at least, had succeeded to ward off European conquest. The time proved to be rather short for in December 1890, even before the return of the envoys from the coast, Captain Lugard of the IBEA Company marched into Mengo and forced a treaty upon Kabaka Mwanga and his people. It was characteristic of the ambitious and thrusting Lugard and his attitude to Mwanga that he deliberately broke the custom which demanded he should wait for the Kabaka's permission before entering Buganda and crossed the Nile to Buganda side against the wishes of the Muganda border chief and without permission from Mwanga. To demonstrate that he did not come to Buganda "to trifle and fool, and mean to go thro' with (my) work in spite of Mwanga",³⁹ Lugard's characteristically high-handed procedure in crossing the Nile was soon to be followed on his arrival in Mengo by his independent choice of a camping ground. Ignoring the miserable swampy site set aside for him and Mwanga's protests, he established his camp on the top of a hill called Kampala. The idea behind this open defiance of the royal power was, in Lugard's own words, "to shew Mwanga that we do not now intend to be fooled, and that we come like men who are not afraid".⁴⁰ Recognizing that his "action at the Nile was quite a scare to them" and perfectly in accordance with his instructions to "impress him (Mwanga) with a sense of the power of the Company" and to "exercise a steady pressure upon

³⁸ Apolo Kagwa, Katikiro, to Colonel Euan-Smith, British Consul-General, Zanzibar, 25 April 1890, and Kabaka Mwanga to Colonel Euan-Smith, British Consul-General, Zanzibar, 26 April 1890. From Public Record Office, London, F.O. 84/2064, quoted in Low, D. D.: *The Mind of Buganda*, pp. 25–26.

³⁹ See *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*. In Three Volumes. East Africa, 1889–1892. Edited by Margery Perham. Assistant Editor Mary Bull. London, Faber and Faber 1959, Vol. II. East Africa, December 1890 to December 1891, p. 28.

⁴⁰ *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, Vol. II, p. 28.

him",⁴¹ Lugard based his policy towards Mwanga and the Baganda on intimidation, strong words and the pretence of military might.

Lugard's first concern was the treaty which would give him and the Company a legal status in the country and it was towards this aim that he turned all his efforts. He was not unaware of the complex political situation in Buganda and he knew perfectly well that the Protestant chiefs "were the only ones to whom the company could ultimately look for support".⁴² Realizing that Mwanga and all the Catholic chiefs might prove intractable, in his first interview with Mwanga on the 19th December Lugard was careful not to push too fast. The following days he spent meeting missionaries and Baganda chiefs and explaining to them the terms of his treaty. His situation was far from good. His display of force was in fact based on bluff, he had very little ammunition and was not sure about the working of the Maxim gun. The atmosphere at the court was far from favourable and Catholic chiefs in accord with Mwanga and the general populace strongly objected to the signing of the treaty. "We are on the very eve of war", Lugard wrote in his diary on the 23rd December. "The Catholics won't sign, and things look bad. Food is scarcer every day. My strong high-handed action may solve the question, or may precipitate the country into war".⁴³

On Christmas Eve, the 24th December, Lugard presented the treaty to the Kabaka and the Lukiko, an assembly of chiefs, all armed with loaded guns. The treaty was read sentence by sentence, turned into simple English by Lugard, translated into Swahili by Lugard's servant Dualla and then explained in Kiganda. Occasionally there was much uproar and afterwards several very shrewd and intelligent questions were asked despite obvious mistranslations and constant communication difficulties that no doubt could soften or even bypass most unwelcome terms of the treaty and lead to their different interpretation.

Lugard in his diary described the scene as follows: "After some discussion I asked if the King were ready to sign, but he put off and put off, begged to wait till the Messengers came back. I said no, he must sign at once or not at all. I would leave the day after tomorrow if he didn't and probably go to Unyoro (Kabarega) his great enemy. He shuffled and I got more determined and rapped the table, and told him to sign if he wanted peace. But he cares for nothing except his own comforts. He begged for a little delay to think it over, I said No. His chiefs knew all about it and had agreed (Sic!) and he must sign this evening, or I would go away with all my men to Unyoro (his enemy Kabarega). The king got very excited, and was trembling visibly."⁴⁴

⁴¹ Lugard, F. D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*. London, Blackwood 1893, Vol. II, pp. 19—20. Also Wild, J. V.: *The Story of the Uganda Agreement*, p. 41.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, Vol. II, p. 35.

⁴⁴ *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, Vol. II, p. 39.

Then such a clamour arose outside of the excited crowd at the entrance crying that their country is being sold and they would shoot the first man who signed, that Lugard was forced to give in for the moment.

"So I began to think that after all it must be War", noted Lugard in his diary the same evening and on Christmas day he had "thought things so near to a fight in the afternoon" that he "looked up the book about the Maxim gun, and looked over the gun too."⁴⁵ However, already the next day Lugard could allow a note of triumph creep into his words: "I had determined to arrive in Uganda by Xmas. I had not only done it but reached the capital, and spite of all trouble and opposition had got the Treaty made and signed within 12 hrs after Xmas. Not a bad 8 weeks' work from Dagoretti to Mengo and treaty made and signed!"⁴⁶

How then, coming back to one of Low's fundamental arguments, did it happen that the treaty offered by Lugard was eventually signed despite considerable opposition. An eye-witness and participant Bartholomeo Zimbe vividly described the scene at the court with Catholic chiefs fiercely accusing Protestants of rebelling against their Kabaka since they had agreed to sell Buganda to the British before the Kabaka agreed and openly admitted that "by the time the two parties departed from the main gate of Mengo palace, we were about to fight; and if it had not been due to European missionaries we would have inevitably fought".⁴⁷ Lugard, this garrulous and pompous man, had exaggerated faith in his personal powers of persuasion and influence. Still, as he admits, he was himself surprised how quickly the treaty had been made and signed despite the hostile atmosphere.⁴⁸

Openly threatened with war, Mwanga perhaps realized that faced with opposition within his own kingdom he could not hope permanently to oppose the forces of white expansion. The incident with Frederick Jackson earlier this year brought home to Mwanga the enmity of Apolo Kagwa's clique of Protestant chiefs. Another crucial factor in determining the Baganda decision seems to have been Lugard's threat to go over to Kabarega unless the treaty was signed immediately. Realizing that he could not count on the loyalty of his Protestant chiefs and that their opposition would prevent him from devoting all the forces at his command to keeping the Europeans

⁴⁵ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 40.

⁴⁶ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, pp. 41—42.

⁴⁷ Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, p. 323. Zimbe observed that all along Kabaka Mwanga kept cool, but "Omwami Kimbugwe Stanislas Mugwanya, his rage was fermenting as beer and the cruelty which Alikisi Sebowa Sekibobo had was like that of the stinging bee", p. 322. An outstanding warrior Mujasi Gaburieli Kintu held his gun ready to fire and Mulisi Sebwato Kinywakyamagwa who had stuck to Mwanga in September 1888 and after the coup followed him into exile, is alleged to have shouted at the Katikiro: "You, Apolo Kagwa, you repeatedly rebel, you expelled the Kabaka to go to Sukuma", p. 323.

⁴⁸ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, pp. 27—46. Lugard, F. D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, Vol. II, p. 41, "I regarded my mission as one for the reclamation and settlement of Uganda: surely I was right to refuse to be deterred from the course I had set myself to follow, by the opposition of such a king? The treaty was certainly obtained against his will — I have never said to the contrary".

out of Buganda, Mwanga groped towards a policy that would enable him to play for time while striving to keep as much independence and autonomy of his kingdom as possible.

Even so, Mwanga would not have acquiesced, had Lugard not agreed to make several important concessions. Perhaps the most important, at least in the eyes of the Baganda, was Lugard's decision not "to make any childish fuss about the Flag".⁴⁹ He waived the problem of the flag as unimportant and instead focused his attention on the treaty. "If I can get the Treaty, the flag will come of its own accord, and at their own request later on."⁵⁰ In this, however, Lugard proved to be wrong. Lugard underestimated the importance of the flag as a symbol of sovereignty. Its non-acceptance meant that though the Company had won something, the Baganda did not actually give away their country.

Another concession that Lugard was forced to make was his acceptance of a separate clause, a Codicil written by the Baganda themselves which was to render the treaty null "should another White man, greater than this one, come up afterwards".⁵¹ Lugard also had to back down in another question that worried the Baganda and in which "they would not be put off". This concerned the tributary states and the tribute these paid to Buganda. Since Mwanga insisted that this was added to the Codicil, Lugard eventually agreed to add "and its tributary States" after the words "I Mwanga Sultan of Uganda", which, as he was quick to observe, "of course meant nothing, or at least bound me to nothing".⁵²

Lugard could be pleased with the treaty with Mwanga's cross made "with a bad grace, just dashing the pen at the paper and making a blot", because it was this piece of paper that mattered to him and to the Company, but not to the Baganda. Mwanga and the Baganda interpreted it quite differently and since they did not accept the flag they had good reasons to think that the British did not actually win ultimate authority over Buganda and the Kabaka. For more than a year the dilemma who was supreme in the country would remain unsolved until Lugard's use of Maxim gun in January 1892 against all those who were not for the British, placed the odds substantially in the European's favour.

Lugard saw the treaty as "*a sine qua non*" which, once signed, would enable him "to do the rest quietly".⁵³ This, however, was not to be the case and the signing of the treaty did not produce quiet. Two days after the signing of the treaty there was a sudden war scare which made Lugard to have "all the ammunition boxes opened and ready, put the Maxim in position on the brow of the knoll commanding the main road, and sent out Somali scouts".⁵⁴ Similar war scares, beating of war drums and

⁴⁹ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 44.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ See the text of the treaty in *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 45, inserted from F. O., C-6555, pp. 16—17.

⁵² *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 41.

⁵³ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 38.

⁵⁴ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 47.

mobilizing of troops on both sides were frequent and Lugard constantly received objections and complaints from every quarter.

One point that had been a continuous fount of friction since last October was the issue of party control over chieftainships. In October 1889 all the available offices were divided absolutely equally between Protestants and Catholics. But the balance of power was not thereby stabilized. The system of alternate layers of Protestant and Catholic office-holders within every chain of command soon began to crack. Desertions to the Kabaka's party dangerously tilted the balance of power. Apart from the leading chiefs who were either Protestants or Catholics, there were many members in either party who were not yet Christians. Many of these nominal Protestants would have switched sides if only there was not a practice that an office-holder who changed his religion and thus his political allegiance, would lose his office and another member of the party that controlled it would be appointed in his place. There followed a long chain of shamba evictions or threatened evictions of those Protestant adherents who became Catholics and thus submitted to eviction. The Catholic Party supported by the White Fathers therefore raised the issue of religious freedom and pressed for the freedom of conscience and for the revision of the agreement.⁵⁵ Kaggwa's Protestant party who foresaw a wholesale decline if not destruction of their already weaker faction stubbornly stuck to the agreement allowing party retention of office and permitting eviction for switching religious allegiance.

Unable to tackle the grievances and thus, as Dame Margery Perham spelled out, "to demonstrate the strength and justice of British supervision of government",⁵⁶ and aware of the generally hostile attitude to him, there was little Lugard could do except concentrate his efforts on building a fort and wait for reinforcements. The arrival of Captain Williams as his 2nd in command with 75 Sudanese, 100 Swahilis and a second Maxim gun on 31st January strengthened Lugard's position. Thus when the envoys from the coast arrived and at night the hullaballo of war could be heard all around the fort, Lugard, who thought it might be a rising against him, could observe: "The fort was manned in a really *capital* style; in about two minutes the whole fort was lined with rifles and the Maxim in its place. It would have been *madness* to attack us, and we could have confidently awaited all Uganda without fear. Mentally I contrasted the position with that of Xmas/90 when with barely 200 raw porters and 45 Blacks, with no fort, and an open camp in the heart of the country, I had to go thro' the ordeal of an expected attack, which would have been a fight for dear life itself, with no means of retreat anywhere. Now with two Maxims, 150 Blacks constantly trained and drilled, 7 Britishers, 100 trained Zanzibaris, and some

⁵⁵ See the respective entries in *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, Chapter II, January—March 1891, pp. 74—124, but especially 108—109; Lugard, F. D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 95—97.

⁵⁶ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 74.

400 porters in an impregnable Stockade, with Williams as a 2nd in command, the whole matter was changed, and all we could fear in case of war was absence of food."⁵⁷

By May Lugard thus felt confident to leave Williams with a small force in charge of Kampala,⁵⁸ to rally the Baganda and set out on an expedition to punish Muslims who were constantly raiding across the northern border of Buganda into Mukwenda's Singo, and for that matter also their ally Kabarega of Bunyoro without even considering the possibility of negotiating with him first.⁵⁹ At the back of his mind were, however, larger and more ambitious plans than to eliminate Baganda Muslims. He wished to secure by treaty for British influence the vast and almost unexplored regions and enlist in the service of the Company the remnants of Emin Pasha's Sudanese troops that had not left with Emin and Stanley and were marooned at Kavalli, south of Lake Albert.

The expedition proved to be a great success. On May 11th the Baganda succeeded to beat off their enemies and then having refused Lugard's proposal to pursue them into Bunyoro, returned to Mengo. Lugard for his part marched on. Having made a great semi-circular march first through southern Buganda, then west through the kingdoms of Ankole and Toro, in some eight months that he was away from Kampala he managed to enlist Emin's former soldiers, place a refugee prince Daudi Kasagama on the throne of Toro and establish a line of forts along its border to protect it and check the arms traffic from Karagwe, with the understanding that the garrisons were to support themselves by raiding into Bunyoro.⁶⁰

On 31st January 1891 Lugard returned to Kampala and was shocked to learn that the Company had ordered him to evacuate Buganda immediately, and order which in

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 138. Lugard's Blacks are the Sudanese. The best porters were drilled by Williams in what was called the Zanzibari Levy.

⁵⁸ Captain Williams allegedly preserved peace between the hostile Christian factions with a garrison of as few as eight able-bodied soldiers and some Zanzibari porters. See Rowe, J. A.: *Lugard at Kampala*, p. 10, quoted from Lugard, F. D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, Vol. II, Chapter 32 and *The Macdonald Report*, F.O. 170, April 7, 1893, pp. 13—16. Copy in Entebbe Secretariat Archives, A 1, General Correspondence. 1891—1892 and also in White Fathers Archives in Rome, Fonds Livinhac, Dossier No. 81/B/1.

⁵⁹ Several times Kabarega sent messengers to negotiate for peace. First in March 1891 and once again, a year later, on 26th March, 1892. Lugard's own words best illustrate his attitude to Bunyoro. "And now Kabarega. With him alone I don't desire peace — nor does he mean it... Hence it is War. And I am not sorry, for when I have time there is nothing I would like better than to turn out the inhuman fiend. I would like (if it is feasible) to disarm the country, and make it unlawful for any Munyoro to carry a gun." See *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. III, pp. 120—121. See also Vol. II, pp. 116—122; Lugard, F. D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, Vol. II, p. 114; Nyakatura, J. W.: *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara*. St. Justin, Canada 1947, pp. 190—192; K. W.: *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara*. In: *The Uganda Journal*, Vol. V, No. 2, 1937; Dunbar, A. R.: *A History of Bunyoro-Kitara*. Nairobi, Oxford University Press 1965, pp. 67—80.

⁶⁰ Lugard, F. D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, Vol. II, p. 232, and Portal to Rosebery from Kampala, 27 March 1893, F.O.2/60, 1893.

about a week was to be countermanded, and find out that "the King was flying an enormous flag on a very high flagstaff (cutting out in height and dimensions the British flag)".⁶¹ "This was not good", he noted, "and proclaimed to the whole country that the King was not with us, but apart altogether."⁶²

Lugard saw that the situation was impossible. "After a whole year's patient work", he wrote in his diary, "we found the two parties as bitter as ever, indeed just now more so. The country was English by treaty, but the King flew a flag of his own. If I mentioned the word flag there was talk of war." Such being the state of affairs, Lugard thought "it was time to stop all this, and that the King and Catholics should declare for England, and take the flag, and let those who wished read what religion they liked".⁶³ But this was not to be an easy task.

Despite the final agreement of Mwanga and his chiefs with the signing of the treaty,⁶⁴ there was a strong undercurrent of opposition to it and apart from a small number of Protestant chiefs led by Apolo Kaggwa, the Baganda did not wholeheartedly accept the British, acquiescing to them for no more than limited reasons of strategy. The immediate critical internal and external political situation, Lugard's intimidations and the advice of French missionaries pushed them into accepting the treaty but their acquiescence was far from complete, for the concessions they were able to win made them believe they were still left a chance to avert the conquest, which during Lugard's temporal absence from Buganda they were quick to take.

Already on 31st December 1890, only five days after the signing of the treaty, Kabaka Mwanga attempted to make Lugard amend or withdraw such terms of the treaty as seemed most detrimental to Buganda's cause.⁶⁵ Not long afterwards Mwanga induced Lugard to invite Emin Pasha in his name to come to Buganda.⁶⁶ Keeping in mind the clause that rendered the treaty invalid if a greater European came later, Mwanga with such chiefs of his entourage as supported his struggle to maintain the autonomy and independence of Buganda, desired political support from other European monarchs and saw their power as a counterpoise to the British. Actually, making use of the temporal presence in Buganda of Dr Stuhlmann, Emin Pasha's lieutenant, two chiefs, a Roman Catholic and a Protestant, went over to him and asked him to hoist the German flag. "They are anxious to get the Germans (and especially the French) or any other counterpoise", commented Lugard, writing in his diary the same evening when the rumours of the incident reached him. "I fancy that they think if they can introduce other Europeans, that we shall quarrel, and they will

⁶¹ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. III, p. 25.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 26. Lugard himself admitted this in his diary, in the entry of 2nd March, 1891.

⁶⁴ The only outstanding member of the Kabaka's entourage who refused to sign or even witness the treaty was Mwanga's close and faithful friend Morisi Kinywakyamagwa.

⁶⁵ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 49.

⁶⁶ See the entry of 13th January 1891, in *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 57.

get rid of us all. I do not think they want any Europeans of any kind — at least the King certainly does not.”⁶⁷

The following eight months of Lugard's absence from Kampala on his expedition to Equatoria were a period of uncertain company control. Mwanga felt that a time came for him to recapture an independent position and shake off foreign control. Towards this end he bent his political strategy. He knew from experience that he could not count on the loyalty of Apolo Kaggwa and his clique of Protestant chiefs or their support for his political course. The apparently successful manner in which they had previously blocked his policy and his perception of British strength forced Mwanga to look elsewhere for means that would compensate for the domestic opposition to his authority. These he saw in gaining foreign intervention on his behalf against the British and their sycophants, while on the domestic front he attempted to strengthen his position in Kiganda political life and gain support for his political designs by surrounding himself with loyal chiefs and favourites.

Meanwhile each political party in the kingdom had been furthering its cause. The joint expedition against their Muslim adversaries had removed the only point that still bound the two political groups together. Characteristically for their future political orientation, the Protestant commanders marched to battle under the Company flag, while the Catholic chiefs and their adherents resolutely refused to fly it.⁶⁸ Soon after their return to Mengo, they were once again embroiled in their disputes springing from religio-political division of power in Buganda. Left virtually on their own, for Williams in his position was hardly more than a passive and helpless witness, each political party was racing for numbers and longing to purge the country of its opponents. It was about this time that the issue of religious freedom and liberty of conscience urged by Bishop Hirth and Catholic Baganda was once again raised, and adopted by Williams. But Apolo Kaggwa's party recognizing the imbalance of power and their own weak position during this period of uncertain Company support, would not hear of this unless it was definitely proved that the country was really under the British. To demonstrate this they wished to see the company flag hoisted over the royal palace. This, of course, Mwanga and his supporters were not prepared to do and instead Mwanga had an old flag of his father Mutesa hoisted over his palace. Apolo Kaggwa's party felt crushed. A decisive confrontation was expected between the two opposing parties. War drums were beaten for several succeeding nights.⁶⁹ It was about this time that an unsuccessful attempt at Mwanga's life was planned and carried out by the Protestant party. Williams who allegedly had himself

⁶⁷ See the entry of 30th December 1890, in *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 48.

⁶⁸ Lugard, F. D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 126—136.

⁶⁹ Brard à Livinhac, 30 May 1892, W.F.A., C14—441, a copy of the original manuscript letter is in C15—81, 31 pp. See also *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 56, Octobre 1892 and *Rapport du P. Brard, missionnaire dans l'Ouganda, sur les derniers événements*, Rubaga 30 Mai 1892, *Missions d'Alger*, No. 95, Octobre 1892.

recently threatened Mwanga with death, let the murderers go unpunished. A Catholic version of what happened is derived from White Fathers letters and an indignant letter of Baganda Catholic chiefs to Cardinal Lavigerie complaining of Protestant and British machinations aimed at violating the power of the Kabaka and the Catholic chiefs and even attempting with impunity at his life.⁷⁰ The Protestant sources, whether missionary or Baganda, kept silent about this incident.

Frightened, Mwanga perceived that his best remaining chance lay in a foreign intervention on his behalf against his rebellious subjects and their British allies. In October 1891 in letters addressed to Sire (most likely the Pope), the Belgian king Leopold, and the French and German governments, he appealed to them to "come to his assistance" and "help him to preserve what is his, his country and his life" under the pretext of religion, education and commerce.⁷¹

"...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... Signé : Mwanga Kabaka du Buganda." (All emphasis mine, V.P.)⁷²

⁷⁰ Hirth à Lavigerie, 15 Octobre 1891, W.F.A., C13—520 and the letter of Catholic Baganda to Cardinal Lavigerie, C15—34, also enclosed in Hirth to Lavigerie, C13—463, 15 November 1891.

⁷¹ Mwanga au Roi des Belges, Octobre 1891, W.F.A., C13—521. Identical letter is in C15—33—37 Lettres de Mwanga et des Catholiques Baganda. See also W.F.A., Fonds Livinhac, Dossier 88 Mwanga aux Rois d'Europe, Octobre 1891 and Hirth to Lavigerie, C13—463. "La deuxième lettre (la première était de Baganda Catholiques à Lavigerie), celle du roi, est adressée particulièrement à Sa Majesté le Roi des Belges ; peut-être une copie de la même lettre pourrait-elle être adressée au gouvernement allemand. (Les deux lettres sont dans leur forme primitive comme elles n'ont été remises.)

⁷² Quoted from a letter by Mwanga addressed to Sire (most likely the Pope) of October 1891, in W.F.A., C13—521. Copy in C15—33, originally enclosed in Hirth to Lavigerie, C13—463, Rubaga 15 November 1891.

We can safely presume that Mwanga had been instigated to pursue such a diplomacy by Catholic missionaries and especially Bishop Hirth who in his fervour to see Catholicism advance would have preferred to see the country freed from the British. But while Mwanga's previous political adviser Lourdel had wished the country to remain independent, Hirth would have preferred to make it a part of Belgian Congo.⁷³

Mwanga's temporal respite from white pressure ended abruptly when Lugard re-entered Kampala on the last day of December 1891. Reinforced by newly enlisted Sudanese soldiers and well-supplied with arms and ammunition by two caravans from the coast, Lugard was no longer prepared to put up with Mwanga's persistent refusal of Company's flag and suzerainty. Of necessity he had backed down at his previous visit, but this time he would not be put off at any cost. The situation in the country had by December 1891 noticeably worsened, since growing numbers of the Baganda had rallied to the anti-British banner, and there was every likelihood that a military confrontation might ensue. The political deterioration was clearly marked by the absence of a number of Baganda leaders from councils and deliberations with Lugard. Prominent among them was the Kawuta, Sepiriya Mutagwanya. Once a daily visitor to the fort, whose decision and council was instrumental in the negotiations on the signing of the treaty, he had by now firmly identified himself with anti-British opposition around Kabaka Mwanga led by Maurice Kinywakyamagwa and Gaburieli Kintu. According to a contemporary Luganda source, the song "Kampala will make men fight" was sung in those days and "the Catholic chiefs and peasants made huge axes with which to cut the boxes of the Englishmen, and huge knives with which to cut the heads of the Nubians, and whistles they would blow after conquering Kampala".⁷⁴ The same contemporary eyewitness recorded: "In January 1892 we slept with our cartridge belts round our waists and with our guns under our pillows and carried these with us to Church expecting war all the time."⁷⁵ Protestants were commonly accused of having sold the country to the English and called "the men of the Muzungu of Kampala". At about this time Kabaka Mwanga is quoted as saying openly that Apolo Kagwa was not the Katikkiro of himself but of Captain Lugard of Kampala.⁷⁶

⁷³ See Hirth to Lavigerie, Rubaga 15 October 1891, W.F.A., C13—520 bis. Hirth himself saw two ways how to save the country for Catholicism. Either to have British officers better disposed to it or liberate the country, free it from British influence, not, however, to give it independence, but to make it a part of Belgian Congo.

⁷⁴ Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda né Kabaka*, p. 354. Elsewhere Zimbe, who belonged to the collaborative Protestant faction, noted: "Buganda was administered by military officers then (apparently in January 1891, V.P.) — they had a number of soldiers with them and were equipped with canons and magazine rifles and had large powers. Buganda was consequently conquered (italics are mine, V.P.) because *English Europeans were very much feared because of their armed soldiers on guard*." See Zimbe, op. cit., p. 345.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 354.

⁷⁶ Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, pp. 352—353.

The military confrontation between the IBEA Company representing British imperialism on the offensive and the Baganda resisters, interlocked within the rivalry between Catholic and Protestant factions, was soon to break out. The immediate cause of the military conflict was found in the Mugoloba case. This incident, little different from a long chain of similar ones so common during the whole of the previous year, was to precipitate what has been falsely called "the civil war of 1892" or "the war of the English and French or the Catholics and the Protestants". The details of both the incident and of the ensuing military confrontation, the battle of Mengo, have been fully described elsewhere and should not detain us long here.⁷⁷

In brief, a minor Catholic chief Mugoloba had his gun stolen by Protestants. He adopted the legal course of appealing to the Katikkiro Apolo Kaggwa for restitution. After a few days he got tired of waiting and formed a plot to steal another gun in exchange. When, however, the gun was stolen from a Protestant, a certain Tabula, fellow Protestants took the law into their own hands, pursued the thief and tried to force their way into Mugoloba's enclosure. Shots were exchanged, without its being clear who fired first, and Tabula was shot dead. Kabaka Mwanga tried the case and according to the Kiganda usage decided the case against the Protestants.

Of this case, in Lugard's eyes "the wanton murder of a Protestant by a Catholic in the streets of Mengo", Lugard made an issue of political authority between the Company and the king. Convinced that "a storm was brewing", Lugard took the king's denial to change his verdict and hand the murderer over to him for execution as an affront to his person and to the prestige and authority of the Company.⁷⁸ Lugard's policy towards the Baganda which had always been deliberately aggressive and based on a display of force, including a show of the drill of his trained soldiers and a demonstration of the fire-power of his Maxims,⁷⁹ now switched from the mere display to the arbitrament of force.

It is fair to assume that Lugard's deliberately aggressive and high-handed policy

⁷⁷ Rowe, J. A.: *Lugard at Kampala*, op. cit., *The Macdonald Report*, op. cit., Catholic Union of Great Britain: *Memorandum on the War in Uganda 1892*. Copy in W.F.A., Fonds Livinhac, Dossier No. 81(B), and a wide array of Catholic missionary reports such as in W.F.A., C15—71—75, *Troubles de l'Ouganda 1892*. Documents sur les événements eux-mêmes; Rapport de Mgr. Hirth sur les récents événements de l'Ouganda, in Hirth à Livinhac, Station allemande de Bukoba (Kiziba), 10 février 1892, W.F.A., C13—584; P. Moullec: *Les Événements de l'Ouganda en 1892 par un témoin oculaire*, W.F.A., C15—84; Notes du P. Moullec sur le massacre de Bulingugwe, 30 Janvier 1892 et l'emprisonnement des Pères à Kampala, W.F.A., C15—82, quoted also in *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 59, Juillet 1893; Guillermain to Livinhac, *Événements de l'Ouganda*, 31 March 1892, In: *Missions d'Alger*, Juillet 1892, No. 94.

⁷⁸ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. III, p. 26.

⁷⁹ A couple of times Lugard held a military display "thinking the lesson might be not without its advantages". See his diary, Vol. II, p. 48. The first military show of 10th March 1891 was, however, in his own words, "a miserable failure" for the Maxim jammed and only the bayonet exercise and fired volleys of the Sudanese soldiers "were very good indeed" and "produced a great effect". Only a few days later, on 17th March, Lugard could be fully satisfied as the Maxim rattled off without a hitch and he could display

served him as a pretext to force the British rule upon Buganda cost what it may. At night, 22nd January, he secretly issued some forty muzzle loaders and a keg of powder to the Protestant chiefs and next morning wrote to the Kabaka saying that "things were very very critical" and "if no justice was done there would be war".⁸⁰

While these events unfolded, Mwanga remained calm and even attempted to negotiate till the last event to evade the deadly conflict. In a letter he protested against the issue of guns, stating exactly the hour when the guns were handed out and interpreting it as a permission to kill him.⁸¹ On the contrary, Lugard, who persisted on giving up the murderer and a public apology of the Catholics before the Lukiiko, issued more guns, more than 500 muzzle loaders and Snider quick-firing rifles with ammunition to the Protestant leaders. On the 24th January 1892 shots were exchanged and the battle of Mengo began. Though the attack was not directed against the fort, Lugard opened fire with his Maxim guns and used them with devastating effect to drive the resisters first from Mengo and then from Bulingugwe island where they took refuge. Though "the Catholics" fought very well, Lugard's intervention no doubt proved decisive and, as he himself admitted, with his Maxim he "got right into them and sent them flying in all directions" and afterwards decided to send some 200 Sudanese rifles "fresh and as keen as mustard" with Williams after them. They rushed up the Mengo hill but the disorganized resisters with the Kabaka, "whose ammunition must have been pretty well finished", fled up before them.⁸² Rubaga, the seat of the Catholic mission was in flames, the French Fathers escaped by mere luck and one of them, a West African Hausa doctor François Gogé, was actually shot dead.

The battle of Mengo of 24th January 1892 did not end all actions of the colonial régime represented by the IBEA Company against Baganda resisters. In the war of 1892 falsely described as a war of Protestants against Catholics in which "the impartial" British just moved in to help the weaker party, Buganda was finally conquered. In reality it was, as has been correctly suggested by Dr Kiwanuka,⁸³ a war of conquest fought between the British conquerors and their collaborators against those Baganda who refused "to sell up the country to foreigners", which was,

the power of the Maxim "for the purpose of causing a moral effect in the country, and striking terror into those who are disposed to think they are a match for us". *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, pp. 116 and 118.

⁸⁰ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. III, pp. 30 and 31.

⁸¹ Ibid. Mwanga is reported as saying later to Dualla, Lugard's Swahili messenger and interpreter, without evincing fear or uneasiness: "All right. I have made my decision and won't alter it. If Captain wants war it is his matter, and he is taking a side, and not doing justly." The Catholic chiefs present, Mujasi Gaburieli Kintu, Kauta Sepiriya Mutagwanya and Musalosalo, Mulisi Sebwato Kinywakyamagwa, then, according to Lugard's (or Dualla's) account, said: "All right, if he sends Askari to help the Protestants they will be killed to a man and if there is war, we shall take Kampala, and all the goods, and not only that but all the Europeans will lose their lives." *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. III, p. 31.

⁸² *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. III, p. 34.

⁸³ See Kiwanuka, M.S.M.: *A History of Buganda*, op. cit., pp. 224—236.

however interlocked and therefore disguised by religio-political divisions of power in Buganda. The efficacy and devastating fire-power of the Maxim gun once again in Africa assured the colonial conquest and at last Mwanga's flag flying on his abandoned palace could be hauled down and replaced by the British Company's colours.

The battle which was fought in the streets of Buganda's capital at Mengo was, however, to be only the first in a series of further bloody actions and atrocities committed by the colonial régime and the Baganda collaborators against those fighting on the Kabaka's side. The outcome of the military confrontation was not as yet clear, for the Kabaka with a mass of retreating Catholic chiefs had avoided capture. Some escaped with Mwanga to the island of Bulingugwe, the other with the Saza chiefs such as Sekibobo Sebowa, Kago Sematimba and Kangawo Nsingisira went to Kyagwe. Messages were sent the following day after the refugee Kabaka urging him to return under threats of deposition. Lugard and his Protestant allies offered to reinstate both Mwanga and most Catholic chiefs,⁸⁴ provided they would accept the flag and hence the British supremacy, the actual terms, however, were only to be discussed when Mwanga arrived. On the 26th January Mgr. Hirth, the French bishop, was permitted to go over to the Bulingugwe island to help to impose the terms of the ultimatum on the Kabaka's party and bring back the king.

Very little if anything has been written about the events of the following weeks and the brutal actions taken by the colonial régime against the Baganda resisters despite the wealth of evidence extant.⁸⁵ After waiting six days Lugard once again resorted to force and sent one hundred Sudanese troops under Captain Williams with a number of the collaborating Baganda to attack Mwanga and his supporters at their base at the Bulingugwe island. The island which was impregnable in the war against the Muslims

⁸⁴ With the exception of the Mujasi Gaburieli Kintu, the Musalosalo Maurice Kinywakyamagwa and the Kawuta Sepiriya Mutagwanya, for, in Lugard's own words, they "were the ones present in the Baraza when we were insulted". See *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. III, p. 39.

⁸⁵ Several distinct versions of what happened were recorded by those involved, eyewitnesses and participants. The Protestant version can be found in accounts by Lugard, the C.M.S. missionaries and some Baganda contemporaries, Zimbe, Miti, Kaggwa, none of whom, however, supported Mwanga. The Catholic version of the war of 1892 can be derived from the diaries kept by the White Fathers and numerous letters and reports written by them which are presently available in the White Fathers Archives in Rome. Apart from the sources referred to under Note 77, see also e.g. *L'Ouganda et les Agissements de la Compagnie Anglaise "East-Africa"* (Père Mesnage). Paris, A la Procure des Missions d'Afrique 1892; Père J. M.: *L'Ouganda. La Mission Catholique et les Agents de la Compagnie Anglaise*. Paris, A la Procure des Missions d'Afrique 1893. Lugard's version is given in his *Diaries and Reports to the IBEA Company*. Hirth to Lavigerie, 14 February 1893 comments Lugard's Report No. 4 to IBEA Co., "Ces documents du Capitaine Lugard est non un rapport mais une apologie". W.F.A., C13—601. Correspondence relating to the events can be also found in W.F.A., C13—582, C13—586, Hirth à Livinhac, 6 Mars 1892 and 1 Avril 1892 respectively, C13—588 Hirth à Lavigerie, 25 Avril 1892; C13—599 Williams to Hirth, 17 January 1893; Lugard to Achte, 7 March 1892 C15—71. A wealth of evidence is collected in C15 Nos 85—167 *Troubles de l'Ouganda*.

was invaded with much brutality and slaughter since the Maxim was deployed with all its devastating fire-power to cover the landing. The efficacy of the Maxim was fully displayed in driving the Baganda from the island and brought about an utter rout. Lugard himself, who wrote a lot of questionable and contradictory things about the events and quite understandably denied that atrocities were committed, had admitted in his diary that the whole fighting was done by the Maxim. "Williams got in among them handsomely with the Maxim, and drove back every charge, and sank large numbers of canoes... A very great many I am told were killed, very many more drowned."⁸⁶ Mwanga with Bishop Hirth and some followers managed to escape from the island southwards to Kiziba and Buddu where preparations were made for the anti-colonial war to continue. An enormous quantity of loot was taken at Bulin-gugwe, Mwanga's ivory, all his wives and things belonging to the White Fathers. More battles and bloody engagements had to be fought before Mwanga eventually returned to Mengo on March 30th. Meanwhile Lugard, who insisted on the Catholics surrendering the Kabaka as the first condition of any settlement and refused all Catholic attempts at negotiations and the White Fathers' suggestions of the partition of the kingdom between the two rival factions, threatened to come to terms with the Muslim faction and enthrone Mwanga's uncle Prince Mbogo if there was any further delay.⁸⁷ Having defeated the anti-British resistance, Lugard could dictate terms. Backed by the White Fathers Mwanga no doubt still believed that the situation could be turned in his favour and they could negotiate an equal partition of the country. To this end the resisters and their missionary advisers bent their efforts since the end of February. But when in March they sent Kimbugwe Stanislas Mugwanya and Sekibobo Alexis Sebowa to negotiate the division of the country, Lugard held a triumph card. Mwanga's position became critical and his options severely limited for the Muslims, who had three princes with them, suddenly also wished to come to terms. Under threats of deposition Mwanga deserted his followers and on the 30th March 1892, sixty-six days after his defeat and flight from Buganda, reached Mengo. On the first April a White Father noted in Rubaga Diary: "Mwanga ressemble plus à un prisonnier qu'à un kabaka du Buganda."⁸⁸

Writing in the mission diary on 18th July, the same Catholic missionary characterized the situation in the country as follows: "Le Katikkiro va faire sa visite au roi. Il est accompagné d'un tel fracas de tambours et de tromphets, qu'à distance, on se demande si c'est le roi qui va visiter son ministre. C'est bien un peu cela."⁸⁹ The success of the Maxim gun not only secured Lugard's victory in the war of 1892 and

⁸⁶ *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. III, p. 40.

⁸⁷ *Lugard Diaries*. Vol. III, pp. 32—132; also Lugard à Achte, 7 Mars 1892, W.F.A., C15—71.

⁸⁸ *Diaire de Sainte-Marie du Rubaga*, 1 Avril 1892, also quoted in *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 56, Octobre 1892.

⁸⁹ *Diaire de Sainte-Marie du Rubaga*, 18 Juillet 1892, also quoted in *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 58, Avril 1893.

made clear the Company's supremacy in the country, but with British help the domestic forces arrayed against Mwanga triumphed after the war. The war of 1892 tilted the fictitious balance of power in favour of the numerically inferior Protestant faction and turned the Protestant minority into a ruling class. With the military backing of the British, the Protestant leaders became the masters of Buganda. Since there was for a time no Kabaka and they were handicapped in having no Prince to put on Mwanga's throne, the Protestant leader Katikkiro Apolo Kaggwa was made Sebwana to assume his powers, to issue orders and what was most important, to appoint chiefs belonging to the Protestant establishment to the posts that had been held by the Catholics. On March 12, 1892 all the big and minor Catholic posts were actually redistributed. As a participant observed: "To have all power in the country, to have the Kabaka fear us and be unable to do anything against us, are the motives that led us, 49 days after Mwanga was away, to distribute posts held by Roman Catholics to new occupants."⁹⁰

A new treaty between Mwanga and the IBEA Company was signed on 11th April in which the Kabaka acknowledged the suzerainty of the Company. The Company's flag now flew over Mwanga's palace and great pressure was put on him to become a Protestant. On the 20th April an agreement was finally reached for a redistribution of the major chieftainships. Of the ten saza chieftainships of Buganda, the Protestants secured the six, the Muslims, who had surrendered the princes, were given the three small counties of Butambala, Gomba and Busujju, and the defeated Catholics were allocated the far off Buddu.⁹¹ The war of 1892 thus saw the triumph of the Protestant collaborating minority who enjoyed the confidence of the British colonial officials. The support which the British gave to the Protestant faction was crucial for it and for its strong and ambitious leader Apolo Kaggwa and made its ascendancy in the Kiganda political system safe for the next few generations.

Lugard then left for England to wage a campaign for the retention of Buganda in which he was strongly supported by the C.M.S. As a result, Sir Gerald Portal was sent to Buganda to sign a provisional treaty with Mwanga on 29 May 1893. The Company's flag was replaced by the Union Jack and the British Government took over Buganda.⁹² On June 19th, 1894 the Protectorate over Buganda was formally announced in the "London Gazette" and on August 27th the Acting Commissioner

⁹⁰ Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, p. 375.

⁹¹ For the text of Lugard's second treaty, as well as Portal and Colville's treaties see Wild, J. V.: *The Story of the Uganda Agreement*, pp. 62—66, 73—76 and 78—81, respectively. A French translation of Lugard's treaty is also in W.F.A., C13—587. See also W.F.A., C15—72, 5 Avril 1892 Proposition d'accord contre catholiques et protestants, in Luganda, French translation is in C15—72 (bis), and C15—74, 7 Avril 1893, Accord entre les chefs de la mission catholique et de la mission protestante au sujet du nouveau partage des offices et du territoire, partage qu'ils s'engagent à faire accepter.

⁹² For Portal's mission see Reports relating to Uganda by Sir Gerald Portal. Africa No. 2, 1894, C-7303, a copy in the W.F.A., 282.11 and Portal, Sir Gerald: *The British Mission to Uganda in 1893*. Edited with a Memoir by Rennell Rodd. London, Edward Arnold 1894. Sir Gerald Portal succeeded to

Colonel Colville declared the British Protectorate at Mengo and signed a new treaty with Kabaka Mwanga. It looked as if European rule had been accepted, but the British in Buganda were to learn that occupation did not mean an end to resistance when the Baganda rose in an anti-British and anti-colonial rising in summer 1897.

On Tuesday, July 6, 1897 at 3 a.m. Kabaka Mwanga secretly left his palace cutting his way through the reed fences, went down to the Lake and with a small following set out for Buddu with the intention of raising a rebellion against the existing régime.⁹³ After a two days' journey via the Busabala-Buvu-Kaziru route, Mwanga safely reached Buddu, where the ringleaders Gaburieli Kintu, Louis Katabalwa, Serugo Goggwa, Maurice Kinywakyamagwa, Bisigolo Kajejero and others waited for him. Left without dependable Baganda allies at the court and under pressure from the British and their collaborators, Mwanga perceived that his best remaining chance lay in flight away from his many enemies to a place where he might find the most widespread support among the local population. Buddu was the county of heaviest Catholic concentration where also quite a large number of Muslims were living.

July was a well-chosen time because Major Ternan, the Acting Commissioner, was away fighting the Nandi with nearly all the troops. Mwanga seized the opportunity afforded by the temporal absence of the Government troops to mobilize the domestic forces hostile to the British and the collaborating Protestant establishment. Since his restoration to the throne after the war of 1892, Mwanga was gradually shorn of most of his former powers and his authority was systematically undermined. A series of incidents in the last two years strengthened Mwanga's resolve to rise against the colonial régime.⁹⁴ With the exception of the top members of the Protestant establishment and the top two Catholic leaders Mugwanya and Sebowa,⁹⁵

allot a bigger portion of land to Catholics, a narrow road between Buddu and Mengo and a more substantial share in the offices of state. Another innovation that Portal introduced was that he split important offices between the Protestants and Catholic factions. Thus a Catholic mujasi, chief of the army, and a gabunga, chief of canoes, were appointed as duplicates to Protestants holding the same offices and the head of the Catholic faction and the former kimbugwe Stanislas Mugwanya was made a Catholic katikkiro. The practice was abolished by the 1900 Uganda Agreement.

⁹³ Miti, J.: *History of Buganda*, p. 532; Church Missionary Intelligencer, Uganda, Vol. III, 1895—1901, November 1897, p. 813; G. Wilson to Ternan, 6 July 1897, Entebbe Secretariat Archives (henceforth E.S.A.), A4/8, 1897; Père Ménandais à un Père, Marienberg, Kiziba, 3 Août 1897, W.F.A., Fonds Livinhac, Dossier No. 83, Evénements 1897—1898. There had been an attempt at conspiracy to overthrow the Government made earlier that year by two Baganda chiefs Kaima and Mukwenda in which a third chief Mujasi Gaburieli Kintu was involved; see Ternan to Salisbury, June 23 and July 13, 1897, F.O./L; G. Wilson to Ternan, July 9, 1897, E.S.A., A4/9; Diaire du Rubaga, Janvier 1897; Chronique trimestrielle, No. 74, Avril 1897.

⁹⁴ Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 466—630; Statement by Rev. E. Millar on Political Events in Uganda of October 1897. In: Church Missionary Intelligencer, Uganda, Vol. III, 1895—1901, p. 770; also a letter from Rev. E. Millar to a private friend, dated Mengo, Uganda, December 28, 1896, in the C.M.S. Archives, Eastern Equatorial Africa Mission, G3/A5/013; Berkeley to Salisbury, December 14, 1896, F.O./XLVIII, 1897.

⁹⁵ Mugwanya was the only Catholic member of the twenty-one members of The Deposition Council,

who collaborated effectively with the colonial administration, disaffection with the colonial régime was growing in the country. As early as July 1895 the White Fathers noted in their Diary: "L'état des esprits n'est pas bon. Un grand mécontentement contre les Anglais gronde partout, surtout dans le camp protestant. Un rien pourrait faire éclater la révolte."⁹⁶ Limitation of space does not allow us to go into details. A detailed description of the preparation, organization and course of the war of independence in 1897—1899, would require a separate study. An objective and properly documented account of this anti-colonial rebellion is still to be written. Many accounts of what happened were recorded by Baganda contemporaries and participants, the C.M.S. missionaries and the colonial officials. A wealth of information can be derived from diaries kept by White Fathers and numerous reports written by them which are kept presently in their Archives in Rome.

Though Mwanga failed to gather a universal support, a large proportion of population supported his cause and contrary to the prevailing opinion some senior Christian chiefs joined him. There were 14,000 Baganda fighting for him on the Kabuwoko ridge on July 15, 1897 and the resisters were during the early stages of their fight superior in numbers.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the superiority in weapons as well as better system of drill and tactics placed the odds in favour of the colonial régime and the collaborating Baganda establishment and Mwanga's forces were defeated in the very first battle. After his double defeat in Buddu, on Kabuwoko hill and Marongo, Mwanga retreated to German East Africa but his followers under the former Mujasi Gaburieli Kintu continued their fight. Seven expeditions had to be dispatched against them and their evasive leader who adopted the strategy of guerilla warfare, avoiding direct confrontation.⁹⁸ Many fierce engagements were fought, such as that at Malongo in which, had it not been for their 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, for following this battle they had to avoid pitched battles and resort more and more to guerilla tactics since

none of which was a Muslim. Not long after Mwanga's fight this Council proclaimed his one year old son Daudi Chwa Kabaka in his stead and power was given into the hands of three regents: the Protestant and Catholic Katikkiros Apolo Kagwa and Stanislas Mugwanya and the Protestant Kangawo Zakaria Kizito Kisingiri. See Kagwa, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, pp. 207—211; Ternan to Salisbury, August 14, 1897 and enclosure, F.O./LI.

⁹⁶ *Diaire du Rubaga*, 31 Juillet 1895, quoted in *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 70, Avril 1896.

⁹⁷ It is impossible to quote all the references or to give a meaningful selection of them. Detailed accounts are in the above-mentioned Luganda sources, Miti, Kagwa, pp. 207—64; *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 77, Janvier 1898; Diary of Rev. G. K. Baskerville of Ngogwe, June 4, 1898, C.M. Intelligencer, Vol. III, Uganda, 1895—1901, p. 123; also Ternan to Salisbury, July 20, 1897, F.O./L.

⁹⁸ There is much detailed information on the military expeditions against the rebels in the F.C. Correspondence. See e.g. Ternan to Salisbury, July 29, 1897 and enclosures, F.O./LI; 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.

they were not able to muster large enough numbers. In December 1897 Mwanga escaped from the German custody and some months later made a common cause with Kabarega of Bunyoro.⁹⁹ 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 the Baganda chiefs Semei Kakungulu and Kimbugwe Andereya.¹⁰⁰ After the final defeat the two rulers were deported first to Kisimayu and later to the Seychelles to die in exile.¹⁰¹

With the anti-British and anti-colonial rebellion of 1897—1899 the long struggle of Mwanga and his Baganda supporters to maintain the autonomy and independence of their kingdom culminated. Mwanga's resistance to European imperialism gives a fundamental consistency to the seemingly inconsistent policies and manoeuvres associated with his name. They were all aimed at the basic objectives that he had been pursuing ever since his accession to the throne: the preservation of his own absolute political power and of the autonomy and independence of his country in the face of the escalating encroachment of the British imperialism and the domestic opposition to his policies.

⁹⁹ 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.

¹⁰⁰ Ternan to Salisbury, April 15, 1899, with enclosure, F.O./LVII.

¹⁰¹ 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.

CLASSIFIERS IN THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. EVOLUTION OF A LEXICO-SYNTACTIC CATEGORY

VIKTOR KRUPA, Bratislava

In this study the category of classifiers in various languages of Southeast Asia and Pacific is examined. It is stressed here that the grammatical status of the nominal categorization manifested in a variety of classes correlates with the sheer number of the classifiers; this is an additional proof that quantity may affect quality in a language.

The languages of Southeast Asia do not represent a genetic unity; in addition to three great linguistic families, i.e., Sinotibetan, Austroasiatic, and Austronesian there are Japanese and Korean. And yet they share a variety of typological features. Some of these features occur only in several languages of the area while others are almost omnipresent. One of the latter is the existence of a set of frequently occurring markers variously assigned the status of affixes, particles or words and usually termed classifiers or numeratives. They occur, e.g., in Burmese, Karen, Thai, Khmer, Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Indonesian, Malay, Trukese as well as in some other languages of the area; outside Southeast Asia they have been reported from Amerindian languages (Tzeltal).

All languages listed above are notable for an incompatibility of nouns with numerals. If a certain quantity is to be indicated, the appropriate numeral is combined with a member of the set of classifiers, and this complex unit in its turn is compatible with the noun to be quantified, e.g., Indonesian *dua ekor buaya* two crocodiles (*dua* = two, *ekor* = animal classifier, *buaya* = crocodile), Japanese *gakusei ga sanjū-nin* thirty students (*gakusei* = student, *sanjū* = thirty, *nin* = human classifier), Chinese *san-pen shu* three books (*san* = three, *pen* = classifier for books, *shu* = book). In addition to the numerals, some languages require the presence of classifiers in other environments as well. Thus in the Thai language, the classifiers combine also with determinative and indefinite pronouns (e.g., with *nī* this, *nan* that, *dīou kan* the same) and under certain conditions with the attribute as well. Besides, the classifiers in Thai may combine directly with the noun, functioning in the pre-nominal position and giving the noun an additional meaning of definiteness, e.g., *khan rōt* the car (*khan* = classifier, *rōt* = car). Another peculiarity of Thai is the co-occurrence of the classifiers with personal pronouns and even with proper

names, in which case they are, naturally, grammatically superfluous.¹ The classifier in a pre-nominal position marks the noun as definite in Vietnamese as well. In contemporary Vietnamese *cái* (inanimate classifier) and *con* (animate classifier) mark the subsequent word unambiguously as a noun, at the same time playing the part of a definite article, e.g., *cái bàn* the table, *cái nhà* the house, *con trâu* the buffalo, *cái đẹp* beauty.² In Chinese, the classifiers combine not only with the numerals including *chí* how many, e.g., *san-chih ch'ienpi* three pencils (*san* = three, *chih* = classifier, *ch'ienpi* = pencil), *chi-pen shu* how many books (*chi* = how many, *pen* = classifier, *shu* = book) but are also obligatory with the demonstrative pronouns, e.g., *che-pen shu* this book (*che* = this, *pen* = classifier, *shu* = book), *na-chih ch'ienpi* that pencil (*na* = that, *chih* = classifier, *ch'ienpi* = pencil), *mei-pen shu* each book (*mei* = each, *pen* = classifier, *shu* = book). At the northeastern periphery of the area, in Japanese and Korean the classifiers are more restricted in their distribution, co-occurring only with the numerals, e.g., Japanese *kami wa futa-hashira* two gods (*kami* = god, *futa* = two, *hashira* = classifier), *tegami wa nan-tsū* how many letters (*tegami* = letter, *nan* = how many, *tsū* = classifier). The classifier in Japanese, although being the head of construction, is notable for its considerable phonetical dependence upon the immediately preceding numeral. Likewise in Korean the classifiers are compatible only with the numerals, e.g., *k'al han charu* one knife (*k'al* = knife, *han* = one, *charu* = classifier). In Indonesian and Malay, at the southern periphery of the Southeast Asian area, the classifiers occur in the same environments as in Japanese and Korean, i.e., only with the numerals, e.g., Indonesian *lima ekor kuda* five horses (*lima* = five, *ekor* = classifier, *kuda* = horse), *seorang gadis* one girl (*se* = one, *orang* = classifier, *gadis* = girl). As far as other Indonesian languages are concerned, the classifiers occur in Minangkabau, Makassar, Sumbawan, Tsou (in Taiwan) and elsewhere.³ On the whole, they seem to fade out eastwards. In Oceania, the most complex category of classifiers is found in Trukese.⁴ In some Oceanic languages two classifiers occur, one for human beings and the other for inanimate objects and animals, e.g. Fijian *e lewe vuqa na tamata* many people (*lewe* = classifier, *vuqa* = many, *tamata* = people) but *e na vuqa na gauna* many times (*gauna* = time) or Maori *ngā kōtiro tokorua* two girls (*kōtiro* = girl, *toko* = classifier, *rua* = two) but *ngā waka ērua* two canoes (*waka* = canoe, *ē* = classifier, *rua* = two).

¹ Blagonravova, Y. L.: *O grammaticheskom i leksicheskom znachenii klassifikatorov v sovremenno-m taiskom yazyke. Yazyki Kitaya i Yugo-vostochnoi Azii*. Moscow, Nauka 1974, p. 79.

² Solntsev, V. M.—Lekomtsev, Y. K.—Mkhitaryan, T. T.—Glebova, I. I.: *Vietnamskii yazyk*. Moscow, Izd. vostochnoi literatury 1960, pp. 64—65.

³ Arakin, V. D.: *Indonezijskie yazyki*. Moscow, Nauka 1965, p. 120.

⁴ Benton, R. A.: *Nominal and Attributive Classifiers in Trukese*. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 7, 1968, pp. 104—146.

The classifiers are sometimes confused with units of measure. Y. N. Mazur⁵ includes the measures in Korean in the class of classifiers. Likewise N. F. Alieva, V. D. Arakin, A. K. Ogloblin, and Y. K. Sirk in their grammar of the Indonesian language⁶ accept the opinion that the Indonesian classifiers do not differ grammatically from the units of measure and therefore no clearcut line can be drawn between them. On the contrary, O. Švarný, Čang Ťing Rotterová and J. Bartůšek⁷ regard the measures in Chinese as transitional between autosemantic nouns and classifiers. Grammatically this is manifested in their ability to combine with the numerals on the one hand and in their autosemanticity as well as ability of being determined by attributes on the other hand. Y. L. Blagonravova⁸ views the measures of Thai as a class separately from the classifiers. S. E. Martin⁹ has arrived at the most plausible conclusion concerning the mutual relations of measures and classifiers. According to him, both are subclasses of a class termed counters. This solution accounts both for their similarities and differences in meaning as well as in distribution and although Martin's data are only from Japanese, his results apply to other languages equally well. Thus even if the measures are in many respects similar to the classifiers, they are better kept apart. The reasons are semantic (the measures are compatible only with the mass nouns) and distributional (they may take attributes, cf. a bottle of wine — a big bottle of wine). And, finally, the measures seem to be universal throughout the world while the classifiers are found only in some languages. And yet it is the measures that give us the best clue to penetrating into the nature of classifiers. The measures are required for the quantification of the mass nouns, i. e., of such nouns that are indifferent to the category of number and that represent their referents as having no definite shape (like water, tobacco, sand, flour, etc.). In the Southeast Asian languages *all* nouns are treated in this way upon the grammatical level. The noun as a lexeme comprises no quantity parameter in these languages. The basic form of the noun is insensitive to the category of number and its quantity ought to be specified externally. Some authors maintain that the noun as such is regarded by the speakers of these languages as marking a sort of plurality;¹⁰ however, it seems more correct to interpret the basic form as simply indefinite or vague in the quantitative respect. Thus a similar situation obtains for all nouns in the Southeast Asian languages as is known to exist in European languages when mass nouns are concerned. Therefore, classifiers or counters are needed with all nouns here. This fits

⁵ Mazur, Y. N.: *Koreiskii yazyk*. Moscow, Izd. vostochnoi literatury 1960, p. 60.

⁶ Alieva, N. F.—Arakin, V. D.—Ogloblin, A. K.—Sirk, Y. K.: *Grammatika indoneziiskogo yazyka*. Moscow, Nauka 1972, p. 206.

⁷ Švarný, O.—Rotterová, Čang Ťing—Bartůšek, J.: *Úvod do hovorové čínštiny*. Part 1. Prague, SPN 1967, pp. 154—155.

⁸ Blagonravova, Y. L., op. cit., p. 79.

⁹ Martin, S. E.: *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*. New Haven—London, Yale University Press 1975, p. 775.

¹⁰ Arakin, V. D., op. cit., p. 119.

very well into what is known of the typological characteristic of word in the languages of Southeast Asia. A lexeme in these languages usually contains no explicit markers whatsoever of its possible syntactic functions. Such markers appear upon the level of sentence, whether in the quality of word order or particles and other analytical devices.

As the title of this paper indicates, the classifiers are regarded as markers of a lexico-syntactic category. The syntactic aspect of this category consists in the fact that the classifiers serve as formal links between the numeral and the noun. On the other hand, the lexical aspect is due to the existence of a whole set of classifiers. One classifier would be sufficient for syntactic purposes and therefore the choice of an appropriate classifier is determined by purely semantic factors. The number of classifiers ranges from many tens (up to eighty or ninety in Thai, seventy in Malay, etc.) to two (e.g., in Maori and other Polynesian languages). This means that nouns in these languages are subdivided into as many classes as there are classifiers and the latter are the only explicit markers of these classes.

Strangely enough, no authors have paid notice to the interesting fact that the grammatical status of the nominal categorization manifested in a variety of classes correlates with the sheer number of the classifiers. The difference between a language displaying several tens of classifiers and one that has only two of them is considerable. In the former instance the classes are inevitably based upon some sort of folk categorization; the classificatory criteria most frequently used are shape of the referent or some of its other conspicuous peculiarities. The classes defined in this way often overlap, e.g., Karen *klé* 'plots of land in row' — *kə* 'plots of ground, *thú* 'trees, posts' — *thi* 'trees, *kló* streams of water' — *lò* 'streams',¹¹ Malay *rangkai* bunch — *rongkol* bunch — *tandan* bunch.¹² A good deal of overlapping is also due to the choice of the salient feature of a referent when the noun is being counted. Thus in Japanese *hashigo* ladder may be counted with *hon*, *dai*, *kyaku* or *ko*; *jūendama* ten-yen coin with *mai* or *ko*, etc.¹³ These examples show that, despite the opinions of some linguists, the classifiers cannot be regarded as 100 % predictable.

Where the shape of referent plays a crucial role for the choice of an appropriate classifier, the motivation of the category is still productive, which is especially manifest when the speaker confronts the task of counting a noun he has never heard counted. In some languages tendencies toward a simplification of the complex nominal categorization operate and the choice of classifiers becomes conventionalized. The role of the motivation is weaker and the speaker need not consider the shape of referent. Thus in modern Indonesian (which is an extension of Malay), three classifiers have become especially frequent, i.e., *orang* human beings, *ekor*

¹¹ Jones, R. B., Jr.: *Karen Linguistic Studies*. Berkeley—Los Angeles, University of California Press 1961, pp. 19—20.

¹² Hassan, A.: *The Morphology of Malay*. Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1974, p. 196.

¹³ Martin, S. E., op. cit., p. 776.

animals and *buah* things.¹⁴ In some Malay dialects the conventionalization of the choice has taken another direction: *ekor* (literally tail) is used as classifier not only with animals but also with human beings.¹⁵ Evidence available shows that the classifier eventually may lose its original lexical meaning and turn into a formal marker. Likewise the Maori classifiers *toko* human and *ē* non-human are utterly devoid of a lexical meaning. It may be inferred that different languages display various phases of the grammaticalization of nominal categorization. These phases are not to be evaluated as more or less advanced evolutionally because of the cyclical nature of the development of grammatical structure. Different stages of grammaticalization may even co-exist in one and the same language. E.g., Indonesian seems to be abandoning the complex set of some seventy classifiers inherited from Classical Malay. Nowadays, less than a dozen of classifiers are in common usage and there is a possibility of further restrictions of their inventory. Likewise in Japanese with its wealth of specific classifiers, one can use the so-called general classifier *-tsu*, e.g. *hitotsu no empitsu* one pencil (*hito-* = one, *-tsu* = classifier, *empitsu* = pencil), instead of the more specific *ippon no empitsu* (*ip-* = one from *ichi*, *-pon* = classifier from *hon*). In modern Maori the dichotomy *toko* human versus *ē* non-human is being given up in favour of the generalized marker *ē* which thus ceases functioning as a classifier and turns into a mere marker of the syntactic relationship between the numeral and the noun, used indiscriminately with all nouns.

An examination of nominal classes in the Southeast Asian languages proves that quantity may affect quality in a language; systems comprising a high number of elements are necessarily organized in a way that differs from systems containing few elements. Interrelations among many elements are defined vaguely, and a good deal of overlapping takes place. Besides, such systems are fairly easy to change, whether by dropping some items and acquiring others or via reinterpretation.

The classifiers play yet another role in communication even if it may be regarded just as a by-product of their functioning: they are one of the means of removing homonymy. This role is more important in the Sinotibetan languages, in Vietnamese, Korean and Japanese where homonymy is much more frequent than, say, in Indonesian. This "by-product" of functioning of the classifiers is made possible because the choice of a classifier depends upon semantics. As Blagonravova puts it, "...one and the same real object is characterized twice; via nomination (as a substantive) and via indication of its class membership (per its classifier)".¹⁶ The classifiers are one of the means of extending the meaning of words and of modifying old concepts. Thus they virtually take over a part of the semantic load of the substantive. E.g., in Khmer the classifier expresses modality and courtesy, cf. *rūp*

¹⁴ Alieva, N. F. et al., op. cit., pp. 207—208.

¹⁵ Alieva, N. F. et al., op. cit., p. 207.

¹⁶ Blagonravova, Y. L., op. cit., p. 86.

human being (polite) and *neak* human being (neutral).¹⁷ The same is reported by Blagonravova for the Thai language.¹⁸

While the classifiers in the Southeast Asian languages cannot be separated from expressing quantity and individualization, they at the same time subdivide the set of nouns into a variety of classes. Nominal classes in these languages may be characterized as covert (in Whorf's terminology) since their markers occur outside them and only in certain precisely defined environments. This is typical for most Southeast Asian languages that are notable for a high degree of analytism. However, other languages seem to indicate that nominal classification may be formalized with synthetic means. In such instances the classifiers are included within the limits of the nominal lexemes as affixes, in which case overt nominal classes obtain (cf. some Caucasian, Australian, and African languages). It would be useful to compare these two types of nominal classification from the typological point of view. Finally, the noun class markers may be present not only in the noun itself but also in those nouns that determine it either as attributes or as predicates. In this instance we may speak of the grammatical concord that is an explicit, and upon the word order independent device of representing both items as belonging together within the framework of a higher syntactic unit.

¹⁷ Gorgoniev, Y. A.: *Grammatika khmerskogo yazyka*. Moscow, Nauka 1966, pp. 214—215.

¹⁸ Blagonravova, Y. L., op. cit., p. 83.

DERIVATIONAL SYSTEM OF VERBAL AND INSTANCE NOUNS IN ARABIC

LADISLAV DROZDÍK, Bratislava

The derivational system of verbal and instance nouns is presented as one of several binary systems of the Arabic word-formation. The $-\emptyset/-a$ opposition, along which the system is derivationally and inflectionally organized, is briefly characterized and its functional polyvalence is subsequently examined. The central point of interest, however, coincides with the derivational and inflectional properties of verbal and instance nouns, and the related interpretational and classificatory problems. Documented on Classical (inclusively of Modern Written) and Colloquial Arabic.

1. The derivational system of verbal (VN) and instance nouns (IN) is one of several binary systems of Arabic word-formation which involve the $-\emptyset/-a$ opposition of the respective markers. The latter opposition may equally well be interpreted in derivational as in inflectional terms. In the former case, it marks or participates in marking the membership of nouns in various derivational classes some of which will be surveyed in what follows. In the latter case, it signals the inflectional category of gender (masculine: $-\emptyset$, feminine: $-a$) or, less ordinarily, number (singular: $-\emptyset$, plural: $-a$). The most immediate result of this functional polyvalence, externally manifested in a number of formal coincidences, is its ability to stimulate shifts from one linguistic system to another and, in general, to obscure the boundaries between word-formational and inflectional phenomena in Arabic.¹

The most important pairwise organized systems of the Arabic word-formation which involve the $-\emptyset/-a$ opposition are collective and unit nouns, verbal and instance nouns, displaying a number of significant relationships with the latter which may be stated both in diachronic and synchronic terms; the derivational system of $fa^{cc}\bar{a}l$ - and $fa^{cc}\bar{a}la$ -patterned intensives with a highly diversified spectrum of derivational values, and the like.

2. Basically, the VN—IN system provides nominal means for conveying the general concept of verbal action or state, abstracted from the whole set of inflectional variations of a verb, as well as for reducing the resultant abstract value to one single occurrence or one particular manifestation of what is referred to therein. The

¹ For a number of formal coincidences, involving the $-\emptyset/-a$ opposition, which may stimulate various types of inter-systemic restatement, see our papers *Collective and Unit Nouns as Sex-Gender Pairs in Arabic*. Asian and African Studies, X, 1974, pp. 41—48; *Derivational Patterns $fa^{cc}\bar{a}l$ and $fa^{cc}\bar{a}la$ in Arabic*. Graecolatina et orientalia, VII—VIII (to appear in 1978); *Derivational System of Collective and Unit Nouns in Arabic*. Graecolatina et orientalia, IX—X (to appear in 1979).

abstract value is normally associated with the verbal nouns (hence verbal abstracts),² while the concrete value with the instance nouns³ where the concretization through 'oneness' may further stimulate the emergence of various, largely unpredictable sets of lexically differentiated concreta. E. g.:

ḍarb (VN), verbal abstract of the verb *ḍaraba* "to beat, strike, hit", i. e. "beating, striking, hitting", as opposed to:

ḍarba (IN), one single act of what is referred to in the VN or, when presented in material terms of the related concreta, as done by the source quoted, "blow, knock, punch, etc." (W, 538—539),⁴ or:

ḡaḍab (VN), verbal abstract of *ḡaḍiba* "to be or become angry, cross, mad, vexed, irritated, furious, to fret (at, with), etc.", i. e. "wrath, rage, fury; anger, exasperation, indignation", as related to:

ḡaḍba (IN), implying one particular manifestation, period etc. of what is referred to in the VN, "fit of rage, angry outburst, tantrum" (W, 676; with no explicit VN—IN classification), etc.

The distribution of the abstract and concrete values within the VN—IN system can but rarely be presented in this ideal form since the transition from 'abstract' to 'concrete' may take place at the level of the VN itself. The lexical relevance of items resulting from the ongoing process of concretization, or perhaps still better, deprocessualization of the underlying concept referred to in the VN (for an opposite process proceeding from the typical concrete value of the IN to an atypical abstract reinterpretation of the latter, see the following paragraphs), as well as the predictability of their actual lexical featuring may, of course, considerably vary from one case to another, and so may their lexicographical presentation, directly dependent on the latter. The abstract equivalents of the VN *ḍarb*, for instance, viz. "beating, striking, hitting, etc.", may quite predictably be reinterpreted in the material sense of "the fact, result, effect, circumstances, etc. of what is referred to" (for a collective-featured restatement of the verbal abstract, here "blows, knocks, etc.", see further on), and, at this general level of concretization, they are, for the most part, lexicograph-

² For the terminology used cf. also: *maṣdar* (Arabic term currently used by the Arab and European authors); *ism al-fi'l* (*nomen verbi, nomen actionis*) and its recent reflexes: *verbal nouns*; *noms verbaux*, *noms d'action*; *Verbalsubstantive*. In view of the striking similarity with the Indo-European *infinitive*, as far as its syntactic function is concerned, also the latter term is used in various languages (cf. also Lane's *infinitive noun*). Further: *verbal abstract* (Beeston) as well as the somewhat ambiguous French term *nom abstrait* (e. g. Fleisch, Cohen (D.)). For a number of less currently used terms, especially in relation to the instance nouns, cf. e. g. *noms d'habitude* (for the VN) as opp. to *noms d'une fois* (for the IN) (Cohen, D.: *Juifs de Tunis*, 150), etc.

³ *'asma'* *al-marra* of the Arab grammarians, mostly referred to as *nomina vicis* (Wright, Brockelmann, Fischer); *noms d'une fois*; *infinitive nouns of unity* (Lane), etc.

⁴ Wehr, H.: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (W, in what follows). Edited by J. M. Cowan. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1971. The English equivalents are given either in full or in somewhat reduced quotations. The transcription is slightly modified in accordance with the system of writing adopted in the present study.

ically unrepresented. In some other cases, however, the passage from 'abstract' to 'concrete', possibly occurring with one (mostly IN) or both members of the system, may involve truly unpredictable patterns of lexical actualization of this process which have to be lexicographically treated. E.g.:

'*akl* (VN), verbal abstract of '*akala* "to eat; to eat up, consume, swallow, devour, destroy; to eat, gnaw, etc."; concretized: "food; meal, repast; fodder, feed" — '*akla* (IN), one single act, one particular spatio-temporal segment of what is referred to in the verbal abstract (at this processual level, the IN is unrecorded in the source quoted because of its predictability);⁵ related concreta: "meal, repast" (W, 21—22). Or, lexically even more specialized:

bayʿ (VN), verbal abstract of *bāʿa* "to sell"; concretized: "sale" — *bayʿa* (IN), "agreement, arrangement; business deal, commercial transaction, bargain; sale; purchase; homage" (W, 86—87; here, the last item is not explicitly classified as an IN).

In cases like the last one, the VN—IN relationship based upon the primitive opposition between 'universalness' and 'oneness', can no longer be perceived with sufficient clarity under its actual lexical disguise, and some lexicographers refrain from classifying similar items as members of the VN—IN system (see the source quoted above; for an explicit identification of *bayʿa* with an IN, on the other hand, see e.g. Lane, 1, 285: inf. n. of un. of *bāʿa* "a striking together of the hands of two contracting parties in token of the ratification of a sale").

2.1 In contradistinction to some other languages, possibly distinguishing between active and passive (viz. "seeing" — "being seen"), present and past ("seeing", "being seen" — "having seen", "having been seen"), and the like, the Arabic verbal nouns (and, relatedly, the instance nouns as well) know of no similar distinction. Verbal voice and the aspecto-temporal variation cannot be formally represented at this nominal level.

The Arabic *samʿī* (*samʿ* + *ī*) "my hearing", for instance, possibly coincides with "my hearing (someone else or something)" and "my being heard", as it implies, on the other hand, both "my hearing" and "my having heard", as well as their passive counterparts.

The syntactic environment minimally needed for settling the actor-undergoer ambiguity equals a nominal phrase made up of the following three constituents: 1. head (VN); 2. modifier (i): actor; and 3. modifier (ii): undergoer. The difference

⁵ Nevertheless, for Classical Arabic, cf.: '*akla* "a single act of eating until one is satisfied", viz. *al-muʿtādu ʾaklatāni al-ḡadāʾu wal-ʿašāʾu* "that to which people are accustomed is two acts of eating, the eating of the morning and that of the evening meal", see Lane, E. W.: *Maddu-l-Kamoos, An Arabic-English Lexicon* (Lane, in what follows). Part. 1—5. London, Williams and Norgate 1863—1874; Part. 6—8, edited by Poole, S. L., London, Williams and Norgate 1877—1893 (quoted after the Beirut photomechanical edition: Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1968).

between the two- and three-component nominal phrases involving verbal nouns in the head position may be stated in terms of the following comparison:

two-component phrase

- qatlu l-xalifati* 1. "khalif's killing (someone else)",
2. "khalif's killing (= being killed)";

three-component phrase

qatlu l-xalifati wazīran "the khalif's killing of a minister".

While, in the former type, the unique modifier may operate either as an actor or an undergoer, in the latter type, the critical modifier (i), in synthetic variants of Arabic marked by a specific case inflection (viz. genitive), should invariably be identified with an actor in opposition to the undergoer, represented by the modifier (ii) which is, in synthetic Arabic, signalled by an accusative. In analytic variants of Arabic, the three-constituent nominal phrase of the type specified above has, in this respect, the same discriminative value: the modifier (i), next to the VN in the head position, invariably coincides with an actor, while the modifier (ii), possibly introduced by the particle *li-* or what may equal it, with an undergoer. E.g.:

Egyptian Arabic:

šurb ilbint (li)ilxamra "the girl's drinking liquor", for *ilbint širibit xamra* "the girl drank liquor" (Wise, 81),⁶ or, with a pronominal suffix (viz. *-ha* "her", in the example quoted) in the actor position: *nasyānha (li)ilma'ād* "her forgetting the appointment", for *hiyya nisyit ilma'ād* "she forgot the appointment" (ibid.). Additional modifiers, occurring with this minimum environment, do not lower its discriminative power: *ḍarb irrāgil illi šāf ilḥadsa lisawwā' ittaks* lit. "the man who saw the accident's hitting the taxi driver", for *irrāgil illi šāf ilḥadsa ḍarab sawwā' ittaks* "the man who saw the accident hit the taxi driver" (ibid., 83), etc. The only structural feature in which the latter VN-based nominalization differs from the simple three-constituent nominal phrases examined above, and which has to be related to the syntactic impact of the embedded clause, is the obligatory use of the introducer *li-* which can no longer alternate with *zero*.

2.2 Apart from ambiguities stemming from the fusion of such inflectional values as those examined in the preceding paragraph, the VN—IN system may involve another one which is associated with the connotation of potentiality in relation to reality. In opposition to the foregoing cases, the present one, resulting from an indiscriminate implication of both "real, actually happening" and "potential, of possible occurrence", has no relation whatsoever to the respective verbal basis where the distinction between the two cannot be represented.

⁶ Wise, H.: *A Transformational Grammar of Spoken Egyptian Arabic* (Publications of the Philological Society, XXVI). Oxford, Basil Blackwell 1975. Nevertheless, in accordance with the more frequently adopted presentation of Egyptian Arabic, more consistently reflecting morphophonemic phenomena of this dialect, the examples quoted should be rewritten as follows: *ilbint' širibit xamra*, *nasyanha (li)-lma'ād* respectively.

The main carrier of the present type of connotational fusion is, once again, the VN, provided that it maintains its value of verbal abstract. Since, typically, the IN tends to denote clearly quantifiable concrete entities through various patterns of lexical actualization of the underlying 'oneness', it reflects any of these ambiguities only in a very limited degree, proportionately to the retention of its processual value. E. g. : *ru'ya*⁷ "seeing, vision" — "visibility", e. g. : *majāl ar-ru'ya* "field of vision (optics)" as against *munḥanā r-ru'ya* "visibility curve (physics)" ;⁸ *sam'* "hearing, audition" — "audibility"; *'akl* "eating" — "edibility"; *tagayyur* "variation" — "variability",⁹ and the like.

In this connection, it should be noted that an implicit potentiality may be inherent in other parts of speech as well, e. g. : *mar'iy* "seen" — "visible", *masmū'* "heard" — "audible", *ma'kul* "eaten (up)" — "eatable, edible", *mutaḡayyir* "varying" — "variable", etc.

2.3 From an inflectional point of view, both members of the VN—IN system radically differ from each other. When disregarding a limited number of VN classes including cases like *ru'ya* (see above), *lida* "childbirth, birth", *tarbiya* "education", *'idāra* "turning; drive; administration" where the feminine gender class membership is morphologically controlled, or cases like *kitāba* "writing", *murāsala* "correspondence", *tarjama* "translation" where the feminine form is simply imposed by the word-formational pattern,¹⁰ the VN should be classified as masculine

⁷ For morphologically controlled VN-forms in -a, formally coinciding with the IN's, see 2.3 below, esp. Note 10. For the 'real'—'potential' distinction in Arabic, as reflected in recent technical terminology, see also our paper *Recent Trends in Expressing Potentiality in Arabic*. Graecolatina et orientalia, VI, 1974, pp. 191—199.

⁸ Khaṭīb, A.: *A New Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Terms. English—Arabic*. Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1971, p. 666.

⁹ For particulars see our paper quoted in Note 7 above.

¹⁰ Which may, of course, reflect various functions of what is usually classified as feminine suffix -a. In the case of the Form III VN *mufa'ala*, for instance, alternating with a polyvalent *f'āl*, the feminine suffix -a has to specify the morphological class membership of this pattern, as that of a VN (as against passive participles). This morphologically distinctive function may substantially be incorporated in what Fischer calls 'die substantivierende Fem.-Endung', viz. adjectival (-Ø) — substantival (-a). For *mufa'ala* see Fischer, W.: *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* (Fischer, in what follows). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1972, p. 109.

In some other cases, the fem. suffix -a may reflect a morphological alternation which, by affecting only one of the two alternants in the sense just examined, does not exclude the VN—IN derivation with another one, as is the case in the quadrilateral pair *dīḥrāj* (a VN relatable to an IN *dīḥrāja*) — *daḥraja* (another VN, this one with no IN counterpart in an exclusive affixal derivation).

As evident from the examples quoted, the bulk of morphophonemic restrictions, imposed on the VN—IN derivation, occur in the domain of the so-called 'weak' roots, as in the initial-weak: *lida* (*w-l-d), *ṣifa* (*w-ṣ-f), etc.; it should be noted that a type of a VN—IN relationship may here, nevertheless, occur on another basis, viz. *waladat iṭnayni fī waldatin* "she gave birth to two at a time" (W, 1097); medial-weak: (Form IV VN's) *'idāra* (*'idwār), *'imāla* (*'imyāl), etc. or (Form X VN's) *istirāḥa*

(in Classical Arabic, alternatively, feminine, viz. 'awja'ani/'awja'atnī ḍarbuka, Wright I, 181), while the IN, as feminine nouns. Since the same substantially applies to the collective nouns (CN), such as *samak* "fish", *naḥl* "bee(s)", *waraq* "foliage, leafage, leaf (leaves)", in relation to the respective unit nouns (UN), *samaka* "a fish", *naḥla* "a bee", *waraqa* "a leaf", both derivational systems, closely interlinked with each other, may jointly be related to the -Ø/-a opposition of derivational and/or inflectional markers as follows:

	-Ø	-a
in derivational marking:	VN (CN)	IN (UN)
in inflectional (here, gender) marking:	masculine ¹¹	feminine

Another inflectional feature in which both constituents of the VN—IN system differ from each other is their respective ability to inflect for number. While the IN, mostly devoid of their abstract value of action or state, inflect for number almost unrestrictedly (the exceptions lie quite safely beyond the scope of the typical: generic application of instance nouns, various types of VN/IN coalescence in an IN-featured resultant form, stimulated by various lexical reinterpretations of the primitive VN—IN relationship, and the like), the VN, as far as functioning as verbal abstracts, do not inflect for number at all. Accordingly, the relation between an unpluralizable (and, of course, undualizable) VN and a pluralizable IN, represents the typical case. E.g.:

raqṣ (VN), no plural, verbal abstract of *raqaṣa* "to dance", i.e. "dancing", as a generic term "dance" (frequently, and not quite inadequately interpreted as a CN, in relation to the UN *raqṣa*, see e.g. Schregle, 1180)¹² vs. *raqṣa* (IN, for a UN interpretation see *raqṣ* above), plural *raqṣāt*, "dance" (W, 354);

ḍaḥk, *ḍiḥk*, *ḍaḥik* (VN), no plural, "laugh(ing); laughter" — *ḍaḥka* (IN), plur. *ḍaḥakāt*, "laugh" (W, 535—6);

ʿaṭs, *ʿuṭās* (VN), no plural, verbal abstract of *ʿaṭasa*, "sneezing"; for *ʿuṭās*, the source quoted explicitly admits of an alternative CN interpretation, viz. "sneezing,

(**istirwāḥ*), *istiḳāla* (**istiḳyāl*); or, finally, the final-weak: (Form II VN's) *tarbiya* (**tarbiy*), *tagḍiya* (**tagḍiy*), etc. For particulars see current grammatical descriptions of Arabic.

¹¹ Similarly as with the VN's, the gender class membership may exhibit some variability with the CN's as well: in Classical Arabic prevailingly masculine (cf. e.g. Fischer, 49, Note 1) in modern colloquial varieties exclusively masculine. For Iraqi Arabic see e.g. Erwin, W. M.: *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic* (Erwin, henceforward). Washington, D. C., Georgetown University Press 1963, p. 174 (when disregarding a limited number of collectives, themselves ending in -a, which are opposed to unit nouns in -āya, such as *fāsūliyya* "beans" — *fāsūliyyāya* "a been"; for the latter type of 'feminine' collectives see *ibid.*, Note 1, as well as 3.2.1.2 of the present paper, esp. Note 27). For Moroccan Arabic see Harrell, R. S.: *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic* (Harrell, in what follows). Washington, D. C., Georgetown University Press 1962, p. 78. Etc.

¹² Schregle, G.: *Deutsch-arabisches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1963—1974.

sneezes" — *ʿaṭsa* (IN), plur. *ʿaṭsāt* (the plural is not explicitly given in the source quoted), "a sneeze" (W, 620), etc.

And yet, the VN is not totally irresponsive to the number variation. Its ability to inflect for number directly depends upon the degree of concreteness and notional quantifiability arrived at through the loss of its value of verbal abstract.¹³ E.g.:

qawl (VN), no plural, verbal abstract of *qāla* (*q-w-l) "to speak, say, tell, utter, voice; to speak (of), deal (with), treat (of); to state, maintain, assert, propound, teach, profess, advocate, defend; to support, hold, etc.", i.e. "speaking, saying, etc."; *qawl*, concretized, plur. *ʿaqwāl*, *ʿaqāwīl*, "word, speech, saying, utterance, remark; statement, declaration; report, account; doctrine, teaching"; *qawl*, concretized, plur. *ʿaqwāl* "testimony (in court)"; *ʿaqāwīl*, no singular, "sayings, locutions; proverbs";

as against:

qawla (IN), "utterance, remark, work; pronouncement, dictum" (W, 797), etc.

Nevertheless, the loss of the primitive value of verbal abstract does not necessarily lead to a transition from 'abstract' to 'concrete' in any particular VN. The lexical actualization of verbal abstracts may, in some instances, generate abstracts no more pluralizable than the verbal abstract itself, or even unpluralizable concreta with an inherent, lexically conveyed connotation of plurality or collectiveness, as in:

sam^c (VN, co-occurring with *sama^c*, *sama^ca*, *masma^c*), no plural, verbal abstract of *samīʿa*, "to hear; to learn, be told, etc.";

sam^c, no plural, lexically actualized, "sense of hearing, audition";

sam^c, no plural, concretized with an inherent connotation of collectiveness, possibly restatable in terms of plurality or duality, "ears";

sam^c, plur. *ʿasmā^c*, concretized, without the above implication, "ear" (W, 430; no IN is here explicitly quoted; for an IN *sam^ca* see e.g. Freytag, 2, 354: "auditio una" ("one single act of hearing")), etc.

3. The relationship between the verbal and instance nouns, although extremely productive, cannot be actually established with every individual verbal noun which might theoretically produce it. While every Arabic verb may generate one or more verbal nouns, irrespectively of whether synonymous or semantically differentiated, only a part of verbal nouns are actually brought into relation with instance nouns. When disregarding various semantic, morphological and morphophonemic restrictions imposed upon the formation of instance nouns from certain types of verbal nouns (for some of these see below), the variable rate of constituting the VN—IN relationship, when viewed from the side of verbal nouns, should be related to the

¹³ For the number inflection of the Arabic collectives classifiable in terms of the CN—UN system, see our study *Derivational System of Collective and Unit Nouns in Arabic* (quoted in Note 1). For the countability of collectives in general, as related to their ability to inflect for number, see also Fleis ch, H.: *Traité de philologie arabe*. Vol. I. *Préliminaires, phonétique, morphologie nominale* (*Traité*, in what follows). Beyrouth, Imprimerie catholique 1961, pp. 301 sq. and 495 sq.

root and stem structure of Arabic. For the former, the dividing line lies between the so-called trilateral and quadrilateral roots. For the latter, between thematic formations associated with the basic form (Form I) of the verb and what is known as derived forms (Forms II—X or, in a more sophisticated grammatical presentation of Classical Arabic, Forms II—XV) of the verb. Verbal nouns derived from the basic form of a trilateral verb are far more likely to enter the VN—IN relationship than any other type. Derived trilaterals, as well as all types of quadrilaterals, are statistically less productive in this respect. The unequal readiness of these two categories of verbal nouns to enter the VN—IN relationship may amply be illustrated by contexts calling for instance nouns or, at least, compatible with the derivational value of ‘oneness’ in which the respective derivatives of both these categories happen to co-occur: while the basic trilateral verb will be represented by an IN, the derived trilateral (and all types of quadrilateral) verb will, for the most, be represented by a VN, as in:

fa-lammā xāfa ‘aliyyun al-‘uswāriyyu al-‘ixfāqa wa ‘ašfaqa min al-fawti wa kāna ‘aqrabahum ‘ilayhi ‘īsā istalaba min yadihi l-luqmata bi-‘asra‘a min xaṭfati l-bāzī wa-nkidāri l-‘uqābi (Jāḥiẓ, 69);¹⁴ “Comme ‘Alī (al-Uswārī) craignait d’être frustré et de manquer cette occasion, il arracha la boulette que ‘Īsā, — son plus proche voisin —, tenait à la main, plus vite qu’un faucon ou qu’un aigle fondant sur leur proie” (Pellat, 100).¹⁵

In this context, the basic trilateral verb *xaṭifa*, *xaṭafa* “to snatch, wrench or wrest away, seize, grab; to make off (with); etc.” is, on the nominal level, represented by a full-fledged VN—IN relationship: *xaṭf* (VN) “grabbing, forcible seizure, rape; etc.” — *xaṭfa* (IN) “a snatching away, a grab; sudden stirring, flash” (W, 274—8), as against the derived trilateral (Form VII) *inkadara* “to swoop down (bird)” (W, 817), which tends to be uniquely represented by the VN member of the system despite the fact that the formation of an IN *inkidāra* (in relation to the VN *inkidār*) is likewise substantially possible.

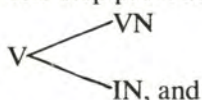
3.1 To establish an unambiguous relation between a derived word and its respective derivational basis may sometimes be a rather troublesome problem the solution of which is not altogether easy. The derivational space represented by the VN—IN system in relation to the respective verbal basis is one of those domains of the Arabic word-formation which, despite an intuitive feeling of simplicity and self-evidence, may give rise to several unsettled problems at any closer examination. In view of the specific nature of the pattern morpheme, operating as a stem-formative morphemic segment in an intra-root frame and, at the same time, as a derivational and/or inflectional marker, it is not possible to give a step-by-step reconstruc-

¹⁴ al-Jāḥiẓ: *Kitāb al-buxalā’* (Jāḥiẓ, henceforth), edited by Ṭāha al-Ḥajjīrī. Cairo, Dār al-ma‘ārif 1963.

¹⁵ Jāḥiẓ: *Le livre des avares. Traduction avec introduction et notes par Charles Pellat* (Pellat, in what follows). Paris, Éditions G. P. Maisonneuve 1951.

tion of a linearly oriented chain of derivational events which would reflect quite unambiguously the derivational background of the Arabic deverbative formations. Notably, it seems to be virtually impossible to decide, unless involving a considerable deal of arbitrariness, whether, synchronically, a given IN is immediately related to a verbal basis (V) or rather through an intervening nominal pattern, here represented by the respective VN. Now, when attempting to establish the derivational basis of any given IN, we may assume, in accordance with this twofold interpretability of the derivational procedure involved, two different types of derivational sequences. Notably:

- (1) one-step procedure:



- (2) two-step procedure:

V — VN — IN.

In accordance with the former assumption, most currently adopted in Arabic grammars,¹⁶ both constituents of the VN—IN relationship are parallel deverbative formations, linked together by the common derivational basis. This assumption, apparently corroborated by the fact that, apart from the typical case represented by VN—IN pairs of identical pattern,¹⁷ like *faʿl* (VN) — *faʿla* (IN), we may observe some that display quite different patterns,¹⁸ such as *fuʿl* (VN) — *faʿla* (IN), *fuʿūl* (VN) — *faʿla* (IN), *fīʾāl* (VN) — *faʿla* (IN), and the like, further implies that both the VN and IN are predominantly internal (viz. pattern-marked) derivative formations: the VN almost exclusively so,¹⁹ while the IN in combination with the elements of an external (affix-marked) derivation here represented by the suffix *-a*.

According to the latter assumption, the derivational domain under discussion is identified with a two-stage sequence each stage of which has a derivational basis of its own, notably: (i) V—VN, and (ii) VN—IN. The latter assumption simultaneously implies that the stage (i) coincides with a prevailing internal (see above), while the

¹⁶ See e.g. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, M. and Blachère, R.: *Grammaire de l'arabe classique*. Paris, G. P. Maisonneuve 1952, pp. 77 and 92 sq.; Wright, W.: *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Vol. I. (Wright, hereafter). Cambridge University Press 1967 (third ed.), p. 110 ff. (*the nomina verbi*); pp. 122—123 (*the nomina vicis*); etc.

¹⁷ In the present concept of pattern identity, the pattern should be identified with what Erwin defines as a simple pattern (viz. one or more vowels distributed among the consonants of a root), as against what he subsequently defines as a pattern complex (viz. a combination of a simple pattern and one or more affixes). See Erwin, p. 52.

¹⁸ Cf. Belkin, V. M.: *Arabskaya leksikologiya* (Arabic Lexicology). Moscow, Izd. Moskovskogo universiteta 1974, p. 81.

¹⁹ The affixal elements in the V—VN derivation are relatively limited, e.g.: *majīʾ*, *maʿkal* (*maṣdar mīmī* of the Arab grammarians); *lamaʿān*, *ṣuʿūba*, as well as the whole set of the morphonologically controlled VN's in *-a*, like those surveyed in 2.3 above.

stage (ii), with an almost exclusively external derivation. One of the most outstanding controversial features, apparently speaking against this theory, results from a number of instances in which the carrier of internal derivation, pattern change, is introduced to the stage (ii) of the procedure. Nevertheless, cases like *fuʿl* (VN) — *faʿla* (IN), cf. e.g. *šurb* (VN) — *šarba* (IN) (see below), or *fuʿūl* (VN) — *faʿla* (IN), cf. e.g. *julūs* (VN) “sitting (down)” — *jalsa* (IN) “a sitting down; session, etc.”, can no more invalidate the latter assumption than they can corroborate the former, since the feature of pattern change, being devoid of any aspect of a positively confirmable spatio-temporal hierarchization in the succession of derivational events, has no criterial value in this respect. Furthermore, when viewed from a genetic angle, the feature of pattern change seems to have evolved from an affix-marked procedure as a result of a collective restatement of the underlying VN, with a subsequent substitution of another VN pattern for the latter, notably **faʿl* (VN) — *faʿla* (IN) > *fuʿl* (VN) — *faʿla* (IN), for instance, because of **faʿl* (VN) > *faʿl* (CN), as in **šarb* (VN) “drinking, getting drunk” (“Trinkerei”) — *šarba* (IN) “one single act, one particular stage, period, etc. of the latter; a drink” > *šurb* (VN) “drinking, drink” — *šarba* (IN), because of the reinterpretation of **šarb* (VN) in terms of *šarb* (CN), viz. “drinking party, assembly, banquet” (“Gelage, Trinkerschar”).²⁰

For practical purposes of the present description, we shall consider the VN as derived from the verb, while the IN, as derived from the respective VN. From the two stages of the procedure only the latter (viz. VN—IN) will be examined in what follows.

3.2 The VN—IN derivation may conveniently be subdivided into two particular cases:

- (1) an exclusive affix-marked derivation:

VN + *a* = IN, viz. e.g. *faʿl* + *a* = *faʿla*, and

- (2) a combined pattern- and affix-marked derivation:

VN + pattern change + *a* = IN, viz. e.g. *fuʿl* + *a* = *faʿla*.

3.2.1 In opposition to the type described in 3.2.2 below, the procedure we classify as an exclusive affix-marked derivation makes it possible to relate any given IN to a unique derivational basis, provided that the latter is identified with a VN. The uniqueness of this derivational relationship results from the pattern identity of the two items. Unless subject to a number of specific restrictions preventing the VN—IN derivation (some of them will be examined in what follows), the procedure is used to produce instance nouns from all morphological types of verbal nouns: from the bulk of basic triliterals (only a small part of them depends upon what we call a combined

²⁰ For **šarb* (VN) “Trinkerei” — *šarb* (CN) “Gelage, Trinkerschar”, as well as for a number of other examples, see Fischer, p. 50. The resulting CN *šarb* has subsequently been opposed to what Fleisch (Traité, 308) classifies as a unit noun (viz. *šārib*), possibly producing a plural (viz. *šurūb*). In current lexicographical practice, however, both *šarb* and *šurūb* tend to be classified as alternative plural patterns opposed to the singular *šārib* (for MWA see e.g. W, 463).

pattern- and affix-marked derivation), and from all types of the so-called 'derived' trilaterals (viz. Forms II—X) and all types of quadrilaterals. While, with 'derived' trilaterals and all quadrilaterals, the VN pattern possibly entering the VN—IN relationship either coincides with a unique form or with one of two, rarely more, alternating forms, with basic trilaterals, practically the only VN form used to produce the IN should be identified with the pattern *faʿl*²¹ which is opposed, in this respect, to a relatively large stock of VN forms, occurring in this derivational domain, which do not normally enter the VN—IN relationship identifiable in terms of the present procedure.

The procedure is used either alone or in alternation with that described in 3.2.2 below. The actual occurrence of any of the two possibilities is to a considerable extent unpredictable. The scope of 'unpredictable' should primarily be identified with the word-formational domain of basic trilaterals where the verb may, but of course need not, be related to a variety of synonymous or nearly synonymous verbal nouns of different patterns some of which, in relation to a practically unique IN pattern *faʿla*, quite necessarily involve the feature of pattern change (for particulars see 3.2.2 below).

For the sake of convenience (mainly in order to eliminate undue overlaps), the examples which have to illustrate the exclusive affixal derivation will mostly be selected from cases uniquely depending upon this procedure. An alternative occurrence of both types of derivation with any given set of VN patterns related to a unique verb will be attested in § 3.2.2 below. Since, for synthetic Arabic, the main classificatory line follows the lexicographical evidence provided by Wehr (see Note 4), the variety of Arabic represented should primarily be identified with Modern Written Arabic (MWA). True Classical Arabic data, drawn from mediaeval authorities, have to provide a contrastive background for the latter and should be identified in terms of the sources quoted. The same holds for the domain of analytic Arabic represented. E.g.:

Synthetic Arabic: (basic trilaterals:) *raqṣ* — *raqṣa* (see above); *ḍarb* — *ḍarba* (see above); *ṭarq*, verbal abstract of *ṭaraqa*, "to knock, rap, bang" — *ṭarqa* "knock, rap(ping), bang(ing); blow; one time" (= marra), *ṭarqatayn* "twice" (W, 558—9); *naṭṭ*, verbal abstract of *naṭṭa*, "to spring, jump, leap", hence "jumping, jump" — *naṭṭa* "jump, leap" (W, 973), etc.; (derived trilaterals:) *iltifāt* (VN: Form VIII), verbal abstract of *iltafata*, "to turn, turn around, turn one's face (to), etc.", hence "turn, inclination, turning (to, toward), etc." — *iltifāta* "a turning (to, toward); turn

²¹ Cf. Fischer, p. 111. For some other rarely occurring IN forms, derived from basic trilaterals, see Wright, p. 123. In colloquial varieties of Arabic, the pattern *faʿl* may include various pattern alternants, such as the Iraqi Arabic *zarub* (see further in the text). When, in Classical Arabic, the pattern *faʿl* has several pattern alternants, as against any given colloquial variety of Arabic in which they may be represented by a unique reflex of the latter, this unique reflex will be related, for statistical reasons, to the Classical *faʿl*, as in (Classical Arabic) *ḍaḥk*, *ḍiḥk*, *ḍaḥik* (VN) in relation to e.g. (Takrūna Arabic) *zəḥk*.

of the face or eyes; sideglance, glance" (W, 872); *takbīr* (VN: Form II), "exclaiming *allāhu 'akbar*" — *takbīra* "one single act thereof, an exclamation *allāhu 'akbar*" (Fischer, 111); (quadrilaterals): *dihrāj*, verbal abstract of *daḥraja*, "to roll (trans.)" — *dihrāja* "one single act of rolling"; *tadaḥruj*, (VN: Form II) verbal abstract of *tadaḥraja*, "to roll (intrans.); to be rolled" — *tadaḥruja* "one single act of rolling (intrans.); of being rolled" (Wright I, 123), etc.

Iraqi Arabic: *zarub* "striking, hitting, beating" — *zarba* "a blow; a beating" (Dict., 278);²² *dafur* "kicking" — *dafra* "kick" (ibid., 160); *nḥinā* (VN: Form VII) "bowing" — *nḥinā'a* "a bow" (Erwin, 165), etc.

It should be noted that the present pattern alternation (viz. -a-u/-a-θ-) in the Iraqi Arabic *zarub-zarba*, *dafur-dafra*, and the like, being morphologically controlled and, for that matter, fully predictable, has no derivational function compatible with that examined in 3.2.2 below, which only would justify a classification in terms of what we call combined pattern- and affix-marked derivation.

Takrūna Arabic: *zəḥk* (VN), verbal abstract of *zḥək* "to laugh", viz. "rire" ("laugh(ing), laughter"), e.g.: *əzzəḥk-mən-ġēr-a-ḡəb mən-qəlt-ladəb* "rire sans que rien soit plaisant est manquer de savoir-vivre" ("laughing with no ludicrous stimulus points to the lack of good manners"); *zəḥk-bla-sbəb yistāḥəl-ladəb* "rire sans raison mérite correction" ("laughing with no reason deserves admonition"), etc. — *zəḥka* (IN) "un rire" ("a laugh"), e.g.: *ubdāt-ənnās zəḥka-wəḥda*²³ "et les gens partirent d'un même éclat de rire" ("and the people burst simultaneously into laughter"); *iḏib-əzzəḥka 'ənd-ṛāṣ-əlmiṭ* "il ferait rire ceux qui sont au chevet d'un mort" ("he would make laugh even those who stand at someone's deathbed"); *ki-ḡḡməl fi-əmrū zḥək zəḥka-wəḥda wəṭṣəq-šārbu* "comme le chameau qui n'a ri qu'une fois dans sa vie et en a eu la lèvre fendue" ("like a camel that has laughed but once in its life and yet its lip is split"), etc. (T 5, 2308—2309), etc.

3.2.1.1 All cases of what we classify as an exclusive affix-marked derivation, so far examined, had a zero-suffix with the VN member of the relationship. When viewed synchronically, another variety of the present type of derivation may be found in some VN—IN pairs which are derivationally linked together by another set of markers than that coinciding with the -θ/-a opposition. The VN—IN relationship involving the suffixes -ān (VN)/-a (IN) or what may equal them, is one of the most

²² Woodhead, D. R. — Beene, W.: *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic — English* (Dict., in what follows). Washington, D. C., Georgetown University Press 1967. The transcription is slightly modified in accordance with that adopted in the present paper.

²³ Here the connotation of 'oneness' is lexically emphasized, viz. *zəḥka-wəḥda* "one laughing". The Takrūna Arabic (a rural variety of Tunisian Arabic) examples are quoted after Marçais, W. — Guigà, A.: *Textes arabes de Takrouna, II. Glossaire* (T, in what follows). Vols 1—8. Paris, Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner 1958—1961. The extremely involved allophonic transcription, as used by the authors, is here to a considerable extent simplified. In order to obviate serious printing problems, the short vowels, except when occurring in word-final positions, are represented as /ə/. Other exceptions to this general rule are few in number.

frequently occurring in various colloquial variants of Arabic, either alone or in combination with other types of derivation. E.g.:

Takrūna Arabic: *bəllān* (VN), verbal abstract of *bəll* “mouiller, humecter” (“to moisten, to wet”), viz. “moistening, wetting”, e.g.: *iḥəžžəm bla-bəllān* “il rase sans mouiller ce qui doit être rasé” (i.e. “il tond sans pitié ses administrés” (fonctionnaire), “il écorche ses clients” (marchand), etc.) (“he is shaving one’s beard without moistening it”, i.e. “he is ruthless in relation to his inferiors” etc.); *bdāw f-əlḥəllān-wəlbəllān* “on a commencé à confectionner les gâteaux” (“they set to making pastry”, lit. ‘spreading (the dough) and sprinkling (it) with water’, etc. — *bəlla* (IN) “fait de mouiller, de tremper (d’être mouillé, trempé) une fois” (“one single act of moistening, wetting (being moistened, wetted)”), e.g.: *zād f-əṭṭēn bəlla* “il a ajouté un mouillement à l’argile”, i.e. “il a aggravé la situation” (“he added another moistening to the clay”, i.e. “he made things worse”), etc. (T 1, 374—6), etc.

Apparently similar cases may be recorded even in Classical (and Modern Written) Arabic in what still might be recognized as a case of the VN—IN relationship despite a relatively high rate of lexical actualization of the latter, e.g. (MWA:) *ṭayarān* (VN), verbal abstract of *tāra*, “to fly; to fly away, fly off, take to the wing; to be in a state of commotion, agitation (of anger, wrath)”, viz. “flying, flight; aviation etc.” — *ṭayra* (IN) “commotion, agitation (of anger, wrath); flight etc.” (W, 578—579); no explicit VN—IN classification is here given). Likewise, as in the substitution of *šurb* (VN) for the primitive **šarb* (VN) “drink(ing)”, in result of a collective reinterpretation of the latter (see 3.1 above), the MWA *ṭayarān* is functioning as a practically unique VN of *tāra* “to fly”, because the underlying **ṭayr* (VN), still recorded in Classical Arabic lexicons based upon mediaeval authorities,²⁴ is reinterpreted as a collective noun with a simultaneous semantic modification of the latter, viz. *ṭayr* (CN, possibly operating as a UN) “birds, bird”.

It would be tempting to present the MWA *ṭayarān* — *ṭayra* as a case of an affixal derivation, like that in the Takrūna Arabic *bəllān* — *bəlla* (see above), *dəxlān* — *dəxla*, *xəřžān* — *xəřža*, and the like. Nevertheless, a similar interpretation would patently contradict classificatory premises adopted in the present paper, since the MWA *ṭayarān* — *ṭayra* involves a derivationally relevant pattern change (viz. -a-a-/-a-Ø-) which is, synchronically speaking, not shared by the Takrūna Arabic VN—IN pairs quoted above. Accordingly, the cases like the latter one will be interpreted in terms of the combined pattern- and affix-marked derivation.²⁵

²⁴ In Lane (5, 1903), for instance, the VN *ṭayr* is presented as alternating with *ṭayarān* and *ṭayrūra*. The IN *ṭayra* is here quoted in a lexically somewhat actualized form, viz. “a slip, a stumble”, as in *‘iyyāka wa ṭayarāti š-šabābi* “beware thou of the slips and stumbles of the youth”.

²⁵ On the other hand, the Takrūna Arabic *bōsān/busān* (VN) “kissing”, as related to the IN (in the source quoted interpreted as a UN) *bōsa*, plur. *bōsāt/busāt* “(a) kiss” (T 1, 417—418), displaying a morphologically controlled (hence predictable) variation, will be classified in terms of an exclusive affixal derivation (viz. *bōs* + *ān* (VN) — *bōs* + *a* (IN)).

3.2.1.2 Further, the bipartite classification of the VN—IN derivation, like that adopted in the present description, permits to draw significant parallels with the closely related CN—UN system. When disregarding some differences in the general derivational background of the two systems, quite particularly the vague deverbative lineage of the VN which may theoretically be extended to the whole VN—IN system (see 3.1 above), as against the CN—UN relationship,²⁶ as well as some other features of a lesser importance,²⁷ the present type of derivation, in contradistinction to the procedure described in 3.2.2 below, may be presented as substantially identical with that associated with the CN—UN system. The identity of the derivational mechanism involved, in this contrastive presentation, may be stated between any particular VN—IN pair of the present type, on the one hand, and between (1) a CN—UN pair the derivational class membership of which is merely the result of an inter-systemic restatement (viz. VN—IN/CN—UN), as well as (2) a CN—UN pair the systemic membership of which is fully autonomous and has no immediate lexical counterpart in the VN—IN system, on the other hand.

(1) The former parallel involves cases of a uniform application of the *-Ø/-a* opposition of derivational markers in VN—IN pairs which are freely restatable in terms of the CN—UN relationship. E. g.:

ṭarq (VN) “knocking, rapping, banging (esp. at a door)”;

ṭarq (CN) “knocks, raps, bangs; blows”;

ṭarqa (IN) “one single act of what is referred to in the VN”, hence “a knock, rap, bang; blow”; in some contexts, possibly reinterpretable as “one continuous series of knocks, bangs, etc.”, hence “one knocking, rapping, banging”;

ṭarqa (UN) “one single unit of what is referred to in the CN”, i. e. “a knock, rap, bang; blow” (for the basic semantic featuring see W, 558—559; in the source quoted, however, only an IN-centred lexical representation is given).

Similarly:

mawj (VN), verbal abstract of *māja*, “to heave, swell, roll, surge (sea), etc.”, i. e. “heaving, swelling, rolling, surging”;

mawja (IN), “one single act thereof” (lexicographically unrecorded in the source quoted);

mawj (CN), lexically modified, “billows, surges, seas, breakers; waves; ripples”;

²⁶ Where the CN is mostly a primitive, while the UN, a denominative noun (when disregarding CN—UN’s resulting from the VN—IN/CN—UN restatement examined in what follows).

²⁷ E. g. the *-a/-āya* alternation or what may equal it, in a number of unit nouns in various colloquial variants of Arabic, as in the Iraqi Arabic *ṭamāṭa* (CN) — *ṭamāṭa*, *ṭamāṭāya* (UN) “tomato(es)”, *putēṭa* (CN) — *putēṭa*, *putēṭāya* (UN) “potato(es)”, *xōx* (CN) — *xōxa*, *xōxāya* (UN) “peach(es)”, etc. (Erwin, p. 168), or the Egyptian Arabic *baṭāṭis* (CN) — *baṭaṭsāya* (UN) “potato(es)”, *ūṭa* (CN) — *ūṭāya* (UN) “tomato(es)”, *baṣal* (CN) — *baṣala*, *baṣalāya* (UN) “onion(s)” (Mitchell, T. F.: *An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. London—New York—Toronto, Oxford University Press, p. 95. The transcription is slightly modified in accordance with that adopted in the present paper); etc.

mawja (UN) "billow, surge, sea, breaker; wave; ripple; etc." (W, 930; only the CN—UN reflex of the underlying VN is explicitly given). Or:

qaṭr (VN), verbal abstract of *qaṭara*, "to fall or flow in drops, drip, dribble, trickle", i.e. "dripping, dribbling, dribble, trickling, trickle";

qaṭra (IN), (lexicographically unrecorded in the source quoted);

qaṭr (CN) "drops, dribbles; rain";

qaṭra (UN), "one single unit thereof" (W, 773—774).²⁸

The unique limiting factor possibly imposed on the present type of resystemization seems to coincide with the actual lexical relevance of a 'bisystemic' basis of viewing notional phenomena of the real world in the process of communication. While, on the VN/CN side of the relationship, the distinction between a verbal abstract of action or state and a nonverbal collective noun, subsuming the whole of its single occurrences and manifestations, tends to be relevant and, for that matter, lexicographically treated, on the IN/UN side of the relationship the distinction between the two counterparts of the latter, under the overwhelming impact of the connotation of 'oneness', tends to be perceived as lexically irrelevant and communicatively redundant. The lexicographical treatment of these cases, involving, in general, a great deal of arbitrariness, shows either a VN—IN or a CN—UN representation of a restatable VN—IN/CN—UN. The high rate of interpretational variation, leading sometimes to a rather unexpected CN—UN interpretation of what is currently presented as a case of a VN—IN relationship,²⁹ and vice versa, is primarily due to meta-linguistic factors and cannot convincingly be supported by linguistic data.

(2) The latter parallel between the VN—IN and CN—UN systems includes such CN—UN pairs which cannot be reclassified in terms of the VN—IN relationship. When disregarding a number of features specifically connected with the CN—UN system (see Note 27), the present type of the derivational procedure may be identified with that linking together even such members of the CN—UN system

²⁸ The last two examples are here given for more evidence only. Classificatorily, in accordance with the conventions stated in 3.2.1, they should have been quoted in 3.2.2 below, because of the occurrence of an alternating VN which involves the feature of pattern change in relation to the respective IN: *mawj/mawjān* — *mawja* and *qaṭr/qaṭarān* — *qaṭra*.

²⁹ Cf., e.g., *ḡarḡ* "coups" ("blows"), *bāwš* "baisers" ("kisses"), etc., in the Judaeo-Arabic dialect of Tunis, instead of the more ordinarily adopted VN interpretation, viz. "beating", "kissing", etc. (Cohen, D.: *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*. Tome II. *Étude linguistique*. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1975, p. 144). Furthermore, the CN—UN interpretation of a noun classifiable in terms of a VN—IN/CN—UN relationship may apparently be stimulated by the lexical impact of another collective (or unit) noun standing in a close contextual interaction with the latter, as seems to be the case in the Maltese Arabic *bews* (VN/CN), viz. "kissing"/"kisses", interpreted as a CN under the impact of *lewż* (CN) "almonds" or *ḡellewż* (CN) "hazelnuts", and *bews* (IN/UN), viz. "a kissing, a kiss"/"a kiss", interpreted as a UN under the impact of the UN *warda* "a flower": *il-bews bhall-lewż (ḡellewż)* "kisses are like almonds (hazelnuts)"; *bews minghajr taghniqa donnha warda minghajr fwieha* "a kiss without an embrace is (like a) flower without fragrance"; for the examples quoted see Aquilina, J.: *A Comparative Dictionary of Maltese Proverbs*. The Royal University of Malta 1972, p. 190.

which have no immediate lexical counterparts classifiable in terms of the VN—IN relationship. E.g.: *šajar* (CN) “trees; shrubs, bushes” — *šajara* (UN) “tree; shrub, bush” (W, 455); or the Iraqi Arabic *šijar* (CN) “trees; bushes, shrubs; squash; pumpkins” (for the sake of uniformity of presentation, bracketting of the plural endings, as given in the source quoted, is here disregarded) — *šijra* (UN) (*Dict.*, 235—236); or the Chad-Sudanese *šeder* (CN) “arbres” (“trees”) — *šedera*, *šederāya* (UN) (*Lex.*, 2, 246; CAR.);³⁰ *šadar* (CN) “idem” — *šadaraya* (UN) (*ibid.*; LET.); or the Tākūrūna Arabic *sžar* (CN) “arbres” (“trees”) — *sžra* (UN) (T 4, 1992—1993), etc. It should be noted that, in contradistinction to cases examined in 3.2.2 below, the pattern alternation observable in some of the examples quoted, viz. the Iraqi Arabic *šijar* — *šijra*, or the Tākūrūna Arabic *sžar* — *sžra*, being morphologically controlled, has no derivational value whatsoever (and, for that matter, it cannot oppose the present classification).

3.2.2 When regarded from a synchronic point of view, in a combined pattern- and affix-marked VN—IN derivation, by virtue of the mere fact that the pattern morpheme is involved in the procedure, no unambiguous derivational relation may be stated between a given IN and its presumed derivational basis, provided that the latter is identified with a VN, since a VN rarely occurs without one or more pattern alternants. The only case of a VN—IN relationship, synchronically involving the combined procedure, which permits to establish a one-to-one relation between an IN and its respective derivational basis, should be identified with exactly these rare VN's occurring alone, as in the MWA *xurūj* (VN), verbal abstract of *xaraja*, “to go out, walk out; to come out, emerge; to go away, depart, leave, retire; to protrude, etc.”, hence also “exit; egression, emergence; departure; exodus; emigration; etc.” — *xarja* (IN), “one single act of the latter” (lexicographically unrecorded in the source quoted), hence also “exit, departure; protrusion, protuberance, projection, etc.” (W, 231—233).³¹

Since the pattern morpheme, jointly with the root morpheme within the root-and-pattern thematic segments, is the main carrier of the lexical identity of a given word,

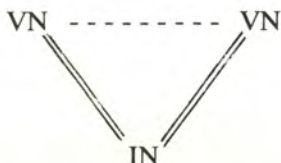
³⁰ Roth-Laly, A.: *Lexique des parlers arabes tchado-soudanais* (An Arabic-English-French Lexicon of the Dialects Spoken in the Chad-Sudan Area) (*Lex.*, in what follows). Vols 1—2, as published so far. Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1969. The abbreviations TRE., CAR., LET. and HILL., used in the Lexicon, 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. Hillelson, S.: *Sudan Arabic: an English-Arabic Vocabulary*. London 1930.

³¹ In Classical Arabic, however, the VN pattern alternants do occur (viz. *xurūj*, *maxraj*) and the IN status of *xarja*, plur. *xarajāt*, may be attested in a less actualized form, e.g.: *mā xaraja 'illā xarjatan wāḥidatan* “he went out, or came out, or forth, save once” or: *mā 'aḳṭara xarajātika* “how many are thy goings, or comings, out, or forth!” (Lane 2, 718—9). Even in MWA, *maxraj* stands very close to what would still be possible to classify as a *mašdar mīmī*.

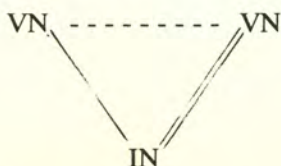
any unpredictable pattern change, substantially no matter whether associated with a derivational or an inflectional procedure, makes the crucial problem of the word identity to a considerable extent ambiguous. The latter type of ambiguousness may amply be illustrated on cases like the MWA *ṣarīx*, *ṣurāx* (VN) — *ṣarxa* (IN), where no parallel case of an exclusive affix-marked derivation may synchronically be stated, or on cases like the MWA *ʿaṭs*, *ʿuṭās* (VN) — *ʿaṭsa* (IN), or *ṣayḥ*, *ṣiyāḥ* (VN) — *ṣayḥa* (IN), or even *ḍaḥk*, *ḍiḥk*, *ḍaḥik* (VN) — *ḍaḥka* (IN) (for the so far unquoted items see below), where the combined pattern- and affix-marked procedure co-occurs with what we classify as an exclusive affix-marked derivation.

When we agree to symbolize the exclusive affixal procedure, as co-occurring with the combined one, by a single line, while the latter, by a double line, as against the relation between two or more VN alternants symbolized by an intermittent line, the last three cases may schematically be presented as follows:

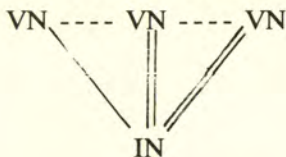
(i) *ṣarīx*, *ṣurāx* (VN) — *ṣarxa* (IN):



(ii-i) *ʿaṭs*, *ʿuṭās* (VN) — *ʿaṭsa* (IN):



(ii-ii) *ḍaḥk*, *ḍiḥk*, *ḍaḥik* (VN) — *ḍaḥka* (IN):



In the following presentation, no classificatory distinction between any of these (and possibly still other) cases will be observed. E. g.:

ṣurb, *maṣrab* (VN), verbal abstracts of *ṣariba*, “to drink; to sip, etc.”, hence “drinking, drink; absorption” — *ṣarba* (IN) “drink; sip, draught, swallow; dose,

potion (of a medicine), etc.” (W, 462; the VN—IN relationship is not explicitly stated); e.g.: *wa ‘ariftu ‘anna l-yawma yawmu ‘aklin wa šurbin* “and I have learned that this day is a day of eating and drinking” (Wensinck, 3, 89: al-Buxārī, *‘Īdayn*, 5, 23);³² *wa nahā rasūlu llāhi (š) ‘ani š-šurbi min fami l-qirbati ‘awi s-siqā’i* “and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation!) has forbidden to drink (lit. drinking) from the mouth of the waterskin (*qirba*) or water bag (*siqā’*)” (ibid.: al-Buxārī, *‘Ašriba*, 24); *‘āxiru šarbatin tašrabuhā mina d-dunyā šarbatu labanin fa-‘utiya bi-šarbatu labanin fa-šaribahā* “the last drink of your life will be a drink of milk; and he was given a drink of milk (which) he drank” (ibid., 3, 90: ‘Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 4, 318), etc.

šarīx, šurāx (VN), verbal abstracts of *šaraxa*, “to cry, yell, scream, shriek, shout: to cry for help; to call, etc.”, hence “crying, yelling; clamor, screaming, screams” — *šarxa* (IN) “cry, outcry, yell, scream; call for help” (W, 511; the VN—IN relationship is not explicitly stated);

šayḥ, šiyāḥ (VN), verbal abstracts of *šāḥa*, “to cry, yell, shout; to scream, screech; to crow, to utter, let out (*šayḥatan* “a cry”); etc.”, hence “crying, clamor” — *šayḥa* (IN) “cry, outcry, shout”; *šāḥa šayḥatan* “to utter a cry” (W, 532);

‘aṭs, ‘uṭās (VN), verbal abstracts of *‘aṭasa*, “to sneeze”, viz. “sneezing”, hence, for *‘uṭās*, “sneezing, sneezes” — *‘aṭsa* (IN) “a sneeze” (W, 620);

sujūd (VN), verbal abstract of *sajada*, “to bow down, bow in worship; to throw o.s. down, prostrate o.s. (before); to worship (God)”, hence “prostration, adoration, worship” — *sajda*, plur. *sajadāt*, “one single act thereof” (unrecorded in the source quoted; for an explicit IN interpretation see Lane-quoted data in what follows); “prostration in prayer” (W, 397); the VN—IN relationship between the two items is explicitly stated by Lane, viz. *sujūd* (VN) “the prostrating oneself; putting the forehead on the ground (in prayer)” — *sajda* (IN) “a single act of *sujūd*, as meaning prostrating oneself in prayer, or the like”, e.g.: *sajadtu sajdatan* “I performed a prostration of myself” (Lane, 4, 1307); or: *fa-‘iḏā rafa‘a ra’sahu ‘ani s-sajdati ṭ-ṭāniyati jalasa* “when he had raised his head after the second prostration, he sat down” (Wensinck, 1, 387: al-Buxārī, *‘Aḏān*, 143);³³

quḏūm, qidmān, maqdam (VN), verbal abstracts of *qadima*, “to arrive; to come; to get (to s.o.; to a place), reach, etc.”, hence “coming, advent, arrival” — *qadma* (IN), “one single act of the latter” (W, 747—749; the IN is here missing; it should be noted that a parallel affixal derivation may be stated between *qadma* (IN) and *qadm* (VN, co-occurring with *quḏūm*), related to the verb *qadama* “to precede”), e.g.: *kayfa l-quḏūmu ḡadan ‘alā llāhi* “how to present oneself tomorrow to God?”

³² Wensinck, A. J.: *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* (Wensinck, henceforth). Vols I—VI. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1936—1967.

³³ It should be noted, however, that like any other noun, an IN may be applied as a generic term, as well, e.g.: *sajda* “prostration” in e.g.: *sūrat as-sajda* “Chapter of the Prostration” (*Qur’ān*, XXXII).

(Wensinck, 5, 320: ad-Dārimī, *Muqaddima*, 56); *qadima mu'āwiyatu... al-madīnata 'āxira qadmatin qadimahā* “Mu'āwīya... entered Medina for the last time (lit. the last entering he entered it)” (ibid.: al-Buxārī, 'Anbā', 54); *layta 'annī qad ra'aytuka bi-marw ḥattā 'ukāfi'aka li-qadīm 'iḥsānika wa mā tujaddidu lī mina l-birri fī kullī qadmatin* (Jāḥiẓ, 22), “Je serais heureux de te voir à Merw pour te rendre les gentilleses que tu me prodigues depuis longtemps et te remercier de toute l'amitié que tu me témoignes à chacune de mes visites” (Pellat, 32). Etc.

Iraqi Arabic:

ġēb, *ġiyāb*, *ġēbūba* (VN), verbal abstracts of *ġāb* “to be absent, be or stay away, absent oneself, etc.”, viz. “being away, absence” — *ġēba* (IN) “absence” (*Dict.*, 340; no explicit IN classification is here provided; nevertheless, in *ġēba* and *ġiyāb*, the plural in *-āt* is indicated as against *ġēb*; for an explicit VN—IN classification see Erwin, 165: *ġiyāb* (VN) “absence” — *ġēba* (IN) “an absence”); similarly:

ṣrāx (VN) “yelling” — *ṣarxa* (IN) “a yell”;

rawāḥ (VN) “going” — *rōḥa* (IN) “an (act of) going” (Erwin, 165), etc.

Takrūna Arabic:

xṛūṣ, *xṛṣān* (VN), verbal abstracts of *xṛāṣ*, “sortir, passer de dedans en dehors, d'un intérieur à un extérieur, etc.” (“to go out, to come out, from inside to outside, etc.”), e.g.: *daxlān-əlḥammām xṛūzu wā'ar* “après être entré au bain, c'est d'en sortir qui est difficile”, i.e. “en toute chose il faut considérer la fin” (“after having entered the bath, it is difficult to get out of it”, i.e. “one should consider the consequences of everything”) — *xṛṣa* (IN) “(une) sortie; (un) départ; (une) séparation” “(an) issue, (a) going out; (a) departure; (a) separation, parting”, e.g.: *xṛṣt-əlli-naxṛāṣ mən-hnē ma-āš-šūfni* “si jamais je viens à quitter ces lieux, tu ne m'y reverras plus jamais” (“if I ever succeed in getting out of here, you will hardly see me again”³⁴), etc. (T 3, 1050, 1063);

š'ūd, *š'ūdān* (VN), verbal abstracts of *š'əd*, “s'élever, monter, etc.” (“to rise, go up, ascend, climb”) — *š'əda* (IN) as far as related to a plural *š'ədāt*, “action de monter une fois” (“one single act of going up, ascending; an ascent”); “une montée des prix” (“a rise of prices”); when concretized, plur. *š'ədāt*, *š'əd*, *š'ādi*, “montée, côte, pente” (“acclivity, (upward) slope, hill”)³⁵ (T 5, 2228—2229);

sərx, *sriḫ*, *sərxān* (VN), verbal abstracts of *sərx* (**šaraxa*), “glapir (renard); crier violemment en s'emportant; détonner, résonner (poudre, armes à feu); tirer des coups de feu, etc.” (“to yelp (of a fox); to yell, shout excitedly (esp. in a fit of anger); to clang, to resound (of a firearm); to shoot”) — *sərxā*, plur. *sərxāt* (IN), e.g.: *ləbbārdiyya sərxu fərd-sərxā* “les jeunes gens armés de fusils (pour la fête) firent tous

³⁴ A paronomastic construction, lit. “(after that) one getting out I will get out of here, ...”

³⁵ Similarly in *xṛṣa* above: when related to a plural *xṛṣāt*, it coincides with an IN, when concretized, viz. “parcelle du champ à moissonner” (“a plot of field to be harvested”), it has plurals *xṛṣāt*, *xṛāṣi*.

ensemble une décharge générale” (“young people armed with shotguns (on the occasion of a festive ceremony) fired a volley”), etc. (T 4, 1799—1800).³⁶

3.2.2.1 As a matter of analogy with the *faʿl-faʿla* type of the VN—IN relationship, the connotational distinction similar to that of the VN—IN system has evolved in a number of other VN patterns secondarily reclassified as members of the latter derivational system. In the derivational domain of basic trilaterals which constitutes the most important word-formational basis of the VN—IN relationship, all cases so far classificatorily treated in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 above had something in common with the VN pattern *faʿl* which occurred (1) either as a unique VN of a VN—IN (*ḍarb — ḍarba*), (2) or as an alternating VN pattern (*ṣayḥ, ṣiyāḥ — ṣayḥa*), (3) or, finally, as a pattern for which another VN pattern has been substituted in the course of the linguistic evolution (**šarb* (VN) > *šurb* (VN), because of **šarb* (VN) > *šarb* (CN)). In opposition to these cases, the VN patterns quoted in what follows evolved independently of the VN pattern *faʿl* and, by the type of the derivational procedure involved in the secondarily constituted VN—IN relationship, when disregarding the genetic aspect of the problem, they may be regarded as a variety of the case (3) of the set surveyed above. E. g. :

ḡaḍab (VN), verbal abstract of *ḡaḍiba — ḡaḍba* (IN) (for the MWA evidence see § 2 above ; a rather unambiguous IN interpretation of *ḡaḍba* may be attested in terms of the Classical Arabic data provided by Lane (6, 2265), viz. “a single fit of *ḡaḍab* (or anger)”);

Similarly :

faraḥ (VN), verbal abstract of *fariḥa*, “to be glad, happy, delighted, rejoice, be gay, merry, cheerful”, viz. “joy, gladness, glee, gaiety, hilarity, mirth, exhilaration, merriment, happiness ; etc.” — *farḥa* “joy” (W, 702). An IN-featured interpretation of *farḥa* may be attested in cases like : *liṣ-ṣāʿimi farḥatāni farḥatun ḥīna yalqā rabbahu wa farḥatun ʿinda ʾiftāriḥi* “the faster is experiencing two delights : one, at meeting his Lord, the other at fast breaking” (Wensinck, 5, 99 : an-Nisāʿi, *Ṣiyām*, 41, etc.), as against the VN application of *faraḥ*, e. g. : *fa-lammā raʾāhu rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) waṭaba ʾilayhi faraḥan* “when the Prophet of God (God bless him and grant him salvation !) saw him, he rushed to him with joy” (ibid. : al-Muwattaʿ, *Nikāḥ*, 46), etc.

In a synchronic description like the present one, similar considerations might seem to be out of order. Were it not for synchronic reasons of a purely statistical nature (markedly lower frequency of similar cases as against those examined in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 above, and with even a higher rate of lexical actualization possibly involved therein), the cases like the present ones could safely be identified with those subsumed under 3.2.2.³⁷

³⁶ For the generic use of an IN (see Note 33), cf. *ṣāḥab-sarxa ulākən qalbu bāhi* “il est gueulard, mais son cœur est bon” (“he is a brawler (lit. master of a shout), but he is mild-hearted”) (T. 4, 1800) ; etc.

³⁷ A number of *faʿla* patterns, related to the verb *faʿila*, may function as VN’s themselves, e. g. *raḡba, raḡma*, etc. For *raḡba* see Fischer, p. 44.

In this connection, it should be noted that in a number of colloquial variants of Arabic the formal difference (here: *fa^cl/fa^al*) between the two cases may be lost, as is the case in the Tākūrūna Arabic *fəṛḥ*, for instance, in consequence of which the relation between *fəṛḥ* and *fəṛḥa* should be interpreted, in opposition to the Classical Arabic *farāḥ* — *farḥa*, in terms of the 3.2.1 procedure. For an explicit VN—IN classification of *fəṛḥ* — *fəṛḥa*, fully compatible with the textual evidence provided, the following Tākūrūna Arabic examples might be of interest:

fəṛḥ (VN), plur. (*i*) *fṛāḥ*, with the definite article *ləfṛāḥ*, “joie, plaisir, contentement” (“joy, delight, comfort”), e.g.: *ayyāmt-əlfəṛḥ ma-təṭḥsəbš m-əḤmər* “on ne compte pas comme faisant partie de la vie les jours de joie” (“one never counts the happy days as forming part of one’s life”, lit. “days of joy, happiness”) — *fəṛḥa* (IN), plur. *fəṛḥāt*, “une joie particulière, une occasion de se réjouir” (“a particular delight, an occasion for joy”), e.g.: *āh fəṛḥa uma-dāmət* “hélas! C’était une joie passagère” (“Alas! It was but a passing joy”); *fəṛṛəḥtni fōq-əlfəṛḥa fəḥtēn* “tu me procures (par ces bonnes nouvelles) deux joies en plus de celle de te voir” (“you give me two pleasures (by reporting this good news) apart from that of meeting you”); etc. (T 6, 2912—2914).

Of course, the relatively frequent cases of a generically applied IN, the generality range of which stands then closer to that of a VN or is coextensive with it (the generality range of a VN, subject to various types of limiting factors, is itself considerably variable), do not impair in any way the theoretical possibility of recognizing a connotational relationship, substantially coinciding with that of the VN—IN system, in any of these cases. The Tākūrūna Arabic IN *fəṛḥa*, for instance, when applied as a generic term, is substantially identical with the VN *fəṛḥ*, viz. “joie, contentement” (“joy, comfort, satisfaction”), as in: *yā-fəṛḥti uya-hnāya bəlli-^ctāni-mulāya* “ô la joie, le contentement que me donne celle dont Dieu m’a gratifiée!” (“o my joy and comfort (coming to me) through that (i.e. my daughter-in-law) bestowed on me by my Lord!”) (a welcoming formula said by a woman to her daughter-in-law at her entering the house for the first time), etc. (T 6, 2914).

3.2.2.2 When trying to set a parallel with the CN—UN system, as done in 3.2.1.2 above for what we call exclusive affix-marked derivation, we realize that the present procedure shows considerable limitations in this respect. Since the feature of pattern change does not normally occur in the CN—UN derivation, the only field of its application should seemingly be identified with ‘interpretational’ CN—UN’s (like those examined in 3.2.1.2 (1) above in connection with the affixal derivation, viz., e.g. *ṭarq* — *ṭarqa*: (VN/CN) “knocking”/“knocks” — (IN/UN) “a knocking, a knock”/“a knock”) which substantially allow of an alternative VN—IN/CN—UN classification. E.g.:

ṣarīx, *ṣurāx* (VN) — *ṣarxa* (IN) (see 3.2.2 above);

ʿuṭās (VN) — *ʿaṭsa* (IN), in *ʿaṭs*, *ʿuṭās* (VN) — *ʿaṭsa* (IN) (see *ibid.*), etc.

For reasons surveyed above, a full-scale bi-systemic presentation of similar cases is

rarely provided in current lexicographical practice. Nevertheless, at the VN/CN pole of this common relationship, the distinction tends to be recorded with various degrees of explicitness and, moreover, under various classificatory headings (viz. VN and/or CN). In both examples quoted above, the CN values are subsumed under the heading of VN, viz. *‘uṭās* (VN) “sneezing, sneezes” (W, 620); *ṣarīx*, *ṣurāx* (VN) “screaming, screams” (W, 511).

REVIEW ARTICLES

PHILIPPINE STUDIES IN THE SOVIET UNION: PART I

JOZEF GENZOR, Bratislava

Oriental studies have had a long and rich tradition in Russia; as early as the 12th century, Russian travellers began to collect important data on the geography, economics, religion and ways of life of nations of the East. In the forties of the 18th century, the question of establishing a department of Oriental languages within the Academy of Sciences was raised and the idea was also supported by M. V. Lomonosov in 1754. At the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries G. S. Lebedev spent twelve years in India; he investigated the languages of this country and in 1801 compiled one of the first grammars of Sanskrit in Europe.

Russian Orientalists have laid the foundations of several new branches of their discipline, particularly of Turkology, Caucasian studies etc. Russian scholars also were engaged in studying most of Turkic, Mongolic, Iranic, Caucasian, Palaeoasiatic, Manchu and other languages. Academician V. P. Vasiliev, author of basic works on Sinology and Buddhology, was the first to have written an outline of the history of Chinese literature and suggested a rational system for the compilation of Chinese dictionaries. The priority of Russian Manchu and Mongolian studies is generally recognized. A great Mongolist who created his best works in the Soviet period was Academician B. Y. Vladimirtsov. Russian scholars have contributed to the development of Caucasian studies more than scholars of other countries. The foundation of investigation of Ancient Orient had been laid already before the Revolution by the famous Egyptologist B. A. Turaev.

The October Revolution marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of Oriental studies in the Soviet Union. These have been expanded so as to cover also Southeast Asia as well as the Philippines. In contrast to traditional Oriental studies (Indology, Sinology etc.), Philippine studies, as well as studies of the whole of Southeast Asia, rank among the younger branches of Soviet Oriental studies, the development of which began after 1917.

The aim of the present study is to give a brief survey of Philippine studies in the Soviet Union. Our work is divided into two parts; in the first part, we shall try to sketch an outline of a historical, economical, geographical, ethnographical and political investigation within the framework of Philippine studies, while in the second part we shall pay attention to the Philippine culture, literature and linguistics (to appear in the next volume of Asian and African Studies). Our survey refers to research carried out before 1975. At the same time, we realize that our article cannot be exhaustive because it is simply impossible to enumerate and analyse all the works of Soviet Philippinists.

Research in the field of Philippine studies in the Soviet Union is carried out in two centres, namely in Moscow and Leningrad. In Moscow, the research is conducted at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and at the Institute of Asian and African Countries at the Moscow State University, as well as at the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and elsewhere; in Leningrad, Philippine studies are concentrated at the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the Leningrad State University. Here we shall discuss the activities of the Institute of Oriental Studies; other institutions have begun their work later and are predominantly engaged in literature and linguistics.

Historiography of the Philippines represents one of the youngest branches of Oriental studies in the Soviet Union. The Philippines became known in Russia soon after the discovery of the archipelago by Magellan; however, research in the history of the Islands was not carried out prior to the Revolution. The only exception is N. N. Miklukho-Maklai's short article concerned with an anthropological research of Negritos on Luzon Island.¹ There were some records, notes and articles written sporadically, but it may be said that, on the whole, very little was published on the Philippines in Russia prior 1917.

Publications of Soviet authors during the period from 1917 till the mid-thirties are of a varying quality; there are both weak works, as well as relatively solid studies whose authors were well informed on the situation in the Philippines. This second group includes primarily the article written by F. Frankl.² However, as a whole, the production of the period 1917—1936 has no scholarly character.

A qualitatively new stage began in the next fifteen-year period (1936—1950). In the mid-thirties, a deep and systematic investigation of the history and socio-economic relationships of Southeast Asian countries was started. It is connected with the name of the late Academician Alexandr Andreevich Guber (1902—1971). This scholar may be regarded not only as the founder of the Soviet school of Philippine studies, but also of the Southeast Asian studies as such.

A. A. Guber pursued the whole history of the country, but in 1936 it became clear that he laid stress mainly on the national liberation struggle of the Philippine nation. The author's principal merit consists in the investigation of pre-Spanish history, as well as the history of the period under colonial rule. He criticized the extreme conceptions regarding the Philippines before the arrival of Europeans, namely that of some western authors who inclined to consider the pre-Spanish Philippines as a backward country, and that of some Philippine historians who have exaggerated the level of its socio-economic development. The socio-economic analysis of the

¹ *Izvestiya Imperatorskogo russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* (Reports of Imperial Russian Geographic Society). Vol. 9, 1873, No. 10, pp. 368—371.

² Frankl, F.: *Amerika i Filipinskie ostrova* (America and the Philippine Islands). In: *Novyi Vostok* (New Orient), book 12. Moscow 1926.

Philippine society before the Spanish conquest enabled the author to give an essentially new explanation for the rapid establishment of Christianity in the Philippines. A. A. Guber has rightly stressed that in the 16th century Christianity as well as Islam had equal chances of spreading throughout the Philippines.

These main theses concerning pre-Spanish history of the Philippines were later elaborated in Guber's book on the Philippine Republic of 1898.³

In that fifteen-year period, A. A. Guber investigated the history of colonial Philippines, too. The first approach to his main theme, i.e. Revolution of 1896—1898, was made in his biography of José Rizal. It is a work of a scientific-popular character, written in collaboration with O. K. Rykovskaya.⁴ A. A. Guber concluded that the growing anti-Spanish movement in the 19th century could be ascribed to two factors: (1) revolutionary struggle of peasantry, (2) demand of liberal reforms by local bourgeoisie and liberal bourgeois-landlord intelligentsia.⁵

The most exhaustive investigation of history of colonial Philippines has been accomplished in Guber's greatest work titled *Filippinskaya respublika 1898 g. i amerikanskii imperializm* (its first edition appeared in 1948).

In his investigation, the author examines and gives a detailed explanation of two important problems: the first is, why the Philippines, a colony of economically backward Spain, were able to rise against the Spanish rule; second relates to the course of the armed struggle, its stages, role of different classes in the process of development and intensification of the Philippine revolution on the one hand, and to the American imperialist policy which has resulted in the colonial occupation of a non-American country, on the other.

A. A. Guber was the first historian to turn attention to an analysis of class struggle in the archipelago.

It may be observed that A. A. Guber has considerably extended the material basis of his investigation, using for the first time Russian archival materials.

From the mid-thirties, A. A. Guber began to pay attention to problems of modern history of the Philippines in various scientific-informational editions,⁶ and later in the closing chapter of the book referred to above. (That chapter is missing from the second edition of the book.)

An evaluation of the bestowal of autonomy varies in Guber's different works; while in 1936, he stated that it is "a new proof of capitulation of the ruling classes in the Philippines",⁷ in 1946 he characterized it as a great concession on the part of the

³ Guber, A. A.: *Filippinskaya respublika 1898 g. i amerikanskii imperializm* (The Philippine Republic of 1898 and American Imperialism). Moscow 1948.

⁴ Guber, A.—Rykovskaya O.: *José Rizal*. Moscow 1937.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶ Guber, A. A.: *Filippiny. Istoricheskii ocherk* (Philippines. A Historical Outline). In: *Bolshaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya* (Great Soviet Encyclopedia), 1st ed., Vol. 57, 1936.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

USA; President Quezon's policy during the first years was considered to be progressive.⁸

During 1936—1950 scholarly articles appeared by other authors; they were devoted to the contemporary situation in the Philippines. Mention should be made of O. I. Zabožlaeva, whose article analysing the Sakdalist uprising of 1935⁹ has preserved its value to this day.

In 1938, for the first time in Soviet historiography of the Philippines, O. I. Zabožlaeva in one of her articles¹⁰ found readiness on the part of the Philippine bourgeoisie to enter into economic contacts with Japan on the eve of the Second World War.

It might be observed once more that during the period 1936—1950, investigation of the history of the Philippines was raised to a qualitatively new, scientific level. In those years A. A. Guber created his own school of historiography of the Philippines, whose subsequent achievements, were due not only to his own scholarship, but also to the first generation of his students.

In the fifties, modern history of the Philippines continued to attract attention. Modern history has been studied mainly by G. I. Levinson (born 1918). Problems of American colonial policy, peasant movement and other subjects are elucidated in his various articles as well as in his three books issued in 1957, 1958 and 1959 respectively.¹¹ As the author himself admits, these monographs are not completely free from some erroneous judgements, and sources which became only recently available could not be taken into account. Despite some deficiencies, these publications were not only the first, but till the beginning of the seventies the only systematic investigation of modern Philippine history in the Soviet Union.

Being A. A. Guber's pupil, G. I. Levinson has based his research upon that historical conception of modern history which had been elaborated by the founder of Soviet Philippine studies. Following A. A. Guber, G. I. Levinson investigates political history as being linked with the economic situation.

In contrast to the western, mainly American, historiography where American colonial rule is assigned a "civilizational mission", G. I. Levinson analyses the real economic and strategic interests of the USA in the Philippines. That means that the

⁸ See Note 3, p. 448.

⁹ Zabožlaeva, O.: *Sakdalistskoe dvizhenie na Filipinakh* (Sakdalist Movement in the Philippines). In: *Tikhii okean* (Pacific Ocean), 1936, No. 1.

¹⁰ Zabožlaeva, O.: *Sovremennoe polozhenie na Filipinskikh ostrovakh* (Contemporary Situation in the Philippine Islands). In: *Mirovoe khozyaistvo i mirovaya politika* (World Economy and World Policy). Moscow 1938, Nos 7—8.

¹¹ Levinson, G. I.: *Rabochee dvizhenie na Filipinakh* (Working-class Movement in the Philippines). Moscow 1957; *Filippiny mezdu pervoi i vtoroi mirovymi voynami* (Philippines between the First and Second World Wars). Moscow 1958; *Filippiny vchera i segodnya* (Philippines Yesterday and Today). Moscow 1959.

Philippines have remained a typically colonial country even under the new colonizers.

In his book *Filippiny vchera i segodnya*, G. I. Levinson continues to discuss modern history of the Philippines, namely, from the beginning of the Japanese occupation up to the second half of the fifties. Unlike the two preceding books, this one discusses in a greater extent and depth the general political situation.

The second half of the fifties marks the commencement of a systematic investigation of Philippine economic history. As mentioned above, an investigation of economics and social situation of classes and social groups forms an inseparable part of the methodology of Soviet Philippinist-historians.

In the second half of the fifties, scholars concentrated upon an analysis of the agrarian situation. One of the first authors in this field is G. I. Levinson.¹²

N. A. Saveliev (1925—1970) who joined the Soviet Philippine studies in the mid-fifties, was engaged chiefly in studying American capital in the Philippines.¹³

Though no fundamental monograph comparable to Guber's book appeared in the fifties, Soviet Philippine studies were further developed. This is due mainly to the establishment of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1950, and later, in 1956, of the Department of Southeast Asia in this Institute where the main emphasis is laid on an investigation of the Philippines.

In the latest period, in 1960—1975, a second edition of Guber's book appeared.¹⁴ Its main ideas have remained unchanged but the author had access to previously missing sources.

Since the beginning of the sixties, problems of Philippine ancient history and ethnogenesis have come to be studied more thoroughly. Several authors are engaged in investigating these questions, although none of them confines his attention to this subject only.

Ancient history of the Philippines is mainly described in some chapters of works that, as a whole, discuss other periods and problems. Exceptions are few so far. E.g., G. I. Levinson in his report on the VIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnographical Sciences in Moscow (1964) has demonstrated that early state formations in the Philippines have originated as a consequence of the process of internal development of the society and cannot be regarded merely as foreign influences.¹⁵

¹² See his article *Filippiny* (Philippines). In: *Agrarnye otnosheniya v stranakh Vostoka* (Agrarian Relationships in Countries of the East). Moscow 1958.

¹³ Saveliev, N.: *Borba natsionalnogo kapitala protiv amerikanskikh monopolii na Filippinakh* (Struggle of National Capital against American Monopolies in the Philippines). In: *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya* (World Economics and International Relationships). Moscow 1958, No. 5; *Amerikanskii kapital na Filippinakh* (American Capital in the Philippines). Moscow 1960.

¹⁴ Guber, A. A.: *Filippinskaya respublika 1898 goda i amerikanskii imperializm* (The Philippine Republic of 1898 and American Imperialism). Moscow 1961.

¹⁵ Trudy VII Mezhdunarodnogo kongressa antropologicheskikh i etnograficheskikh nauk (Works of

A chapter in the monograph on agriculture in the Philippines¹⁶ by O. G. Baryshnikova (born 1926) is devoted to an investigation of the socio-economic system of the Philippines on the eve of colonization. On the basis of her independent study of documents, O. G. Baryshnikova repeats Guber's view on early feudal stages of development of the most developed regions of the Philippines at the beginning of Spanish colonization.¹⁷ The author has also contributed to the explanation of slavery in the Philippines.¹⁸

G. I. Levinson, Yu. O. Levtonova and K. Yu. Meshkov episodically turn to problems of ethnogenesis. In the mid-sixties, an article on Philippine nations written by Yu. O. Levtonova and K. Yu. Meshkov, was published.¹⁹ Two years later a more exhaustive article by K. Yu. Meshkov appeared.²⁰ G. I. Levinson expresses his own viewpoint on particular problems of ethnogenesis in the XVth volume of the Soviet Historical Encyclopedia.²¹

Yu. O. Levtonova (born 1934) is predominantly engaged in problems of new history. In her works of 1962, she utilized in particular materials she had collected in 1961—1962 during her research stay at the Cornell University, USA.

Beside archival documents, Yu. O. Levtonova has widely utilized in her works literature on the Philippines published in Russia before the Revolution. In her paper devoted to the "Cholera Rebellion" of 1820 in Manila²² she demonstrates that the rebellion had not been completely unplanned.

In 1962, she published another interesting article on Spanish-English contradictions in the second half of the 18th—19th centuries; the article was later included in one of her monographs.²³

the VIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnographical Sciences). Vol. 9, Moscow 1970, p. 478.

¹⁶ Baryshnikova, O. G.: *Selskoe khozyaistvo Filippin (Genezis i razvitie kapitalizma)* (Agriculture of the Philippines (Genesis and Development of Capitalism)). Moscow 1972.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁹ Levtonova, Yu. O.—Meshkov, K. Yu.: *Narody Filippin. Istoricheskii ocherk* (Nations of the Philippines. A Historical Outline). In: *Narody Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Nations of Southeast Asia). Moscow 1966.

²⁰ Meshkov, K. Yu.: *Osnovnye etapy etnicheskoi istorii Filippin (do kontsa XIX v.)* (Main Stages of Ethnic History of the Philippines (till the End of the 19th Cent.)). In: *Problemy etnografii i etnicheskoi istorii narodov Vostochnoi i Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Problems of Ethnography and Ethnic History of Nations of East and Southeast Asia). Moscow 1968.

²¹ Levinson, G. I.: *Filippiny. Istoricheskii ocherk* (Philippines. A Historical Outline). In: *Istoricheskaya entsiklopediya* (Historical Encyclopedia). Vol. 15, Moscow 1974.

²² Levtonova, Yu. O.: *K voprosu o tak nazyvaemom "kholernom bunte" 1820 g. v Manile* (The Question of the So-called "Cholera Rebellion" of 1820 in Manila). In: *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Nations of Asia and Africa). Moscow 1962, No. 4.

²³ Levtonova, Yu. O.: *Ocherki novoi istorii Filippin (60-e gody XVIII—60-e gody XIX v.)* (Outlines of Modern History of the Philippines (60's of the 18th—60's of the 19th Cent.)). Moscow 1965.

In the centre of attention of Yu. O. Levtonova's investigation is also anticolonial liberation movement and the influence of economic processes on its development.

E. O. Berzin has chosen as subject of his study a topic rarely dealt with in Soviet works.²⁴ He has investigated the struggle of different groupings within the most stable element of the colonial administration of the Spaniards, i.e. the Catholic Church, and has devoted considerable attention to processes and conditions of the rise of Philippine land aristocracy, as well as social consequences of this fact.

Investigation of problems of the Catholic Church in the Philippines in the revolutionary years of 1896—1898 is continued in an article written by the same author.²⁵

G. I. Levinson inquires into the closing period of modern history (1901—1917). In his further book,²⁶ he took a new approach to the subject. His work is devoted to an investigation of Philippine experience in carrying out a strategy and tactics of a united national front.

Unlike some works treating of the preceding periods, this book has overcome schematism in the social analysis of the Philippine society taking local socio-cultural peculiarities into account. Considerable attention is paid to ideological questions including social thinking of the national liberation movement from the end of the last century.

During this period, special works appeared that investigated social thinking in the Philippines.²⁷

Modern history is discussed in numerous articles written by G. I. Levinson in collective works in the sixties and seventies. The author's view on the historical period in question is most completely and distinctly reflected in his book titled *Filippiny na puti k nezavisimosti (1901—1946)*.

Continuing in Guber's traditions, G. I. Levinson introduces a number of new documents hitherto unknown in Philippine studies, among them documents of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

As regards the scholarly conception, it may be noted that the influence and political role of different intermediate social layers of the Philippine society are more profoundly considered in the work of 1972 than in the preceding books.

The first Marxist work devoted to the period of American rule in the Philippines is, on the whole, of a polemical character. It differs essentially from works of bourgeois

²⁴ Berzin, E. O.: *Katolicheskaya tserkov v Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Catholic Church in Southeast Asia). Moscow 1966.

²⁵ Berzin, E. O.: *Filippinskaya tserkov i revolyutsiya 1896—1902 gg.* (Philippine Church and Revolution of 1896—1902). In: *Religiya i mifologiya narodov Vostochnoi i Yuzhnoi Azii* (Religion and Mythology of Nations of East and south Asia). Moscow 1970.

²⁶ Levinson, G. I.: *Filippiny na puti k nezavisimosti (1901—1946)* (Philippines on the Path to Independence). Moscow 1972.

²⁷ See e.g. Levtonova, Yu. O.: *Istoriya obshchestvennoi mysli na Filippinakh (vtoraya polovina XIX v.)* (History of Social Thinking in the Philippines (Second Half of the 19th Cent.)). Moscow 1973.

authors in that it discusses victories achieved on the path to independence as a result of the national liberation movement, which contradicts the ideas of bourgeois historiography.

In Levinson's monograph, only a few pages are devoted to the post-war history of the Philippines. However, a reappraisal is given of that interpretation of events which was expressed in the last and more extensive chapter of the book *Filippiny vchera i segodnya*, in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia of 1956, and in other works of the fifties.

In 1974, a theoretical article by A. B. Reznikov appeared analysing new tactics elaborated by the Communist Party of the Philippines on the basis of rare documents.²⁸ The article supplements a theoretical comprehension of the activities of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the second half of the thirties expressed by G. I. Levinson.

Economic history of the Philippines, after a few sporadic articles published in the fifties, matured to an independent discipline. In the sixties and seventies, it made considerable quantitative and qualitative advances and established its competence to stand in its own right.

Economic works written by N. A. Saveliev are notable for his historical generalizations. Of great interest is his interpretation of the history of the Philippine national bourgeoisie.

An analysis of the historical development of the Philippine bourgeoisie permitted N. A. Saveliev to give a competent evaluation of the activity of President Magsaysay's administration (1953—1957). The author remarks that Magsaysay's regime has contributed to class consolidation of the national bourgeoisie and proved a heavy blow to American monopolies.²⁹

Saveliev's evaluation of the "Filipino First" movement (second half of the fifties) is also interesting. The author notices the attempt of the Philippine government from March 1960 to divert the edge of nationalism from American and other foreign monopolies and turn it against Indians, Arabs and businessmen of Chinese origin.³⁰

N. A. Saveliev has also investigated the economic positions of American capital and history of its penetration in the Philippines.³¹

²⁸ Reznikov, A. B.: *K istorii razrabotki novoi politiki Kommunisticheskoi partii Filippin (vtoraya polovina 30-kh godov)* (On the History of Working out a New Policy of the Communist Party of the Philippines (Second Half of the Thirties)). In: *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Nations of Asia and Africa), 1974, No. 5.

²⁹ Saveliev, N.: *Filippiny. Ekonomicheskii ocherk* (Philippines. Economic Outline). Moscow 1960, p. 135.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

³¹ Saveliev, N.: *Amerikanskii kapital na Filippinakh* (American Capital in the Philippines). Moscow 1960.

O. G. Baryshnikova has sketched a genesis of capitalism in the Philippine agriculture in her most important work thus far.³²

I. F. Zhulev discusses problems of the working class. Some of his studies have been written in collaboration with O. G. Baryshnikova. His conclusions have been summed up in one of his articles.³³

Several of Baryshnikova's papers are devoted to the history of education;³⁴ a periodization of the history of the Philippine school system during the Spanish colonial rule is also given there.

Ethnographic investigation of the Philippines is still in its beginnings. One of the few ethnographers engaged in the Philippines, D. I. Tikhonov, in his article³⁵ develops Guber's view that the country undergoes two contradictory processes; the first stimulating the consolidation of one Philippine nation, the second leading to the constitution of several local nations.

A different view on ethnic problems of the Philippines is offered by E. Yu. Plotnik.³⁶ He considers that ethnic processes of the Philippines repeat the model of Latin American Indians who have preserved the so-called lower part of their culture (language, objects of mode of life), but have completely lost the higher levels of culture (script, state system, religion).

In 1974, the first attempt to investigate realities of everyday life was undertaken and various questions of a historical character were studied with the aid of ethnopsychology.³⁷ The work of I. V. Podberezskii (born 1937) is a generalization not only of abundant material collected by American scholars, but also of the author's own observations.

The final chapter of Podberezskii's book gives a chronicle of events in the Philippines from the end of 1972 when a coup d'état took place, followed by the

³² See Note 16.

³³ Zhulev, I. F.: *Nekotorye voprosy formirovaniya rabocheho klassa Filippin* (Some Questions of Forming Working Class of the Philippines). In: *Formirovanie rabocheho klassa stran Azii i Afriki* (Forming Working Class of Countries of Asia and Africa). Moscow 1971.

³⁴ Baryshnikova, O. G.: *Filippiny* (Philippines). In: *Prosveshchenie v stranakh mira* (Public Education in Countries of the World). Moscow 1967; *Filippiny* (Philippines). In: *Prosveshchenie i podgotovka natsionalnykh kadrov v stranakh Vostoka* (Public Education and Preparation of National Cadres in Countries of the East). Moscow 1971; *Rol obrazovaniya v preodolenii ekonomicheskoi otstalosti* (Role of Education in Overcoming Economic Backwardness). In: *Ideologiya i kultura stran Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Ideology and Culture of Southeast Asian Countries). Moscow 1973.

³⁵ Tikhonov, D. I.: *Etnicheskoe razvitie narodov Respubliki Filippin* (Ethnic Development of Nations of the Republic of the Philippines). In: *Etnicheskaya istoriya narodov Azii* (Ethnic History of Nations of Asia). Moscow 1972.

³⁶ Plotnik, E. Yu.: *Filippiny* (Philippines). In: *Etnicheskie protsessy v stranakh Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Ethnic Processes in Southeast Asian Countries). Moscow 1974.

³⁷ Podberezskii, I. V.: *Sampagita, krest i dollar* (Sampaguita, the Cross and the Dollar). Moscow 1974.

martial law, a new constitution was introduced, and a new agrarian reform started.

A historical evaluation of the contemporary situation in the Philippines is given in the XVth volume of the Historical Encyclopedia by G. I. Levinson. He qualifies it as a period of weakening of economic and political positions of the landowner oligarchy, an intensification of the role of national bourgeoisie in determining the state policy.³⁸

The achievements of Soviet Orientalists have been summed up and surveyed in several publications. Research activity of Soviet Philippinists is described in articles written by V. A. Makarenko³⁹ and L. L. Taivan⁴⁰ respectively. Data on Soviet Orientalists and their works are also available in a biobibliographic dictionary compiled by S. D. Miliband.⁴¹

³⁸ See Note 21, p. 104.

³⁹ Makarenko, V. A.: *Izuchenie v SSSR filippinskikh yazykov do i posle Oktyabrya* (Study of Philippine Languages before and after October in the USSR). In: *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Nations of Asia and Africa), Moscow 1967, No. 6, pp. 100—107.

⁴⁰ Taivan, L. L.: *Stanovlenie sovetskoi istoriografii Filippin* (Rise of Soviet Historiography of the Philippines). In: *Sovetskaya istoriografiya Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Soviet Historiography of Southeast Asia). Moscow, Nauka 1977, pp. 124—167.

⁴¹ Miliband, S. D.: *Biobibliograficheskii slovar sovetskikh vostokovedov* (Biobibliographic Dictionary of Soviet Orientalists). Moscow, Nauka 1977, 765 pp.

MAYAKOVSKY IN CHINA

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

L. E. Cherkassky, a research worker at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, well-known by his studies on ancient and modern Chinese poetry, a translator of Chinese poetry into Russian,¹ has introduced himself once again with his book *Mayakovsky v Kitae* (Mayakovsky in China), Moscow, Nauka 1976, 223 pp. It is a book on Mayakovsky's reception and influence in China between 1921—1964.

The present review article has for aim to acquaint the readers with the content of this book, the research methods and the result of this pioneering work. At the same time, the present reviewer will endeavour to point out some problems to which the author did not turn his attention and some of the materials that remained inaccessible to him.

1

The book under review signifies quite an "event" to Soviet sinology. But it also deserves attention on the part of other scholars: as a matter of fact, it represents a significant contribution also in the field of literary comparatistics. It points in the first place to the role of translation in interliterary communication. Naturally, we shall not succeed in understanding thoroughly modern Chinese literature unless we grasp its genetic-contact relations with world literature. Cherkassky, within the scope of his possibilities (and these are surprisingly great) endeavours to encompass the topic in its entire breadth, pointing to the most diverse relations, collecting a considerable amount of material to get a deeper insight into them: articles and books of Chinese authors writing about Mayakovsky, translated articles and books by foreign, particularly Soviet authors, parts of critical works dealing with Mayakovsky, collections devoted to his memory and of course a great deal of translations.

Probably all the great world authors came to China in the form of so-called "mirages" (or images), in the form of certain "myths and legends". Nor was the

¹ His most important work is *Novaya kitaiskaya poeziya. 20—30-e gody* (New Chinese Poetry of 1920s and 1930s), Moscow, Nauka 1972. He translated three volumes of modern Chinese poetry into Russian and wrote a book on the poet Ts'o Chih [1] (192—232 A.D.) entitled *Poeziya Tsao Chzhi* (The Poetry of Ts'ao Chih), Moscow 1963. A review of his New Chinese Poetry of 1920s and 1930s appeared in *Asian and African Studies*, X, 1974, pp. 158—165.

author of *150,000,000* an exception. If it be true that Mayakovsky was better "known to French contemporaries on the basis of talk about his poetry than directly through his poems, more as a personality than a poet",² this applied even more to China and this not only during his lifetime, but until the liberation in 1949. During the twenties and thirties, and even during the forties, the soil in China was not adequately prepared for accepting Mayakovsky, although there was a willingness to meet him and get to know him.

The first prominent Chinese man of letters personally to have met Mayakovsky was Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai [2] (1899—1935). Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai who could write adequately about old Russian literature, had a sufficient philosophical and literary-critical training and certainly also literary sentiment and taste, called Mayakovsky's long poem *Chelovek* (Man) a "collection" and admitted that he did not understand these poems (he ought to have used the singular).³ There seems to be no evidence that he would have understood Mayakovsky later either.⁴ Chiang Kuang-tz'u [4] (1901—1931), Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's disciple and brother-in-arms, came to understand Mayakovsky in his own peculiar way within the scope of his own idealistic conception of the relationship between revolution and poet — idealistic because he apprehended this relation not in a Marxist sense, but even mystically.⁵

Besides these two, and a little later also Hsiao San [5], i. e. Emi Hsiao (1896—),⁶ few among Chinese writers had an opportunity of becoming acquainted directly with Mayakovsky. And thus his *mirage* in China (i. e. distorted image) was built up gradually on the basis of English and French (and perhaps also Japanese) writings about Mayakovsky. Cherkassky in his book mentioned W. A. Drake and his work *Contemporary European Writers*, New York 1928, A. N. Magil's *Mayakovsky*, published in New Masses in 1930, and probably also Elsa Triolet's *Vladimir Maiakovski*, *Ce soir* 772, 14 avril 1939, and some others. But there were more of them. Chao Ching-shen [6] (1902—), a modern Chinese critic and historian, who deserves a great credit for having made accessible to China, notions and concepts concerned with contemporary world literature towards the end of the twenties and the first half of the thirties, devoted the No. 4 of the journal *Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh* [7] *Modern Literature*, October 1930, to the memory of Mayakovsky. Here we find Chao Ching-shen's translation of A. I. Nazarov's article on Mayakovsky,⁷ further an article by Hu Feng [9] entitled *Ma-yeh-k'o-fu-ssu-chi ssu-la i-hou* [10] After the

² This is an opinion of T. Balashova expressed in their study *Lirika Mayakovskogo i frantsuzskaya poeziya* (Mayakovsky's Lyrics and French Poetry). Quoted according to Cherkassky, p. 46.

³ *Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai wen-chi* [3] The Collected Works of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Vol. 1, Peking 1954, p. 99.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 546—547.

⁵ Cf. Cherkassky, pp. 29—30 and 33—35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 30 and 46—49.

⁷ We have not succeeded in tracing the source of this translation. The journal *Modern Literature* is on the stock of Kyoto University Library [8].

Death of Mayakovsky, published under his personal name Ku-fei [11]. There is also an article by Yang Ch'ang-hsi [12] called *Ma-yeh-k'o-fu-ssu-chi lun* [13] On Mayakovsky, and two further translations. Of these at least the first would be of interest to the author of the book under review, i.e. Tai Wang-shu's [14] (1905—1950) translation of an article on Mayakovsky written by the French author Auguste Habaru.⁸ This number also contains the translation of a report by a Japanese author and entitled *Ma-yeh-k'o-fu-ssu-chi tsang-chih* [15] The Funeral of Mayakovsky. D.S. Mirsky's article on Mayakovsky appeared in the No. 2 of the journal Hsien-tai hsüeh-sheng [16] Modern Student, in November of 1930.⁹ It had been translated by Chao Ching-shen. Some of these last data are to be found in the unpublished article by V. V. Petrov, *Sovetskaya literatura v Kitae v 1928—1930 gg.* (Soviet Literature in China in 1928—1930), of which Cherkassky writes on page 4 and 7.

It is a pity these works remained inaccessible to the author of the book, for his description of Mayakovsky's image in China at the time just after his death would be more complete. When studying the history of the impact of world literature on modern Chinese literature, we witness a relatively abundant though often superficial series of impulses coming in from various directions, and their differentiated action. What matters is that our knowledge of this aspect be as adequate as possible, hence, all accessible material should be scanned and in case this is not possible for a single investigator to do (as is unfortunately the rule), it is appropriate that his notes should be supplemented by another scholar. This is all the more necessary seeing the widely scattered sources of references, an absence of their being easily surveyed and in a large measure inaccessible.

The impact of Russian and Soviet literatures on their Chinese counterpart, whether in the form of their reception and recently also in that of their influence, has been better investigated than that of other literatures. Several Soviet sinologues have been or still are engaged — sometimes very intensively, at other times just incidentally — with this topic (mostly M.E. Shneider and V.V. Petrov). Russian literature began to penetrate into China already at the turn of our century and its impact lasted from Lu Hsün's first short stories until the early sixties. Soviet literature was an object of interest right from the beginning of the twenties, hence, right from its birth. The *mirage* of this literature went on being completed and changed over the years; its more adequate picture began to be moulded during the thirties and the forties and its perfectioning came in in the fifties when Soviet literature represented easily the predominant bulk of translation literature, when it was a great model, an object of admiration and creative imitation.

⁸ Translated from Habaru, A.: *V. Maiakovski*. Monde, 99, 1930.

⁹ Translated from Mirsky, D. S.: *Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893—14. april, 1930)*. The Slavonic Review, IX, 25, June 1930, pp. 220—222. The journal Contemporary Student is on the stock of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Mayakovsky's personality and work formed part of a long-term, meandering process of cognition. Almost a whole decade before his tragic death, the tidings of his noteworthy works reached China. But similarly like tidings about other great personalities of world literature, e.g. Dante or Goethe, they were not founded on direct acquaintance, on contact with original or translated works. These "tidings" then became incorporated into the overall "mirage" of world literature, its inadequate, distorted knowledge in China. A similarly distorted knowledge of L. Andreev and M. Gorky was pointed out by M.E. Shneider¹⁰ and now, in the case of Mayakovsky, it is pointed out by the author of the book under review.

But again, such examples are more numerous here. Mr. Cherkassky does mention Mao Tun [17] (1896—) in connection with Mayakovsky, but does not deal in any more detail with his views. And yet, they do help in clarifying Mayakovsky's mirage in China during the twenties.

Earlier, reference has been made to the author of *150,000,000*. In his article entitled *Wei-lai-p'ai wen-hsüeh-chih hsien-shih* [18] Present Situation in the Literature of Futurism, Mao Tun made an analysis of Mayakovsky's above work. Of course, if one can thus call a rather detailed presentation of the content of Mayakovsky's long poem to readers. That, however, was a method frequently adopted by introducers of foreign literature into China. These had no time for any fine analyses, at times they were not even prepared for such a task and were unable to carry them out because of material and other difficulties. Mao Tun's article was intended to acquaint the Chinese readers of the magazine *Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao* [19] The Short Story Magazine — the largest Chinese literary journal of the twenties — with European futurism. It appeared in the October issue of 1922.¹¹ Mao Tun was satisfied with Mayakovsky's *150,000,000* only partially. Certain verbatim quotations go to show that he had read it in the English translation or at least knew from the latter some more extensive passages.

In his conclusion he characterizes it in this manner:

"This long poem cannot be considered to be satirical. It is not derisory enough for this, nor lively enough, it contains but pregnant and short sentences, thunder-like sounds and a force burning like fire. But this poem is truly a poem of great strength. It can represent a bold, destructive spirit of the bolshevik party. On reading it, you may hate it, you may like it, but you cannot be indifferent to it . . . it extorts your attention, you have to form some relation towards it."¹²

¹⁰ Shneider, M.E.: *Vpoiskakh "literatury dlya zhizni"*. *Proizvedeniya Leonida Andreeva v Kitae* (In Search of the "Literature for Life". The Works of Leonid Andreev in China). In: *Izuchenie kitaiskoi literatury v SSSR* (Study of Chinese Literature in the U.S.S.R.). Moscow, Nauka 1973, pp. 213—215.

¹¹ This quotation is taken from Mao Tun: *Hsien-tai wen-i tsa-lun* [20] Various Notes on Contemporary Literature, Shanghai 1929, pp. 1—14 where it appeared under the slightly changed title: *Wei-lai-p'ai wen-hsüeh-chih chin-hsi* [21] Today and Yesterday in the Literature of Futurism.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 12—13.

As known from the history of Soviet literature, a very sharp battle of opinions raged around this poem in Soviet Russia at the time of its appearance. True, Lenin considered it to be interesting, but was of the opinion that it belonged to libraries and into the hands of "cranks".¹³ A. V. Lunacharsky likewise admitted that the poem has certain "virtuosic priorities" and "communist tendency", but simultaneously it appeared to him to be "cramped", "vulgar in some of the means of expression".¹⁴ In P. S. Kogan's view, who was also known to the Chinese, Mayakovsky showed himself precisely in this poem not as a "giant" but as a "giantist".¹⁵

However, Mao Tun's idea of Mayakovsky gradually underwent a change. In April of 1924 during the first stage of the struggle for a "proletarian culture" in China, the poem *150,000,000* had come to be to Mao Tun a "great (wei-ta) [25] long poem".¹⁶ He then asserted about Mayakovsky that he never "despairs" and that he "perfectly understood the spirit of October Revolution and succeeded with his pen in bringing forth the flowers in describing and celebrating it".¹⁷

In his book *Hsi-yang wen hsieh t'ung-lun* [29] *An Outline of Western Literature* which Mao Tun wrote in 1929, hence, after the defeat of the 1926—1927 revolution, after his own scattered illusions, waverings and searchings, at a time when he was in exile in peaceful, ancient Kyoto (Japan), he only remarked concerning *150,000,000* that it is a "protest against the blockade of Soviet Russia by imperialist states".¹⁸ Of interest is Mao Tun's brief analysis of Mayakovsky's production after 1921. Similar statements about Mayakovsky are probably very rare in Chinese literature and would probably be looked upon as "heresies" after 1949:

"After 1921, he (Mayakovsky, M. G.) wrote many short poems. Their subject-matter is for the most part love, hence, tendencies of the early period are manifest in them. The best among them is *Lyublyu* (I love)."¹⁹

¹³ Lenin, V. I.: *On Literature and Art*. Moscow, Progress 1967, p. 214.

¹⁴ Quoted according to Nyota, Thun: *Das erste Jahrzehnt. Literatur und Kulturrevolution in der Sowjetunion*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1973, p. 155.

¹⁵ Kogan's book *Literatura velikogo desyatiletiya* (Literature of the Great Decade) has been translated into Chinese via Japanese by Shen Tuan-hsien [20] (i.e. Hsia Yen) [23] (1900—). See *Ch'üan-kuo tsung-shu-mu* [24] a Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books. Shanghai 1935, p. 357. The quotation here is from the Russian edition: Moscow—Leningrad 1927, p. 154.

¹⁶ Hsüan Chu [26] (Mao Tun's pseudonym): *Su-wei-ai O-lo-ssu ko-ming shih-jen* [27] *A Revolutionary Poet of Soviet Russia*. Hsüeh-teng — Wen-hsüeh [28] *The Lantern of Study — Literature*, 130, 14th July, 1924, p. 1.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Fang Pi [30] (Mao Tun's pseudonym): *An Outline of Western Literature*. 2nd ed. Shanghai 1933, p. 255.

¹⁹ Ibid.

The book under review begins with a bibliographic trait called *Vmesto vvedeniya* (In Lieu of Introduction) in which a point is made in a bibliographic form principally of Mayakovsky's reception in China, by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (1921) until the eve of the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, hence, until the year 1964.

The first chapter entitled *Na yazyke revolyutsii* (In the Language of Revolution) points out the impact of Mayakovsky's personality whether in the form of the *mirage* already referred to, or in that of his real works and adequately known personality. Here, Cherkassky subjects to an analysis the views on Mayakovsky by Chiang Kuang-tz'u, Tai Wang-shu, Jen Chün [31] and Lü Chien [32].²⁰ A noteworthy feature is the elucidation of Mayakovsky's relationship to futurism which is part of the overall Chinese interest or lack of it, their critical attitude to this avant-gardist literary movement. In agreement with Cherkassky it should be noted that this interest did not last beyond the early forties and in the fifties the tendencies towards restraint and lapidary behaviour in reflections on futurism became even more pronounced.²¹ It was written about briefly, as about the sin of Mayakovsky's youthful years, as about something that left practically no trace in his works. After the twenties, futurism (as is the case with other modern literary -isms), was for the majority of Chinese critics an evil that would rather not associate with the names of eminent contemporary men of letters. It does not seem that the numerous Soviet studies on Mayakovsky that were accessible in China during the forties and fifties would have influenced in any tangible measure Chinese views in relation to this issue.

The expression "adequately known personality" employed earlier does not mean in the practice of those times in relation to Mayakovsky "an adequately correctly known or described personality". In China, with a few exception such as was Mao Tun in the early twenties and Tai Wang-shu at a later date, critics endeavoured to see in Mayakovsky merely a "poet of a new type", to show him up solely as a poet of revolution.²² The numerous references and quotations which Cherkassky lists on pp. 49—54 reflect clearly this tendency. Of course, this by itself would spell no harm were it not for the fact that simultaneously a very important part of Mayakovsky's work — his lyrical message, was being withheld from the readers and the poets. This is attested to also by the very frequent appearance on the Chinese book market, but also in other publications (journals and magazines) of his long poem *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*. According to Cherkassky, this poem was presented to Chinese readers altogether 16 times.²³ As is usually the case when such data are involved in modern China, even this relatively high number is probably not correct either and may have been higher. For example, the 6th volume of a textbook of literature for Junior

²⁰ Cherkassky, pp. 29—44.

²¹ Ibid., p. 44.

²² Ibid., p. 46.

²³ Ibid., p. 18.

Middle Schools contains part of the second chapter of this long poem published under the title *Tang ho Lieh-ning* [33] Party and Lenin. The critic Yü Yüan-hui [34] in the conclusion of his article with almost an identical title *T'an "Tang ho Lieh-ning"* [35] On "Party and Lenin", after an analysis of several pages, assesses the significance of the poem for Chinese students, as follows:

"As regards content, this chapter of the poem, by means of highly generalized lyrics, shows the history of an abundant political struggle. The background to the lyrics is as if a mighty, heroic battle arena of the world and Russian proletariat. These poetic lines abound in enthusiasm, are filled with a great, social content and scientific truth. Like the high tide they inspire and attract thousands and tens of thousands of young people to join the rank of famous fighters of the party. From the formal aspect, the short verses and the rapid rhythm are like short swords and beats of the drum, they truly express the poet's fighting enthusiasm. This warlike, revolutionary form of Mayakovsky's pen embodying great communist ideals, has had a considerable influence on the new poets of our century. If our students learn this famous poem, recited the world over, it will mean a good beginning for accepting the outstanding tradition of the poetry of Mayakovsky."²⁴

It is possible that both younger and senior students in China encountered the poetry of Mayakovsky more frequently. *Chung-kuo yü-wen* [37] Chinese Language and Literature, a textbook for all types of Middle Professional Schools in PRC, first published in 1955, contains 9 specimens from Soviet literature (as the only foreign literature) and among them is also *Stikhi o sovetskom passporte* (Lines about Soviet Passport). They were translated by Ch'iu Ch'in [38]. Cherkassky recalls Ch'iu Ch'in's translation and even analyses it in a passage devoted to this poem. The translation, however, must have been made earlier than towards the end of the fifties, since it had been selected for this anthology.²⁵

According to Cherkassky, also other concerned works of Mayakovsky were often published. *Levyi marsh* (Left March) appeared 12 times, *Neobychainoe prikluychenie* (Extraordinary Incident) or *Prozasedavshiesya* (They Had Too Many Meetings) 11 times, etc.²⁶

Unfortunately, Cherkassky is simultaneously forced to note, willy-nilly, that "Chinese translators, literary scholars and critics failed to see the *whole* of Mayakovsky (italics are Cherkassky's, M.G.). They, in fact, left aside Mayakovsky the lyric, the author of admirable long poems of great moral and artistic strength,

²⁴ Yü Yüan-hui: On "Party and Lenin". In: *Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-p'in fen-hsi* [36] Analyses of Modern Literary Works. Shanghai 1958, p. 124.

²⁵ Cf. Cherkassky, p. 104. We have used the 5th printing of the textbook Chinese Language and literature from the year 1957. A total of 490,000 copies of this book were published. The poem of Mayakovsky is on pp. 377—381.

²⁶ Cherkassky, p. 18.

such as *Fleita-pozvonochnik* (Flute-Spine), *Pro eto* (About That), *Lyublyu* (I Love) and numerous other lyrical poems. The poet's love lyrics failed to find a reflection in critical works and are poorly represented also in the translations, if we leave out the five volumes of *Selected Works (Hsüan-chi)* [39] (1957—1960) where that gap has been partially filled". But evidently, the most significant of his lyrical works just mentioned were not translated.²⁷

3

L.E. Cherkassky endeavours to assign both the initial very imperfect and the subsequent 'less imperfect' — or rather partial Chinese picture of Mayakovsky into the overall course of events in Chinese poetry of four decades, his impact on the Chinese literary scene approximately between the years 1923 and 1964. This means, from the beginnings of committed literary criticism, represented by essays by Teng Chung-hsia [40] (1897—1933), Yün Tai-ying [41] (1895—1931), Hsiao Ch'un-nü [42] (1894—1927), and Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai in the years 1923—1924, through the Anti-Japanese War in the period 1937—1945, when Mayakovsky's influence became concretely manifested in the works of T'ien Chien [43] (1916—), those of Ho Ching-chih [44] (1924—) and others. Cherkassky devotes considerable space to the period 1958—1959 when a relatively extensive and lively discussion on poetry and its forms took place in China, and also to the last period of Mayakovsky's impact in China, i.e. the years 1963—1964, when the last essays prepared thus far about him and his poetry appeared in print.

In the years 1923—1924, very little was known indeed in China about Soviet literature. In 1922, Blok's well-known long poem *Dvenadtsat* (Twelve) was translated for the first time into Chinese.²⁸ About that time also some of Gorky's short stories from an earlier period appeared in the collection *Chin-tai O-kuo hsiao-shuo chi* [45] Contemporary Russian Short Stories, published in Tung-fang wen-k'u (Oriental Treasury Series), and a few others.²⁹ None of the then younger Soviet authors appear to have been translated. Therefore, when Teng Chung-hsia and his friends reached out for examples for the modern Chinese committed literature, they mentioned no man of letters younger than Rabindranath Tagore. In a noteworthy analysis of the relations between "Chinese poetry and revolution" dealing not only with materials from the period 1923—1924, but also of subsequent years, Cherkassky shows that alongside correct views on this relation, Teng Chung-hsia and his friends were apt to resolve it in a rather simplified and incorrect way. He had in mind here the very declarative demand of writers taking direct part in

²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 17 and 87.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

²⁹ The mentioned collection had been published before 1925. Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai translated some of Italian

revolutionary fights, the view that those "people who are dedicated to the revolution and stand on revolutionary positions, but are not professional revolutionaries, cannot become authors of revolutionary literature".³⁰

Mayakovsky's suicide caused a great sensation around his person in China. However, similarly as elsewhere in the world, an unexpected event or a certain occasion provides an opportunity for a latent interest to take outward shape and which otherwise would not become manifest, or at least not on so large a scale. Such was the case, for instance, on the occasion of the centenary of Goethe's death in 1932.³¹ By the end of 1930, interest in Mayakovsky declined abruptly. For China of the years 1931 till 1936, for China of the Chinese Left League Writers (Chung-kuo tso-i tso-chia lien-meng) [48] Mayakovsky may never have existed at all. Nor did Chung-kuo shih-ko hui [49] Chinese Poetry Association, founded in 1932 with the professed aim to set up revolutionary, committed poetry and which took contact with foreign patterns, choose Mayakovsky as its poet. Except for the fact that he was quoted by the poet P'u Feng [50] in his article *Tsen-yang hsieh "kuo-fang shih-ko"?* [51] How to write "Poems of National Defence"? , Cherkassky presents no evidence of Mayakovsky's being received during the first half of the thirties in China.³² However, Mayakovsky was not altogether forgotten there as shown by the most comprehensive collection of world and Chinese poetry of that period, published in Shanghai in 1936 under the title *Hsien-tai shih-ko lun-wen hsüan* [52] A Selection of Contemporary Poetry Criticism, in two volumes. This anthology evidently assembled principally materials written (perhaps also translated) by members of the Chinese Poetry Association. There we find in one case, in a short sketch written by the poet Mu Mu-t'ien [53] (1900—) entitled *I tien i-chien* [54] A Few Opinions, the name of V. Mayakovsky together with those of C. Baudelaire and P. Claudel in connection with the so-called poetic *montage*. By poetic *montage* Mu Mu-t'ien understood a poetic construction in which the various elements fitted perfectly one to another:

"Many of our works are extremely loose. Nothing happens whether you add something to them or detract from them. Such works lack the necessary and fine *montage*, which is one of the drawbacks of new poems."³³

Mu Mu-t'ien, however, was not quite clear as to how to proceed in order to do

Tales by Gorky. See Shneider, M. E.: *Gorky i kitaiskaya literatura* (Gorky and Chinese Literature). In: *Gorky i literatura zarubezhnogo Vostoka* (Gorky and Oriental Literatures). Moscow 1968, pp. 71—72.

³⁰ Cherkassky, p. 25. The essay *Kao yen-chiu wen-hsüeh-ti ch'ing-nien* [46] To the Young Studying Literature was not written by Teng Chung-hsia, but by his friend and colleague Li Ch'iu-shih [47] (1903—1931).

³¹ See the study *Goethe in China (1932)* in the present volume.

³² Cherkassky, p. 26.

³³ A Selection of Contemporary Poetry Criticism, p. 226. Henceforth only as SKLWH.

away with this drawback, from whom to learn. Or perhaps he did not intend to be more explicit. In the case of Baudelaire and Claudel he posed the question: "But can (k'o-i) [55] we learn from these poets?"³⁴ Baudelaire is considered a precursor of symbolism and the beginning of every modern poetry; Claudel started from symbolist traditions. Mu Mu-t'ien himself had been a symbolist poet in the twenties. The world of symbolism was not suitable to representatives of concerned Chinese poetry. Uncertain, though a bit more positive, sounded his second question concerning Mayakovsky: "Are we (yao) [56] to learn from him?"³⁵

Mu Mu-t'ien did not specify why he asked the question in this way, leaving the answer hang in the air. During the first half of the thirties, Mayakovsky was but little known in China and was not accepted there without reservations. This was partly due to Trotsky's and P.S. Kogan's views³⁶ that were relatively widely spread in that country. At other times, an excessive emphasis on a realistic description of reality and a non-historical perception of literary problems caused literary critics to look at Mayakovsky too "critically". Thus, for instance, Pa Jen [59] (i. e. Wang Jen-shu) [60] (1898—) as late as 1950 wrote in his voluminous book *Wen-hsüeh ch'u-pu* [61] *First Steps in Literature*:

"The new style in Soviet literature has not been created by A. Blok's and V. Mayakovsky's poems, but by M. Gorky who came from the people, and A. Fadeev and M. Sholokhov who grew up in the revolution. By this I mean to say that even though the poems by Mayakovsky constitute a revolutionary challenge, yet once the revolutionary romantic enthusiasm had come to an end, and it became necessary to return to building up a socialist ideal, Mayakovsky finally failed to hold out and took his own life."³⁷

This is also evident from other articles of the collection in which Mu Mu-t'ien's sketch was published. Right at the end of it there is a short article *Shih-ko tsai Su-lien* [62] *Poetry in the Soviet Union*, written on the basis of one of A. Selivanovsky's studies. Here, Mayakovsky's name is mentioned in connection with D. Bedny and N. Aseev, but only a single sentence is reserved exclusively to him: "Mayakovsky provided terse appeals and slogans with light and clear rhymes and wrote numerous poetical *chin-hsing-ch'ü* [63] march-songs, *chastushkas*."³⁸

From all this the reader could get but an insufficient and very hazy picture of Mayakovsky.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ L. D. Trotsky's book *Literatura i revolyutsiya* (Literature and Revolution) was translated into Chinese and published in Wei-ming-she ts'ung-shu [57] Series of the Society Without Name led by Lu Hsün [58] (1881—1936). According to Kogan, Mayakovsky was a fellow-traveller and he did not admire his genius.

³⁷ Pa Jen: *The First Steps in Literature*. Shanghai 1950, p. 242.

³⁸ SKLWH, p. 863.

Rather more was written in this article about A. Bezymensky, and one might say, not without some sympathy.

Such sympathies on the part of Chinese poets and critics towards Bezymensky are also evident from the article by Liu Chü [64] entitled *Tung-ching Chung-kuo shih-t'an ch'ing-k'uang* [65] Situation on the Chinese Poetic Scene in Tokyo. The article was completed on 30th November, 1935. A few months before the so-called Tung-ching shih-ko tso-t'an-hui [66] Tokyo Poetic Society had been founded and it published the journal Shih-ko [67] Poems. In one of its issues a poem by Bezymensky was analysed in some detail.³⁹ This same magazine brought the translation from Esperanto of a short article about Bezymensky⁴⁰ and a longer one by the author Fang-fang [69] called *P'ei-tz'u-mien-ssu-chi* [70] Bezymensky, written in Tokyo on 8th August, 1935.⁴¹ Probably in it also appeared a longer article by Yeh Fu [71] under the title *Kuan-yü Ya-li-shan-ta P'ei-tz'u-mien-ssu-chi* [72] On Alexander Bezymensky.⁴² This assumption may be justified also from the transcription of foreign names which is identical in all the three articles, revealing the hand of one and the same editor. That is to say, at that time no unified transcription of foreign names had as yet been introduced in China.

"After Hitler's hand had reached out across the world," wrote the poet Yüan Po [73] in his article *Shih-ko-ti chi-yün* [74] The Fate of Poetry, "poets unfortunately cannot sing any more their own deepest feelings." "It is also a painful fact", remarked with some irony the same poet, "that one may no longer make a run to Paris in order that world culture might be upheld".⁴³ Yüan Po saw a way out in taking contact with the old indigenous traditions, folklore and the significant achievements of world literature.

Fang-fang, in his turn, wrote in the article referred to:

"We must learn from Goethe, Heine, Byron, Shelley, Whitman and other great poets from the past, but we must learn even more from contemporary Soviet poets, and in the first place (*yu-ch'i shih shou-hsien*) [75] we must learn from Bezymensky!"⁴⁴

With this point of exclamation, the article comes to an end.

To arrive at this point in the history of modern Chinese poetry and its relation to world literature in the first half of the thirties, meant to pass through a certain stage of history. It was a result of a long searchings. Cherkassky was also aware of this and it

³⁹ Ibid., p. 849 and 607.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 607—611. The article written by V.N. Nekrasov and introducing Bezymensky's volume of poems entitled *Socialismo* has been translated by Tzu-ch'iu [68]. *Socialismo* was published in Leipzig, Ekrelo Publishers 1931, just as the Esperanto translation of Mayakovsky's poems to be mentioned later.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 611—618.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 618—630.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 839.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 618.

was not without some reason that he pointed to the reception of Heine,⁴⁵ Byron⁴⁶ and particularly of Whitman⁴⁷ in China. The article of Mu Mu-t'ien referred to above, states that there are no poems to be found in Chinese poetry after the manner of Whitman, Byron and Hugo⁴⁸ that would come close to reality with the aid of powerful romantic feelings. Whitman is quoted as an example also by Lin Ti [76] in his article *Kuan-yü shih-ti chi-ch'iao chi ch'i-t'a* [77] On the Technique of Poetry and Other Matters.⁴⁹

The poet Yüan Po makes mention of Hitler (and also Mussolini), the times of fascist expansiveness and threats of war also at another place and says in a mode rather strong for our taste, that many Chinese poets, even in the environment of bloody scenes whether of the May Fourth Movement of 1919, the May Thirtieth Movement of 1925, the occupation of Manchuria at the end of 1931, the Japanese attack on Shanghai in January till March 1932, knew but "to caress the buttocks of women", not caring a hang about matters of their own country.⁵⁰

Something had to be done here. Poetic models were looked for and the as yet young Soviet poetry was turned to.

Fang-fang began his article with this sentence:

"Alexander Ilyich Bezymensky is to be considered as the most outstanding among today's poets."⁵¹

Evidently, Bezymensky's poems suited Fang-fang who found them "to be full of reality, health, enthusiasm, joy and to reflect the objective state of Russian post-October reality".⁵²

The admiration of this Chinese author for Bezymensky was such that he considered other poets of a little earlier period—he mentioned Blok, S. Yesenin and Mayakovsky—to have but helped prepare the way for Bezymensky who was "the most forceful and the most prominent (*tsui yu-li-ti yu-hsiu-ti*) [79]" among Soviet poets.⁵³

The situation changed in 1937 when Wan Chih-ssu [80] (1915—1943) published the translation of 19 of Mayakovsky's poems under the title *Na-han* [81] Call to Arms. These translations were made from Esperanto *Per Vöco Plena* (In Full

⁴⁵ Cherkassky, p. 27.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 42, 150, 152, 164.

⁴⁸ SKLWH, p. 226.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 105—106.

⁵⁰ Yüan Po: *Lun shih san tse* [78] On Three Conditions of Poetry. Ibid., p. 215.

⁵¹ SKLWH, p. 611.

⁵² Ibid., p. 612.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 615.

Voice), Leipzig, Ekrelo 1930.⁵⁴ This translation made an impression on Chinese poets and became an important source of influence, for instance, on T'ien Chien and on the so-called *chieh-t'ou-shih* [82] poems for the street at the time of the Anti-Japanese War.⁵⁵

4

"All in all", writes L.E. Cherkassky in the book under review, "including re-editions, not less than 30 collections of poems and separately edited long poems were published in China, about 90 essays by Chinese critics and about 60 translated studies and articles and an equal number of translations in journals and literary-artistic magazines which, moreover, usually contained several or entire cycles of translations."⁵⁶

Cherkassky is the first sinologist, at least as far as we know, to have attempted with success an analysis of the translation of European poetry into Chinese. And this not merely at a general plane, but he strove to characterize also the translational procedures, their equivalency, successes or otherwise of Chinese translators. In this work he proceeded responsibly and instructively, taking support in the general concepts of the translation theory, modern Chinese translational practice, for example that of the poet and theorist Pien Chih-lin [83] (1910—) and others, but also in the special notions of Mayakovsky's translators into foreign languages, or in scientific analyses of these translations.

In the third chapter of this book Cherkassky took a closer view of the nature of Chinese grammar, rhyme in Chinese poetry and in Mayakovsky's, the question of rhythm, inversion, and analysed in detail three different translations of the poem Lines about a Soviet Passport, the question of homonymy, figures of speech, distortion of meaning and idioms. In general, Mayakovsky's translations into Chinese are given a positive appreciation, but the author's explications are quite amusing to the reader commanding both Russian and Chinese: how many errors and misunderstandings are made or prepared by the inadequately instructed, inexperienced, or aesthetically insensitive translator!

The two closing chapters — five and six — speak about Mayakovsky's influence on Chinese poetry. The first of them points to the influence in the field of poetic theory, for example, on the controversy around Mayakovsky's poetic form (*lesenka*) on discussions about poetry in the period 1958—1959 and on the question of free verse.

⁵⁴ *Na-han* was the name of the first volume of Lu Hsün's short stories. The title was not quite appropriate. It is of interest to know that the books translated into Esperanto served as the first sources of reception or influence of the works of Bezymensky and Mayakovsky in China.

⁵⁵ Cherkassky, pp. 168—170.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

These last two were also connected in some measure with Mayakovsky. The concluding chapter points very concretely to Mayakovsky's influence. The author mentions, in the first place, Ai Ch'ing [84] (1910—), although the present reviewer is of the opinion that also in Ai Ch'ing we may rather speak of the influence of Whitman and Verhaeren. Something different applies to T'ien Chien and Ho Ching-chih, where Mayakovsky's influence is more evident. Ho's long poem *Fan-shen ko-ch'ang* [85] I Sing from a Full Throat, is, in Cherkassky's words, the one most influenced by Mayakovsky's poems from the whole of Chinese poetry.

The "supplement" to this book carries translations of poems by Chinese authors about Mayakovsky, including those by Ai Ch'ing, Hu Feng, Yen Chen [86], Ko Pi-chou [87], Li Ying [88], Tsou Ti-fan [89] (1917—?) and Li Chi [90] (1921—).

The last of these poems, by Li Ying, was published and probably also originally written in 1963. At that time, Li Ying, as evident from Kai-yu Hsu's book entitled *The Chinese Literary Scene*, Penguin Books 1976, recited the poem dedicated to Mayakovsky at a meeting on the occasion of his 70th birthday. Tsang K'o-chia [91] (1910—) presided over the meeting and besides Li Ying, also Liang Shang-ch'üan [92] and T'ien Chien recited poems in honour of Mayakovsky.⁵⁷ According to Hsü, another prominent poet, chiefly of the fifties, Kuo Hsiao-ch'uan [93] (1919—) told Hsü in July of 1973 that he liked Mayakovsky and was able to recite several of his poems.⁵⁸ Evidently, Mayakovsky is not forgotten even in the period following the so-called Cultural Revolution.

At the end of the book, the reader or scholar will find a very comprehensive bibliography and a valuable author index.

*

The monograph here reviewed is the first rather extensive work by a sinologist underlining the significance of genetic-contact relations in the field of poetry, particularly of translation, and their share in the building up of modern Chinese literature. The author, within the scope of his possibilities, has studied a large quantity of accessible material and has processed it by the comparative methods, utilizing his knowledge from the area of Russian, Soviet, Chinese and world literature, and also his theoretical abilities and practical skills.

The book represents the beginnings of a deeper knowledge of Sino-Soviet literary relations.

⁵⁷ Kai-yu Hsu, p. 215. Liang Shang-ch'üan in connection with Mayakovsky was mentioned by Cherkassky, pp. 20.

⁵⁸ Kai-yu Hsu, pp. 206 and 215.

1. 曹植 2. 瞿秋白 3. 瞿秋白文集 4. 蔣光慈 5. 蕭三 6. 趙景深 7. 現代文學
8. 京都大學附屬圖書館 9. 胡風
10. 瑪耶關夫司基列了以後 11. 谷非 12. 楊昌溪
13. 瑪耶關夫司基論 14. 戴望舒
15. 瑪耶關夫司基的葬式 16. 現代學生
17. 茅盾 18. 未來派文學之現勢 19. 小說月報
20. 現代文藝雜論 21. 未來派文學之今昔
22. 沈端先 23. 夏衍 24. 全國總書目
25. 偉大 26. 玄珠 27. 蘇維埃俄羅斯革命詩人
28. 學燈——文學 29. 西洋文學通論
30. 方璧 31. 任鈞 32. 呂劍
33. 黨和列寧 34. 俞元桂 35. 談黨和列寧
36. 現代文學作品分析 37. 中國語文
38. 丘琴 39. 選集 40. 鄧中夏 41. 惲代英
42. 蕭楚女 43. 田間 44. 賀敬之 45. 近代俄國小說集
46. 告研究文學的青年 47. 李敘士
48. 中國左翼作家聯盟 49. 中國

詩歌會 50. 蒲風 51. 怎樣寫國防詩
歌 52. 現代詩歌論文選 53. 穆木天
54. 一點意見 55. 可以 56. 雲 57. 未名
社叢書 58. 魯迅 59. 巴人 60. 王任叔
61. 文學初步 62. 詩歌在蘇聯 63. 進
行曲 64. 柳舉 65. 東京中國詩壇情況
66. 東京詩歌座談會 67. 詩歌 68. 紫秋
69. 方方 70. 倍茲勉斯基 71. 葉第 72.
關於亞歷山大倍茲勉斯基 73. 袁勃
74. 詩歌的機運 75. 尤其是首先
76. 林蒂 77. 關於詩的技巧及其他
78. 論詩三則 79. 最有力的優秀的
80. 萬混思 81. 吶喊 82. 街頭詩
83. 卞之琳 84. 艾青 85. 放聲歌唱
86. 嚴陣 87. 戈壁角 88. 李瑛 89. 鄒
荻帆 90. 李季 91. 臧克家 92. 梁上泉
93. 郭小川

BOOK REVIEWS

Gafurov, B. G.: *Aktualnye problemy sovremennogo natsionalno-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya. Razvivayushchiesya strany Azii i Afriki* (Actual Problems of Contemporary National Liberation Movement. Developing Countries of Asia and Africa). Moscow, Nauka 1976. 279 pp.

Soviet orientalist scholarship develops in harmony with the growing global interest in Asian and African nations and in their share in contemporary international relations. This does not ensue solely from the quantitative and qualitative increase in orientalist studies, but also from an enlarged scope of the topic of Soviet orientalist research by the inclusion of important novel aspect. An example of this trend is the book under review, by the late director of the Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences USSR, Academician B. G. Gafurov, devoted to a theoretical generalization and evaluation of important social, economic, political and ideological processes, that relate to the contemporary stage of the national liberation struggle in Asia and Africa.

The author formulates his theoretical conclusions on the basis of his extensive knowledge and with a fine sense for accenting the principal tendencies of the phenomena studied. A priority feature of the work is a convincing connection of the theoretical exposition with references to concrete situations in the various developing countries or regions. The book is built up on an extensive source material and on the more recent literature primarily Soviet and that from the underdeveloped countries, further on American literature, and on publications by international organizations. The author has achieved a global view on the world national liberation movement. He does not present a balance sheet of its successes, but its scientific analysis, grasps its motive powers, its results, possibilities, drawbacks and dangers that may arise. The author does not set as his task to formulate political prognoses, nor guidelines; however, his precise Marxist appreciation of the distribution of social forces in developing countries and conditions for an alteration in their mutual relationships is by itself an indication as to which directions of development of the national liberation movement are realistic and prospective today.

In the introduction B. G. Gafurov ponders on the roles of Soviet Oriental studies in view of the meaning and dynamics of development in countries of the so-called Third World. The book comprises 7 chapters which successively investigate social, sociopolitical, economic, ideologic and political issues, as they arose or were brought to an edge at the time these colonial countries achieved independence without becoming part of the socialist community of nations.

The first chapter analyses the problems of social development and lays emphasis on the fundamental tasks without which neither an economic nor a consistent political emancipation of the liberated nations is possible. The second chapter brings a detailed classification of the unusually differentiated class structure in the developing countries with emphasis on its specificities. The third chapter deals with questions of class warfare and comprises also its international impact. In the fourth chapter the author reflects on the agrarian problem — a key problem in this part of the world. He subjects to a critical analysis the results of land reforms and agricultural measures carried out by some bourgeois governments who called them wrongly “revolution” in agriculture.

A problem of extraordinary gravity is that presented in the next chapter which takes note of nationalism and religiosity. The author defines attentively and objectively the tendencies in official government nationalist ideologies and investigates the conditions in which progressive or retarding elements predominate.

A very actual concept of noncapitalist way in contemporary politics is the subject of the sixth chapter in which the author appraises the role of revolutionary democracy against a background of Marxist theory and Soviet example. He points to its novel qualities at the present time and to the relation of Marxists to its present forms in Asia and Africa. It is a relation of essential support that does not exclude criticism of individual negative moments insofar as they make their appearance in it and jeopardize its principal mission.

The closing chapter takes as its starting point international relationships and concentrates attention on the function of imperialism and neocolonialism in developing countries. It takes a critical stand towards certain American and other theories on novel methods of controlling the Third World by way of economic and ideological influence.

B. G. Gafurov's book represents a significant theoretical synthesis of the scientific efforts of Soviet Oriental studies and an evaluation of the role, importance and motive forces, as also of the existing trends in the world national liberation movement.

Ivan Doležal

Kovalenko, I. I.: *Sovetskii Soyuz v borbe za mir i kollektivnuyu bezopasnost v Azii* (The Soviet Union Fighting for Peace and Collective Security in Asia). Moscow, Nauka 1976. 431 pp.

Soviet policy quite understandably devotes extraordinary attention to questions of ensuring a peaceful development in Asia, this most densely populated continent and where lies the major portion of Soviet territory.

The most detailed and systematic review and analysis of Soviet efforts made thus far along this important line of its foreign policy has been presented in I. I. Kovalenko's monograph under review. The author takes support principally in documents of Soviet diplomacy and its communist party, in political material containing the standpoints of Asian countries, as well as in documents of the UNO and other international organizations and in the comprehensive Soviet and American literature relevant to this subject. He makes an analysis of the consistent peace policy of the USSR in its relations with Asian countries and deals in detail also with its forms, methods and results.

The idea of collective security in Asia came to be spoken of more frequently only after 1969 when it was proposed by L. I. Brezhnev at the international Consultations of communist and working class parties. The centre of gravity of this work falls into the period immediately following this proposal. However, the author has not confined his investigation to the most recent phase of development, but logically looks for its roots much deeper in the past going right back to the first years of the constitution of the Soviet State when the principles of Soviet foreign policy were being formulated and when, thanks to V. I. Lenin, the role of the non-European nations and specifically those of Asia on the international stage began to be better understood. Nor has I. I. Kovalenko lost sight of the contribution by Asian nations themselves to promote security on this continent and devotes to this issue one of the seven chapters into which the book is divided. The first two present a chronological sequence of the principal moments that go to show how the Soviet Union provided an all-round assistance to the surrounding nations of Asia, showed a discerning comprehension for their specific problems and already then was a staunch supporter for many nonsocialist Asian national governments in their efforts at independence from imperialist great powers. The author also makes a point of the proposal for signing a Pacific Ocean nonaggression pact, made by the Soviet diplomacy as far back as the thirties.

The third chapter touches on the specially complex situation prevailing after World War II in Asia and characterized by several armed campaigns by imperialist powers and representing a great danger for world peace. The Soviet Union, by political and material means helped in a great measure several Asian nations to overcome the imperialist interventions thereby again contributing very effectively to re-establish and reinforce peace in this part of the world.

The fourth chapter shifts attention to parallel liberating, peaceful and neutralizing programmes and proposals made by Asian countries themselves, appraises their principles and results, takes note of their connections and affinities with Soviet Asian policy and shows in which directions their positive contribution for a stabilization of peace becomes manifest.

But the mainstay of the book, the *pièce de résistance*, is chapter 5 which embodies a detailed, rounded exposition of the meaning of the Soviet proposal for an Asian

collective security and the possibilities of its practical application. In the last two chapters the author deals with concrete international events in various parts of Asia which in their ensemble confirm the urgency and justification of the Soviet peace plan for Asia. He takes a critical stand towards his opponents' views and points to the growing interest of representatives of Asian nations in a peaceful settlement of contentious or controversial issues and in reliable guaranties of their security.

A priority of the work which will be found of use by the historian, the lawyer and the politician, is a detailed exposition of the question under study and a harmony between the theoretical aspects and the historico-political line of the survey.

Ivan Doležal

Nikiforov, V. N.: *Vostok i vseмирnaya istoriya* (East and the World History). Moscow, Nauka 1975. 350 pp.

The question of precapitalist social formations in extra-European world has for several decades now attracted the interest not only of historians specialists in this period, but also scholars from other related scientific disciplines — philosophers and theorists of social evolution.

Critics of the basic Marxist thesis on five developmental stages have not so far elaborated their own theoretical model of social processes that would be close to historical reality and in particular a model of alternation of social formations and of periodization of world history. In consequence of this failure, they have turned their critical attention to an examination of the question whether the Marxist thesis has a universal validity or whether it is demonstrable for Europe only. They advanced and justified the view that in countries of the Far East, particularly in China, there was no slave owning society, but another special formation. In this connection, in international scholarship of the 50s and 60s a discussion developed to which numerous experts from the socialist and western countries contributed by their studies and books.

One of the participants of this postwar stage of scientific argument that reached its climax in mid-sixties, V. B. Nikiforov, has now taken it upon himself to elucidate the entire issue, to analyse the conflict which is evoked, to confront the standpoints and summarize the results to date. He starts from the viewpoint that although the discussion has not been closed, yet all essential materials and arguments have been exposed and published already during its course.

In the first part, directed to the theoretical aspect of the subject, the author devotes attention to all the more serious attempts at elaborating hypotheses that would tend to refute the existence or the significant role of slavery in Asian countries.

The second part systematically investigates the relationships between develop-

ment of science and society which formed the basis for an elaboration of the Marxist teaching on social formations. It also shows how Marx's views were shaped, eventually altered, on the Asian ways of production and presents also the principal ideas in subsequent discussions and polemics in the field of science and politics, including also the scientific polemics in the Soviet Union already in the twenties on this topic and follows them up to the present times.

A projection of Marxist principles on social development and in particular on precapitalist formations upon concrete data from the histories of China, India, Cambodia and further countries of the Far East is the subject of the third part. Here, the author supports his conclusions with material from the history of China which is his professional speciality and with results of Soviet and international scholarship bearing on research into ancient and mediaeval history of further Asian countries. He also made use of abundant literary sources presented on 34 pages — an impressive list.

By its design and aim, the book is destined to scientific research workers in social sciences, nevertheless, it has a very accessible style. In his conclusion the author summarized all the essential results into unambiguous, exactly and vividly formulated points. The work is characterized by an ideological and methodical consistency and a sense for the actual ideo-political and "Weltanschauung" function of the historical problem under study.

Ivan Doležal

Sovremennaya istoriografiya stran zarubezhnogo Vostoka. Rol traditsionnykh institutov v istoricheskom razvitii narodov Vostoka (Contemporary Historical Writings on the Countries of Asia. The Role of the Traditional Institutions in the Historical Development of the Nations of Asia). Moscow, Nauka 1975. 308 pp.

This collective work prepared by a group of Soviet scholars had been planned as a comprehensive introduction to problems of contemporary historical writings on the nations of Asia. According to its editors the main aim of such a project is not only to survey and to evaluate the course and character of historical writings on the nations of Asia, but also to analyse the socio-economic problems in their historical development.

This collection of papers is, in fact, published within a whole series of similar volumes devoted to various aspects of the contemporary historiography of Asia. The first volume oriented predominantly to the historical writings on China was published as early as in 1963 (*Kitai*. Moscow, Izdatelstvo vostochnoi literatury 1963).

The present volume, as its sub-title suggests, deals with the role of the traditional

institutions in Asian countries. As a matter of fact, only four studies having to do with selected aspects of the traditional institutions are included in the first section. All remaining papers in other sections deal with partly different topics.

E. M. Medvedev's paper provides a valuable analysis of the formation of the traditional society in India as interpreted by Soviet historians. L. I. Nadirzade in his study considers the problems of feudalism in the countries conquered by the Arabs. I. M. Smilyanskaya deals with West-European and American historical writings on problems of the socio-economic structure in Arab lands in 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century. The article by N. N. Sosina on traditional and contemporary features in the life of the Indian village gives a sound and lucid picture.

Since it is clearly impossible to review such a work comprehensively in so short a space, the present reviewer will simply comment on portions of the contents.

In the second section the authors are concerned with the history of Soviet oriental studies. The articles by A. P. Baziyants on "The Historiography of the Lazarev's Institute of Oriental Languages" and B. V. Lunin and M. G. Pikulin on "Soviet oriental studies in Uzbekistan" give an instructive account of the history of oriental studies in USSR. A. P. Baziyants provides a well documented contribution, in fact, it is an enlarged and more detailed study of his booklet published in 1959. (*Lazarevskii institut vostochnykh yazykov. Istoricheskii ocherk*. Moscow, Izdatelstvo vostochnoi literatury 1959). This contribution reveals the author's thorough knowledge of both the original sources and the secondary literature.

The third group of papers contains a series of articles on various problems. Some of these miscellaneous contributions are very good indeed. V. N. Nikiforov in his contribution re-examines the methodological problems as dealt with at the XVIIIth International Congress of Historians in Moscow in 1970. The next paper, by A. K. Sverchevskaya, deals with the Soviet historical writings on Turkey from the Middle Ages to the present day. This paper gives a precise description of a series of articles and works on the development of social and political life in Turkey as interpreted by Soviet scholars. Sverchevskaya has contributed a useful, though brief, sketch of the general characteristics of this literature and its value for the historians of Turkey.

The articles, contained in the present volume are generally well organized and deal with essential problems. They provide the interested reader with convenient and effective summaries of their respective, though rather miscellaneous subjects.

Nada Zimová

Laqueur, Walter: *Guerilla. A Historical and Critical Study*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1977. 462 pp.

World War II and its aftermath have stimulated a deeper study of the theory and

practice of guerilla warfare about which a spate of writings have appeared. These were publications most frequently motivated by practical political and military aspects, as is shown, for instance, by the title of the American collection from the year 1966: *Guerilla — and How to Fight Him*.

Quite different and more demanding goals are those set down by the latest book of Walter Laqueur's, a specialist in contemporary history. He examines the question of guerilla war as an historical phenomenon known already from the Bible and the Greek and Roman history. The earliest period until the 19th century is dealt with in Chapter 1.

In the subsequent chapters the author is concerned essentially with a chronological review of guerilla wars and operations, the centre of gravity being in the period of the 20th century. Several chapters (Chapters 3 and 7—9) bring theoretical considerations, e.g. about the origin of guerilla doctrine, about national-liberating and revolutionary wars, the present-day state of the guerilla doctrine; and a summary of the author's principal concepts in 12 points with a brief prospective overview from which it is evident that in the subsequent development he does not expect an enhancement of the role of this form of warfare, although he explicitly states that people are still being exploited, oppressed, alienated and that there exist and will persist numerous "objective, revolutionary situations" (p. 408).

During the period since World War II, since the anti-fascist contest of European, Asian and African nations, the idea has gained ground among the general public that guerilla or partisan warfare represents the typical method associated with the fight of the popular, progressive, national-liberating and leftist movements. Walter Laqueur repeatedly makes the point that this form of struggle has been utilized also by counter-revolutionary forces in certain situations, and as a classical example he cites the case of the well-known reactionary uprising of the Chouans against the French Revolution in the 18th century.

He likewise points to modern guerillas that were the outcome of various limited, local, clannish, racial, religious and sectarian motives. Within the context of his consistent explication, the author endeavours to maintain all such struggles and armed operations in close contact with authentic popular movements and wars on the one hand, and with expressions of modern anarchism and partly also urban terrorism, on the other. It is only natural that in this manner of proceeding he should meet with difficulties, for this involves phenomena that are often totally divergent by their sense, meaning, substance and ideology, phenomena that can hardly be reduced to a common denominator. Their description and comparison bring at times interesting partial insights, but remain mostly rather at the surface of the problems. True, the author does refer, among other things, to diverse political implications of guerilla warfare, enumerates many commonplace motives of dissatisfaction and of uprisings, but fails to make use of the fundamental Marxist concept in this domain, that is the concept of a just or unjust war. He has thus deprived himself of the tool

that enables a historian to introduce into the entire issue a significant differentiating and evaluative element, better to sort out, organize and classify the extensive material available and to capture and bring out the relationships between the various forms of guerilla warfare and popular movements, revolutions and social progress.

It is understandable that in a work covering a time lapse from the antiquity down to modern times and dealing with numerous countries on four continents, there should be differences in the degree to which the various sectors are mastered. Chapter 6, devoted to China and Vietnam correctly assesses local guerillas as the most important in modern history. Unfortunately, many details run counter to facts. For example the author's statement that there exists an official communist version according to which the liberating front in South Vietnam received no outside help (p. 273), will not stand. As a matter of fact, documents are known in which South-Vietnamese revolutionaries officially expressed acknowledgements to their North-Vietnamese brothers and foreign friends for aid received. The latter, however, has in no way altered the authentically popular character of the national liberation struggle in South Vietnam.

Among the causes of the American *débâcle* in Vietnam, the author states on p. 276 that the United States of America were no longer willing and able to carry on the burden of war for the preservation of freedom in South-East Asia. He evidently omits a deeper and more evident reality: a considerable part of the American public and ultimately even the government itself became convinced during the course of the war that the Saigon dictator puppet governments could no longer be designated as an organ representing freedom and the South Vietnam people.

The author notes that following World War II, the citizens of the so-called metropolitan countries were unwilling to carry the military and financial burden in order to keep their colonies and that imperialism had become morally reprehensible. In the author's view, this turn in Western public opinion had a decisive importance for the successes of Asian and African national liberation movements (p. 384). This is an evident case of an interchange of cause and effect. Public opinion in the metropolitan countries began to turn only when news came through of the tenacious long-term struggle and victories of colonial nations. Hence, of decisive importance for decolonization was primarily the spread of the national liberation movement and not the changes in public opinion — dependent on this movement — in the metropolitan countries.

Several further theses put forward by the author would require to be similarly rectified. In addition, several Slav and Oriental names occur in a wrong form: for instance, the member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party is Truong Chinh and not Truong Chih (pp. 267, 268, 431) nor Truong Chi (p. 461); the premier is Pham Van Dong and not Dongh (pp. 263, 459); the former minister and military dignitary is Chu Van Tan and not Cho Van Tan (p. 263), etc.

This comprehensive work, *Guerilla*, brings a quantity of detailed facts and comparisons, but fails to propose its universal theory, because in the author's view, expressed already in his introduction, it would be either exceedingly vague, or exceedingly wrong.

Ivan Doležal

Singer, Hans W.—Ansari, Javed A.: *Rich and Poor Countries*. London, George Allen and Unwin 1977. 228 pp.

The British series Studies in Economics, edited by Charles Carter from the University of Lancaster, publishes didactically oriented studies devoted to important economic problems and relations. The authors deal in them with, for instance, the economics of socialism, of agriculture, distribution, research, with relationships between economics and demography and further basic issues. So far, however, there was an apparent lack of a study on the relationships between advanced and developing countries, although one of the greatest contradictions of contemporary world economics and politics looms precisely in this domain. This problem, and particularly its economic aspect has now been processed by two authors — H. Singer from the University of Sussex, a former UN expert in the economic sector, and J. Ansari, a Pakistani specialist attached to a British University.

The book comprises 11 chapters, very purposefully arranged from the methodical aspect, forming four entities, or units. Right in the introduction to the first of these units the authors initiate their exposition by a glance at the ongoing economic crisis in the area of capitalist economy and its impact on international economy, and on the poorer countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For the most part, the authors do not include any more among the poorer countries those industrially undeveloped ones that export oil and have in recent years improved their balance of payments when, through an economic pressure on western customers, they achieved price increases for their oil.

The second group of chapters analyses questions of commerce and development and concentrates on the trade policy of rich and poor countries.

The entire third part is concerned with an overview of the international economic aid, its role in developmental perspectives, its contemporary forms, as also with its extent, quality and effect. The authors support their argumentation with several tables. In the chapter on the extent of international aid they include a table taken over from a publication by the international organization OECD which shows a relatively modest extent of economic aid provided by 17 of the most advanced to undeveloped countries during the period 1963—1973. In three cases only — and this involves small capitalist countries — does the official development assistance slightly

exceed 1 percent of the gross national product ; in all the other cases it remains below even this low level. In the subsequent period, in consequence of the instability of the international trade and monetary systems the prospects of economic assistance will, in the authors' view, deteriorate even more which may dangerously complicate international relations.

The fourth part deals with questions of the function of international companies in developing countries and the international labour movements, the principal attention being devoted to the characteristic phenomenon of "brain drain" from the underdeveloped countries.

The aim of the work has not been to elaborate the theoretical and political aspect of the problem, but to familiarize the reader with the fundamental economic, particularly the relational principles involved in the interaction between rich and poor countries. The authors stress the great potential significance of the existing contradictions and scrutinize the methods and results of attempts to overcome them within the framework of present-day capitalist economy and the existing international organizations. In several places they spotted and underlined weak spots, inadequacy and short-sightedness of existing schemes. The work does not tend towards a formulation of political conclusions from the investigated material, nor does it deal with the existence of examples and theories of the socialist way of solving issues pertaining to economic development. Nevertheless, it presents a rounded view of the important economic aspects of contradictions and conflicts between advanced capitalist and the poor Oriental countries which, in the authors' opinion, may ultimately bring about that the prosperity of the West may become a thing of the past.

Ivan Doležal

Meshchaninov, I. I.: *Problemy razvitiya yazyka* (Problems of Language Evolution). Leningrad, Nauka 1975. 350 pp.

Since the discussion on linguistics in the 50s, relatively little has been published on N. Y. Marr and his followers in the Soviet Union although, as early as 1966, S. G. Barkhudarov wrote of a need to examine in a strictly objective and careful way the theoretical ideas proposed by Marr and Meshchaninov. That is why-linguists ought to appreciate that the present volume by Meshchaninov has appeared. It is devoted to the typology of basic syntactic structures. The bulk of it was written in 1940; two chapters discussing Marr's ideas in general were written in 1947. Meshchaninov is no doubt the most prominent of Marr's followers but, at the same time, his position is fairly independent. In many respects he was well ahead of his contemporaries, stressing for example that linguistics ought to cooperate with archaeology, ethno-

graphy and other humanities, which offers analogies to the way anthropology is defined in America. As early as the 30s Meshchaninov refused to explain all linguistic phenomena as correlatives of social factors, preserving Marr's interpretation of language as superstructure. Later, however, he has given up Marr's stadial scheme and concentrated his efforts upon qualitative differences in the sentence structure of various languages. These divergences have been ordered by Meshchaninov into a sequence "amorphous — possessive — ergative — nominative constructions" and regarded these, at least in the beginning, as qualitatively different successive phases of evolution. This strict position was modified in subsequent years. Meshchaninov writes: "... it would be premature to regard this as a scheme of stadial periodization" (p. 295). Instead, he regards it merely as another scheme of typological variability.

Meshchaninov's approach to language may be characterized as systemic. No linguistic fact has any sense for him if torn out from the framework of its connections and interrelations with other facts. It ought to be appreciated that Meshchaninov was well aware of the importance of the so-called exotic languages for linguistic theory and states that the scope of most linguists is not yet sufficiently wide (cf. p. 22). He characterizes the investigation of language evolution as one of the tasks of linguistics (p. 30). The causes of language change and evolution are sought for by Meshchaninov outside language, in the human society with all its rapidly changing needs (p. 32). This means that there is a correlation between language and thought. Meshchaninov examines this correlation in the sphere of sentence structure. According to him, grammar ought to be subdivided as follows (p. 45):

- (1) phonetics (dealing with sounds that have a social value),
- (2) lexemics (dealing with words as lexical units),
- (3) syntax (dealing with words in sentence and on sentence as a whole).

Morphology is entirely missing from this scheme, being divided between lexemics and syntax. Thus the category of gender is regarded as lexical. In accordance with Meshchaninov's scheme, the grammatical markers are either lexemes or syntaxemes. Meshchaninov's scheme helps to delimit what is syntactic from what is purely lexical, even if the dividing line is often hard to be drawn since one and the same marker may be lexical in one instance and syntactic in another.

His language data are taken chiefly from Paleoasiatic and Caucasian languages the structure of which is markedly different from that of Indo-European languages. Of lasting value is Meshchaninov's analysis of incorporation as well as his explanation of the genesis of sentence structure, and his remarks on ergative and nominative sentence structure. In this connection it ought to be mentioned that Meshchaninov distinguished deep and surface structures even if he did not use these explicit terms.

This brief review cannot do justice to the wealth of ideas contained in Meshchaninov's book. It is noteworthy that some of them have been rediscovered by C. J. Fillmore thirty years later. Even if we do not subscribe to Meshchaninov's

simplifying interpretation of the way society, thought and language are interrelated, those who are engaged in the study of language evolution cannot ignore Meshchaninov's conclusion that language is no monolithic creation but, quite the contrary, contains diachronically different elements and archaisms not only upon the level of phonology and lexicology but also upon that of grammar.

Viktor Krupa

Nida, Eugene A.: *Componential Analysis of Meaning*. The Hague, Mouton 1975. 272 pp.

As the subtitle betrays, this volume by Nida has been meant as an introduction to semantic structures. It is destined for university students of linguistics who are beginners in semantics. Nida restricts his attention to the componential analysis of referential meaning. Chapters 2 to 5 (Components of Meaning, pp. 32—67; The Related Meanings of Different Lexical Units, pp. 68—110; Different Meanings of the Same Lexical Units, pp. 111—150; Procedures for the Analysis of the Componential Structure of a Single Referential Meaning, pp. 151—173) discuss the ways of identifying and describing the components of referential meanings. Chapter 6 (Semantic Domains, pp. 174—193) deals with the semantic organization of the whole vocabulary. A semantic domain is said to consist of a group of meanings (by no means restricted to those reflected in single words) which share certain semantic components (p. 174). Nida admits that the domains and particular meanings reflect reality. However, to be precise, the meaning reflects rather certain aspects of objects and not objects in their entirety. This gives a clue to the variability of languages as well as to the possibility of alternative expressions in one and the same language. The kernel of Chapter 6 lies in a tentative draft of various domains based upon the vocabulary of the Greek New Testament (pp. 178—186). This helpful even if tentative draft represents a basis which may further be expanded, modified, and developed.

Nida has defined his approach as generative-transformational (p. 7). This, however, is not the case as far as interrelations of meanings are concerned. A generative-transformational model ought to include rules which make generation and transformations of meanings possible. Such a task is pursued, e.g., by I. A. Melchuk's *Sketch of a Theory of Linguistic Models Sense ↔ Text* (Moscow, Nauka 1974). Chapter 7 (The Nature of Referential Meaning, pp. 194—207) gives a brief survey of principal approaches to semantics. Nida traces the evolution of American linguistics from the formalism of the 40s and the 50s to a recognition that deep structure is essentially semantic. Priority of semantics has been widely accepted but, according to Nida, even more important is the recognition that semantic structure cannot be tied to the

particular manner in which a language lexicalizes its conceptual inventory (p. 198).

In many linguistic works, the vocabulary of a language is regarded as a system. But it should be kept in mind that its systematic nature is considerably different from that of grammar or phonology. Unlike grammar, the network of interrelations within the vocabulary is too complex, the particular interrelations are much less abstract and holding only for relatively small portions of the total vocabulary. The latter is structured in a fairly loose way (although there are foci of a higher structuration) and that is why one of the dangers of semantics is that of ascribing too much structure to its object of description. And yet we cannot dispense with the componential analysis. The latter continues to remain the linguists' most reliable tool in their efforts to penetrate into the complexities of meaning. And Nida's greatest merit consists in making the principles of componential analysis explicit and at the same time accessible to all linguists.

Viktor Krupa

Printsipy opisaniya yazykov mira (Principles for Describing Languages of the World). Edited by V. N. Yartseva and B. A. Serebrennikov. Moscow, Nauka 1976. 344 pp.

This volume is a collective work, parts of which have been written by different authors (B. A. Serebrennikov, G. V. Kolshanskii, V. N. Yartseva, V. M. Solntsev, N. Z. Gadjeva, G. V. Stepanov, G. A. Klimov, Y. S. Stepanov, D. I. Edelman, V. A. Vinogradov, and Y. N. Karaulov). As the authors put it, their aim has been to discuss ways in which various languages of the world can be described (p. 4). Naturally enough, a publication of this size cannot give — and has not been meant to give — an exhaustive and final solution of the whole complex of problems involved in such a task. And yet it is a highly commendable synthetic work that contributes remarkably to our theoretical insight.

The authors stress the essential unity of some 3,500 languages of the world and derive their universal characteristics from (1) a physiological identity of human beings which implies, (2) an essentially identical reflection of the reality as well as an identity of logical thought and, finally, (3) the functional identity of languages as vehicles of communication likewise tends to operate in favour of similarity (pp. 8—9). There are other sources of similarity among various languages, e. g., common origin of some languages and linguistic interference. However, the latter sources are only minor when compared to those listed by the authors of the book. The authors have not forgotten about dissimilarities; it is certainly more difficult to find out why languages often differ considerably than indicate the causes of certain universal features. At least part of the linguistic variability is due to a contrast between the

continuous and inexhaustible reality and its discrete and finite reflection in various languages. It is true that reality may be viewed as consisting of objects and their interrelations (p. 8) but no language reflects objects in their totality. Rather it reflects aspects of objects and the selection of these aspects may vary from one language to another.

The opposition of deep and surface structures has been accepted throughout the volume. It lurks behind the distinction of notional and grammatical categories; the former are regarded as a possible basis for describing various languages (pp. 13—14).

On p. 20 my monograph on Maori is quoted in a discussion of the word classes. Here I would like to add that verbs have not been omitted from my classification of Maori words. I have simply used the term universal words instead, which is common in modern descriptions of Maori. However, now I would prefer calling these words verbs.

A good deal of attention has been paid to the issue of grammatical categories. This is one of those problems that will need even more attention in the future. The grammatical status of analytical markers (versus affixal markers) is still open to discussion. The author is right when stressing that there is a whole range of diachronical phases between an autosemantic word and a grammatical marker; the autosemantic word that begins functioning as a grammatical marker undergoes a process of phonetic erosion which is simultaneous with a semantic erosion as well as with a loss of syntactic freedom (pp. 36—37).

The unification of linguistic descriptions assumes a movement from universal structural features to their manifestations in specific language variants (p. 59). This requirement is also in accordance with the distinction of deep versus surface structures.

As for the interrelations of vocabulary and grammar, the idea of primacy of vocabulary is certainly the only one compatible with the interpretation of language as an open system. It is through vocabulary that language absorbs external stimuli. The mechanisms of language evolution and restructuration are explainable only if the primacy of vocabulary is accepted (cf. p. 125).

While in the past typology had preferably dealt with the morphological structures, Soviet linguists have suggested that syntactic typology should also be developed, and now it seems necessary to include the vocabulary into typological investigations as well (pp. 125—128).

If language is examined as a cognitive device, three aspects deserve special attention according to the reviewer. First, language segments the continuous reality into a set of discrete units in an analytical process termed nomination. Second, it combines these discrete units into higher and more complex communicative units (= sentences) which may be regarded as analogs of real interrelations; this synthetic process may be termed predication. Both nomination and predication are universally

present. But the human mind is capable of combining predications in compound and complex sentences which reflect relations of relations in the reality. It is here that various languages differ considerably. There are languages in which various types of complex relations are not distinguished at all, while other languages use sets of specific conjunctions (for temporal, spatial, causal and other interrelations). It is here that the impact of thought advances seems to be felt more clearly than anywhere else.

In addition to external impulses, languages undergo restructuration due to the internal stimuli as well. Their nature is discussed on pp. 156—158. Progress is defined as an enrichment of communicative resources of language (p. 157).

The volume comprises a wealth of other ideas and suggestions which the reviewer does not feel competent to judge. These include principles of areal linguistics (pp. 164—202), semiological principle of linguistic description (pp. 203—281), phonological aspect of linguistic description (pp. 282—312) and vocabulary as a part of linguistic description (pp. 313—340).

Although many problems touched upon in the volume have remained open to discussion, this collective work of Soviet linguists has achieved its goal since it produces a lot of positive stimuli for further linguistic investigation.

Viktor Krupa

Tipologiya grammaticheskikh kategorii (Typology of Grammatical Categories). Moscow, Nauka 1975. 220 pp.

This collection has been edited by V. N. Yartseva, A. V. Desnitskaya, F. P. Filin, and V. Z. Panfilov. Aside from papers devoted to the theory of grammatical categories, there are studies dealing with particular languages. The contributors discuss such questions as, e. g., the definition of grammatical category, properties of grammatical categories, relations between grammatical categories and the structural type of language, and classification of grammatical categories.

Opinions on some of the subjects treated in the book diverge, which is understandable since altogether there are twelve contributors. Thus, V. N. Yartseva (Hierarchy of Grammatical Categories and Typological Characteristics of Languages, pp. 5—23) does not confine the notion of grammatical category to morphology. According to her, even a syntactic paradigm may, under some conditions, be regarded as a means of expressing the generalized grammatical meaning. On the other hand, P. Y. Skorik (Grammatical Categories and the Structural Type of Language, pp. 120—139) uses the term grammatical category in the narrow sense of a morphological category (p. 121).

One of the open questions is that of relations between the grammatical categories,

on the one hand, and the structural type of language on the other. M. M. Gukhman (*Correlation of Derivational Grammatical Categories and Typology of Language*, pp. 24—41) has found out that "...some inflectional grammatical categories display a direct and immediate dependence upon the type of language..." (p. 41). And T. S. Sharadzenidze (*Grammatical Categories and Morphological Types of Languages*, pp. 42—55) believes that "...not all coincidences in grammatical categories among languages of the same type and not all differences among languages of various types represent an illustration of the dependence of grammatical categories upon the morphological types" (p. 51). Sharadzenidze stresses that generalizations concerning this interrelation would be premature; it is easier to pick up instances in which a particular grammatical category does not depend upon the morphological type of language. P. Y. Skorik's attitude is likewise reserved as he writes: "At the same time, the above-mentioned structural peculiarities in no way correlate with the fact whether a language is agglutinative or inflectional" (p. 125).

Grammatical categories of isolating languages are often interpreted in a way that differs from their interpretation in synthetic languages. M. M. Gukhman maintains that in Chinese the opposition simple word versus affixed word is no neutralizable privative opposition (p. 37). On the other hand, N. V. Solntseva and V. M. Solntsev (*On Some Properties of Morphological Categories in Isolating Languages*, pp. 91—104) believe that in Chinese there are also grammatical categories. According to them, the zero form versus the affixed form of a word represents a privative neutralizable opposition (pp. 100—102); at the same time, neutralization is much more frequent in isolating languages than it is in synthetic languages. The reviewer shares Solntsevs' opinion and likewise does not regard obligatoriness as an essential property of a grammatical category (cf. p. 98). The degree of obligatoriness varies from one category to another, so that it is more realistic to regard as the most important feature of the grammatical category its generality in such a sense that any word belonging to a certain part of speech may take a morphological marker provided certain conditions are fulfilled (p. 99).

A related and theoretically interesting question is that of grammatical properties of isolating languages. Especially the American descriptivists refused the notion of parts of speech in these languages. Thus, parts of speech in the Austronesian languages were considered to be purely syntactic, although there are words that fill up only some, not all syntactic slots. In these languages, even combinatorics (i.e. distribution) is sufficient for delimiting the word classes as selective categories. The Solntsevs have notices that the existence of parts of speech is linked with a nonhomogeneity of the general meanings of words. These general meanings are grammatical due to their generality and the grammatical nonhomogeneity of word classes is an inevitable condition of the ability of words to combine. This means that even in the isolating languages there are parts of speech, i.e., the hierarchically highest grammatical categories (pp. 93—94). S. E. Yakhontov also stresses the role

of the nonhomogeneity of words as well as the fact that the structure of an amorphous sentence cannot be understood without knowing to which part of speech a particular word belongs (cf. his article *Grammatical Categories of an Amorphous Language*, pp. 105—119, esp. p. 118). Parts of speech and parts of sentence are almost the only grammatical categories in amorphous languages. The amorphous language is included in the notion of the isolating language. Words in the amorphous languages do not vary as to their form and consist of roots only. On the other hand, an isolating word may contain formal markers, provided they do not mark syntactic categories (p. 106).

In his paper titled *A Classification of Morphological Categories* (pp. 56—76), A. V. Bondarko discusses various principles of classification. He distinguishes strictly morphological, syntactico-structural and content categories. However, this classification ought also to contain another criterion, i.e., whether the membership in a category is explicitly marked or not. The former instance is represented, e.g., by the categories of tense, voice or person, while the latter may be illustrated by the category of animateness as known from Russian or Slovak. Bondarko has contributed to the classification of morphological categories by introducing a distinction of the alternational versus derivational type (pp. 59—63). In his study, the grammatical categories are considered in a wider perspective, not in isolation. Bondarko is right when stressing that morphological, syntactic, lexical and derivational means merely serve the purpose of expressing sense (p. 68). It might be added here that the way of expressing sense is subordinate to achieving objectives that usually lie outside the domain of language.

A comparative investigation of grammatical categories in various languages will profit from O. G. Revzina's article titled *Typological Questionnaires and Grammatical Categories* (pp. 197—218) where the author briefly discusses aspects which can be studied in the grammatical categories.

The collection under review is a welcome contribution to the typology of grammatical categories, although some questions, naturally, have remained open. This is especially true of the relation between the grammatical categories and the language types. The solution of this problem is complicated by the well-known fact that no language represents a "pure" type. And yet it would be useful to know which grammatical categories are at least partly dependent upon each other (i.e. are positively correlated), which are independent (no correlation) and which are mutually exclusive (i.e. are negatively correlated).

Viktor Krupa

Etiemble: *Essais de littérature (vraiment) générale*. Editions Gallimard 1975. 350 pp.

Il s'agit de la 3^e édition élargie du livre par le théoricien littéraire français bien connu. (Par rapport à la version espagnole, trois essais ont été ajoutés ici: Sur quelques adaptations et imitations du haïku, Quelques mots sur Queneau et le taoïsme, Pourquoi et comment former des généralistes.)

Dans l'introduction à la première édition du livre, l'auteur caractérise son approche aux problèmes littéraires prenant La Théorie de Welles et Warren comme arrière-plan (ou plutôt en une confrontation avec elle), mais il lui reproche un certain eurocentralisme et par endroits voire même un provincialisme. Il prend la même attitude à l'égard des travaux de Lukács et Goldmann sur le roman. L'auteur remarque «qu'il faut repartir à zéro», car «toute théorie littéraire qui s'élabore à partir des seuls phénomènes européens ne vaudra pas mieux désormais» (p. 14).

Ce relevé n'a pas pour but de présenter une analyse détaillée des problèmes que l'auteur poursuit et résout (cela demanderait tout au moins une revue analytique étendue), mais uniquement d'en souligner d'une manière générale quelques points saillants en forme de remarques concises.

Dans l'essai liminaire «Faut-il réviser la notion de Weltliteratur?», l'auteur s'occupe du problème ayant rapport à la littérature dite universelle (world literature) et de la littérature dite générale (general literature ou allgemeine Literatur). Il est à remarquer que depuis l'époque de Goethe, ces problèmes restent discutables jusqu'à nos jours, lors même qu'il y ait eu de grands efforts à ce qu'un certain ordre soit introduit dans l'emploi des mots et expressions. L'auteur prend l'expression «littérature générale» introduite par P. van Tieghem dans le cadre d'un contexte très large de différents phénomènes littéraires, néanmoins, il en restreint l'étendue, dans une certaine mesure, à l'investigation des analogies littéraires historiques. En vertu de son approche littéraire-scientifique moderne (qui ne contredit point la méthode comparative), par «littérature universelle» on devrait entendre un ensemble, un assortiment d'œuvres choisies des littératures diverses qui sont devenues une partie composante de la conscience et certes, des connaissances de tous les lecteurs avertis, l'accent étant mis (par opposition à la littérature générale) sur l'aspect qualitatif de la sélection des travaux individuels.

En outre des essais d'introduction déjà cités ci-avant, l'ouvrage comporte trois parties (les deux premières étant intitulées Questions de littérature générale et De quelques genres littéraires, la troisième est sans titre et comprend les essais suivants: Vue généraliste de la littérature française, Quelques mots sur Queneau et le taoïsme, Vue généraliste sur la littérature des Philippines et Notes sur l'Indonésie) et la conclusion: Pourquoi et comment former des généralistes?

L'auteur y paraît comme certainement une des personnalités distinguées de la science littéraire contemporaine qui a renouvelé d'une manière originale sa métho-

dologie et a remis en cause toute une série de grandes questions, ayant recours à une approche tout à fait nouvelle. Par son œuvre il représente la science littéraire française qui jouit d'une continuité admirable et d'une tradition différenciée. En général, il pose la question du rôle et du sujet de la science littéraire mettant l'accent principal sur la typologie par rapport aux questions essentielles de l'intellect et de l'anthropologie philosophique ; quant à l'analyse littéraire du texte, il a en vue l'art de l'interprétation. Il comprend une œuvre littéraire comme un processus créatif irrévocable et fait une réévaluation des questions normatives de la poésie et de la théorie des genres (déjà posées par Aristote) dans le sens d'une ontologie fondamentale. L'importance de son œuvre doit être mesurée par la quantité et l'audacité des questions posées en principe, cas évident étant fait de son érudition générale littéraire et philosophique. Il serait assez difficile de caractériser en quelques sentences la contribution faite par son travail à la science littéraire. Un fait paraît de grande portée, c'est qu'il joint une explication de l'ouvrage littéraire aux questions de base de l'existence humaine. Dans sa compréhension une œuvre littéraire échappe aux règles de dépendance d'une méthodologie stricte et se déplace vers la région de l'énoncé. De par ce fait, la littérature acquiert un sens humain très profond. L'auteur relie le sentiment subjectif pour une œuvre d'art dans une analyse littéraire concrète, aux conclusions généralisées à la ligne divisoire entre la science et l'art philosophique. Il s'efforce à tout temps d'incorporer ses conclusions partielles dans la totalité universellement valide. Il présente son explication à partir de ses connaissances étendues des littératures étrangères et examine correctement les contacts et les influences du point de vue des analogies littéraires, ce qui lui permet un coup d'œil synthétique. Il fait usage d'un point de vue comparatif de grande envergure, qu'il applique d'une manière systématique aux œuvres étudiées des littératures diverses dans le cadre du contexte littéraire international (ou sur national). Dans son travail l'auteur va au delà de l'histoire littéraire française classique dans le sens qu'il ne s'en tient pas principalement à la production littéraire domestique. Il ne se concentre pas uniquement à faire ressortir les éléments communs des phénomènes étudiés, mais en fait aussi une comparaison négative, parvenant ainsi à la connaissance de la spécificité des phénomènes comparés.

L'œuvre de cet auteur est quelquefois désignée (et l'ouvrage étudié en porte des signes aussi) comme une sorte de transition entre l'école littéraire « française » et « américaine » dans le domaine de la comparatistique littéraire. On aperçoit que quelques uns de ses procédés de penser ressortent de l'hypothèse du fondateur de la comparatistique positiviste française J. Texte (1865—1900), tenant qu'à la longue les littératures européennes viendraient à perdre leur spécificité nationale et s'uniraient par fusion en une entité unique de « littérature européenne ». Il semble que dans un développement plus ample de cette idée, l'auteur parvient également (quoique non pas analogiquement) vers une compréhension unilatérale de certains aspects de la littérature générale. Dans certains cas il concentre son attention d'un

côté sur l'investigation des influences des phénomènes littéraires divers et des littératures entières, et de l'autre côté sur l'étude de la réception des phénomènes individuels ou des structures totales. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit essentiellement d'une approche double vers un même problème, à savoir, celui de l'influence littéraire. En appliquant ces procédés, l'auteur a rassemblé une quantité considérable de matériaux divers, mais souvent les œuvres littéraires n'y apparaissent que comme un sommaire d'éléments, de motifs et procédés hétérogènes (lors même que justifiés), aux dépens de l'individualité de tel ou tel auteur.

En général, l'approche de l'auteur vers ces problèmes peut être qualifiée comme étant «contactologique-typologique». Cependant, souvent dans le second membre de cet attribut l'aspect historique se perd par endroits de sorte qu'il n'en résulte qu'une explication de traits tout à fait communs. Cette approche n'est pas toujours conséquente quant à la relation «élément-contexte», c'est-à-dire, que dans un contexte nouveau, le même élément peut remplir une fonction différente et peut acquérir une nouvelle signification. Parfois il examine la relation entre les œuvres littéraires sans égard nécessaire à ce que ces œuvres reflètent. Souvent il comprend certaines différences entre les concepts littéraires philosophiques et la critique littéraire unilatéralement (psychoanalytiquement), ce qui n'est pas adéquat pour les expliquer. Il en résulte certaines associations injustifiables et inéquitables dans le domaine idéologique-politique. On y rencontre une interprétation d'idées comme étant quelque chose déterminé uniquement par l'époque, lors même que le point de vue de base aît ici toujours un caractère de classe.

Essais de littérature (vraiment) générale présente une source abondante de matériaux traités d'une manière scientifique et d'idées sur la littérature et ouvre de nouvelles possibilités d'approche pour la solution des problèmes de la science littéraire contemporaine.

Ján Múčka

Jost, François: *Introduction to Comparative Literature*. Indianapolis—New York, Pegasus: A Division of the Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc. 1974. 349 pp.

The book under review does not represent, as might appear at first sight, a novel work on the theory of comparative literature. Jost had a pragmatic aim in view. As a teacher at an outstanding centre for the study of comparative literature at the University of Illinois, Urbana, he often encountered in his daily work problems with which this book is concerned. In it he points to some salient issues in comparative studies and illustrates them in appropriate essays. Professor Jost, a native of Lucerne in Switzerland, is the author of a two-volume book *Essais de littérature comparée*, Fribourg 1964, and Fribourg and Urbana 1968, whose follow-up — at least in

a certain sense — is the book under review. He is also a foremost expert on Jean-Jacques Rousseau's work — and the author of a two-volume study *Jean-Jacques Rousseau Suisse*, Fribourg 1961. And to complete the triad, he is also editor of a two-volume collection *Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association*, The Hague 1966. Professor Jost is one of those deserving great credit for organizing the life of literary comparatists, he is a historian of literature whose domain are the wide fields of world literature in the temporal and the spatial meaning of the word. At the same time, he is a sensitive intellectual historian and a good stylist.

The book under review comprises five sections, the first of which, the introductory one speaks of comparative literature as of a scholarly discipline (it might perhaps be better to use the word "comparatistics" as he does in this book). In it he also deals with the history of this discipline, with the significance of world literature and the so-called philosophy of letters which is precisely the "philosophy" of comparative literature, for in it are discussed weighty theoretical issues of general interest at the present time.

The remaining four sections are concerned partially with theoretical aspects, but primarily with practical application and the solution of outstanding questions in comparative literature.

One of them is devoted to the so-called relationships and deals with analogies and influences. As illustrative material, Mr. Jost has chosen typological investigations of affinities between the thinking and literary production of J. J. Rousseau and similar trends in North America, and Russia in French Letters. The first example has proved the happier one in that it thoroughly exemplifies an investigation of analogies. The second one does not point out literary influences, but only brings out the reception of Russian literature and Russian life in France. The author is of course conscious of this (p. 40).

Another section underlines the problem of literary movements and trends and exemplifies them likewise by two essays, the first of which will certainly be welcome by the growing family of comparative "romanticists". The essay bears the title *A Lesson in a Word: 'Romantic' and European Romanticism*, and follows up the term "romantic" in its origin and evolution in various countries of Europe (p. 89), particularly in England, France, and in a lesser measure in Italy and Russia. On the other hand, the rather numerically restricted family of comparative "orientalists" will find of interest the essay entitled *Literary Exoticism*. This is a study of a literary trend or better of trends expressing "man's wish to escape the artifice of civilization and to find another natural and social environment, foreign and strange..." (p. 110). The latter is not concerned solely with literature but as is customary with Jost, it tackles a wider range of questions which in the Anglo-Saxon world are investigated in the so-called intellectual history, or such as belong to the domain of art and culture generally. Spatially it embodies the relations between Europe up to the Far East and

temporally gives preference to the 18th century which it characterizes as "the age of literary exoticism, the age of the rise of the exotic novel and of philosophical exoticism" (p. 118). As the most important works of literary exoticism, Jost cites *Robinson Crusoe* by Defoe, then *Gulliver's Travels* by Swift, Dr. Johnson's *History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia*, and Voltaire's *Candide ou l'optimisme*.

The topic of the next section are genres and forms and this is again exemplified by two essays: *The "Bildungsroman" in Germany, England and France*, and *The Sonnet and Its European Context*. The present reviewer considers the latter to be the most successful study of the entire book. Of course, the sonnet with its fourteen lines that, according to the author "are a most fortunate space for the compact expression of a thought, image or emotion" (p. 153), has found its application in literatures also outside the scope of this context. Equally fascinating as the history of the sonnet of Europe would be a study of the history of the sonnet, for instance, in Oriental countries. According to L. E. Cherkassky, author of the book *Novaya kitaiskaya poeziya. 20—30-e gody* (New Chinese Poetry of the 1920s and 1930s), Moscow 1972, from among all the occidental poetic forms, Chinese poets of those years used most frequently the sonnet (p. 400).

The closing section treats of motifs, types and themes and in contrast to the preceding parts, is illustrated by three essays. Professor Jost elucidates the concept of "motif" against the background of Thomas à Becket "type" with the aid of William Tell and its dramatic processing by Schiller and Alfonso Sastre. As regards "suicide" Jost analyses this problem especially in the light of the novels *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* and *Madame Bovary*.

Both the theoretical and the practical parts of the book are accompanied by numerous notes and a judicious index.

Marián Gálík

Wares, Alan C.: *Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics 1935—1972*. Huntington Beach, Summer Institute of Linguistics 1974. xxvii + 275 pp.

The reviewed *Bibliography* is already the seventh in a series published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. A cursory comparison of data from the previous edition with those in the present one reveals that while the 1968 edition contained 2,514 entries and as many as some 300 languages were dealt with, the 1974 edition contains 4,377 entries and deals with over 400 languages. This striking increase was achieved during the relatively short period of five years (the 1974 edition records production of the SIL from 1935 to 1972, i.e. over 37 years).

The field programme of the Institute covers aboriginal languages in twenty-six different countries (Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada,

Colombia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, the Philippines, Surinam, Togo, the United States of America, Vietnam).

There are three appendices at the end of the book. In Appendix A: Language Index, all languages treated of are alphabetically arranged, their language family and language phylum as well as the country of their occurrence are given. Appendix B: Subject Index likewise contains two sections, i.e. Technical Works and Vernacular Works. Appendix C gives an index of authors.

The *Bibliography* is divided into two main sections: Section I — Technical Works and Section II — Vernacular Works. The first section lists items 1—2016, the second items 2017—4377. Technical works include linguistic articles and monographs, as well as some works in ethnography. Vernacular works are concerned with languages in the particular countries. They are published in minority languages and are intended primarily for speakers and readers of those languages.

Theoretically, the authors adhere to the tagmemic model, but the influence of transformational linguistics is also considerable, and there are works combining several models.

The present *Bibliography* gives a lucid survey on works compiled under the aegis of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Jozef Genzor

Krupa, V.: *Polinezijskie yazyki* (Polynesian Languages). Moscow, Nauka 1975. 142 pp.

The present book has been published in the series Languages of Asian and African Nations where descriptions of both contemporary languages of Asia and Africa, and important Oriental languages of the past appear.

Krupa's book is a many-sided description of the Polynesian language group. It has been compiled upon the basis of existing linguistic literature on Polynesian languages but, at the same time, does not lack an explicitly independent original outlook in many respects. This relates in an especial manner to the sections dealing with the phonology and structure of morpheme. In the other sections, the author makes abundant use of data from relevant literature but subjects these to critical comments, not omitting to state his own point of view. A feature characterizing this work is a detailed attention to both typological and methodological problems combined with a high degree of informativeness of content.

The book under review is the first general work of this sort on Polynesian languages. The bulk of the volume deals with phonology, structure of morpheme and word, combinatorics of morphemes and words, and models of sentences. A com-

parative and typological analysis of the whole language group is presented, along with a wealth of incidental information of great value on the geography and history of Polynesian nations, and an extensive bibliography. The indisputable value of the monograph resides in the abundant factual material relating to many of the Polynesian languages presented in numerous tables and in particular illustrative examples.

The book is divided into the following six sections: Introduction (pp. 10—18), Phonology (pp. 19—31), Structure of Morpheme (pp. 32—39), Word and Phrase (pp. 40—105), Structure of Sentence (pp. 106—125), Lexicon and Semantics (pp. 126—136). Each section is provided with a specific bibliography, and a selective bibliography on various Polynesian languages is appended at the end of the book.

Despite the fact that Polynesian languages together are spoken only by half a million people or so, they nevertheless represent a very interesting group of languages for linguists. First of all, Polynesian languages are extremely simple as regards phonological system and phonotactic structure. Besides, Polynesia was in fact practically free from external linguistic influences. For this reason, it can be made use of as a sort of a 'language laboratory' enabling an investigation of a group of closely related languages.

Krupa's monograph *Polynesian Languages* represents a considerable contribution to the research of Polynesian languages. It will prove of value not only to researchers specifically interested in Polynesian studies, but to linguists in general.

Jozef Genzor

Linguistics. An International Review. 110. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1973. 128 pp.

The journal carries eight papers, four of them dealing with the languages of New Guinea, the other four discussing Philippine languages. All the papers incorporate results of field work carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and with the consultant help of Dr. Joseph E. Grimes who conducted linguistic workshops held at Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands District, Territory of New Guinea and at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, Philippines.

The following papers deal with the New Guinea languages:

A description of paragraphs and how they are formed in Wantoat, a non-Melanesian (Papuan) language from the headwaters region of the Leron River in the Morobe District, is given by Donald R. Davis in his paper titled *Wantoat Paragraph Structure* (pp. 5—16).

Two papers discuss Angaataha, the language from the Langimar river valley between Menyamya and Bulolo and from a village near Bulolo, both in the Morobe

District. They analyse the narrative discourse structure (in the paper *Angaataha Narrative Discourse*, by Roberta D. Huisman, pp. 29—42), and the verb (in the paper *Angaataha Verb Morphology* by Ronald D. Huisman, pp. 43—54).

The indicative and subjunctive modes of verbs are described in the paper *Indicative and Subjunctive in Upper Asaro* (pp. 82—97) by David Strange. This language from the Upper Asaro valley near the town of Goroka is one of the westernmost languages of the east-central family of the East New Guinea Highlands stock.

All the other papers are devoted to the Philippine languages.

The structure of narratives in Sarangani Manobo, the language from the east coast of the Sarangani Peninsula of southern Mindanao, is discussed by Carl D. Dubois in the paper *Connectives in Sarangani Manobo Narratives* (pp. 17—28).

Two papers on Mamanwa, the language from northeastern Mindanao, deal with its semantic distinction and semantic relationships. They are titled *Thematization in Mamanwa* (pp. 55—73) and *Semantic Structure of Mamanwa Verbs* (pp. 74—81), and written by Helen Miller and Jeanne Miller respectively.

A description of the focus system in Amganad Ifugao, the dialect from Ifugao Province in northern Luzon, is given in the paper *The Semantics of Focus in Amganad Ifugao* (pp. 98—121) by Anne West.

All the languages analysed in these papers are rather little known; the Philippine languages in question belong to the so-called minor languages. Despite the small expansion of all languages or dialects (300—10,000 speakers), they represent a very interesting area of linguistic research. Problems discussed in this volume help to fill further blank spaces on the linguistic map of the investigated area.

There are three reviews at the end of the journal, i.e. Byron W. Bender, *Spoken Marshallese: An Intensive Language Course with Grammatical Notes and Glossary* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1969) by Alan S. Kaye; A. Capell, *A Survey of New Guinea Languages* (Sydney University Press 1969) and David R. Counts, *A Grammar of Kaliai-Kove* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1969) both written by Alan M. Stevens.

Jozef Genzor

Llamzon, Teodoro A.: *Modern Tagalog: A Functional-Structural Description*. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1976. 148 pp.

The volume under review consists of two main parts: 1. Methodological Preliminaries (pp. 19—33) and 2. Tagalog Grammar (pp. 34—128).

In the first part, the author explains the theoretical and technical terms used in his work. His description of Tagalog is mainly based on André Martinet's assumptions

as stated in his *Eléments de linguistique générale* (1960). The Tagalog described in this book is that of Manila and its environs, i.e. of the most important part of the country, economically and culturally.

It may be rather difficult to agree with some of the data concerning the number of Tagalog speakers (p. 32). It is true that Tagalog is spoken by over half of the entire population of the Philippines. However, one can hardly believe that Tagalog "is spoken natively by about 18 million and as a second language by about five million" because 18 million were half of the country's population of that period (about 36 million at the time Llamzon's manuscript was being written). In our opinion, Tagalog was spoken natively by approximately 9 million. The Philippine languages are here said to belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages, which in turn belongs to the Austronesian family (p. 32). This is a questionable statement for both terms (M-P and AN) are used interchangeably. This part is supplemented with a map of the Philippines where the Tagalog-speaking area is marked out.

The author confines his attention to the formal aspects of Tagalog. Language is said to be linear; in fact, it is speech that is linear but not language as such. Linearization takes place in the later phases of the speech act. The author states that his description of Tagalog is limited to the phrase-structure rules and the formulation of transformational rules is a task which the author intends to undertake in the future. Llamzon makes use of a fairly extensive formal notation which is explained on pp. 23—32.

Phonology of the word, phonology of the phrase and phonology of the sentence are discussed in the first section of the second part (pp. 34—56), while the second section (pp. 56—84) discusses Tagalog syntax. Here various types are distinguished and dealt with. The third section of part two deals with morphology (pp. 84—128). Word is defined syntactically and four word classes are distinguished, i.e. verb, noun, pronoun, adjective (p. 85).

In conclusion Llamzon's book *Modern Tagalog: A Functional-Structural Description* may be said to represent a valuable contribution to a better understanding of this most important and the most developed language in the Philippines.

Jozef Genzor

Podberezskii, I. V.: *Uchebnik tagalskogo yazyka* (Textbook of the Tagalog Language). Moscow, Nauka 1976. 480 pp.

This is the first textbook of the Tagalog language compiled in the U.S.S.R. and is intended for students of Oriental languages. The subject matter of the curriculum is planned for two years. The textbook is divided into four sections.

Introductory Phonetic Course (pp. 5—28) acquaints the readers with the Tagalog

alphabet, vowels, consonants, syllable, accent, intonation, diphthongs, phonetic changes, and likewise contains exercises.

Essential Course (pp. 29—385) contains 24 lessons. Lessons 1—14 and the Introductory Phonetic Course are intended for the first year of study, lessons 15—24 for the second. The main emphasis is laid upon the mastering of oral speech. Therefore, a considerable portion of the texts are dialogues, speeches etc. For the same reason, grammatical material is not given in lessons but at the end of the textbook.

Each lesson consists of texts, remarks explaining idiomatic expressions (occurring also from lesson 5 onwards in exercises), paragraphs referring to grammar and exercises.

Texts in lessons introduce students to Philippine life and institutions and, last but not least, to contemporary literature in Tagalog. In the texts one can find some short stories, passages from plays and a poem; newspaper materials are also included. The number of exercises varies from 12 to 34; average number in lessons 1—5 amounts to 15, in lessons 6—9 and 22—24 to 23, and in lessons 10—21 to 30.

Reference Grammar (pp. 386—428) is presented condensely and clearly. The author uses traditional linguistic terminology for the sake of practical mastering of Tagalog.

Tagalog-Russian Vocabulary (pp. 429—479) contains some 3,500 items; 1,500 of them are meant for the first year of the study, 2,000 for the second. Words are alphabetically arranged (root morphemes are given in parentheses) although dictionaries of Austronesian languages as a rule use the nesting method. However, in the textbook for beginners, alphabetical order is preferable. The word stress is indicated not only in this section but throughout the book.

The textbook is an excellent aid to all students of Tagalog who speak Russian.

Jozef Genzor

Svelmoe, Gordon and Thelma: *Notes on Mansaka Grammar. Language Data. Asian-Pacific Series No. 6.* Huntington Beach, Summer Institute of Linguistics 1974. 138 pp.

The reviewed volume is a collection of notes and articles written between 1960 and 1973 on Mansaka. This is a minority language, one of the numerous minor languages of the Philippines. Its speakers live along the mountain streams emptying into the north-eastern portion of the Davao Gulf, in south-east of the island Mindanao. Unfortunately, their numbers are not indicated in the present volume.

In the more recent past, the Mansakas have been exposed to a massive influence of

the culture of the Visayans. To be more precise, they have begun to adopt it. Rapid changes in their language are incidental to this phenomenon. Mansaka children can now speak Visayan and they also study English and Tagalog at school. As a consequence of this situation, they have no solid knowledge of any one language, including their own mother tongue. Therefore, it is very important to record as much material on Mansaka as possible in the near future. Contributions on Mansaka are still scarce, as evident from the bibliography of manuscripts and articles on Mansaka or references to it given at the end of the volume. More than half of all entries (15) have been compiled by Gordon and Thelma Svelmoe. The present reviewer hopes that these authors will continue their useful work of investigation of Mansaka, this lesser known Philippine language.

The description of Mansaka is not too detailed; it is based upon the tagmemic approach. Phonology, morphology and syntax are discussed, stress being laid on syntax. The authors' book, though brief, supplies us with a good outline of the Mansaka language and will prove of great value to those interested in Philippine linguistics. It may be freely used even by those who are not conversant with the language, since all the examples are furnished with word-to-word translations. In publications of this type one would also appreciate some sort of information on the vocabulary.

Jozef Genzor

Wolfenden, Elmer: *A Description of Hiligaynon Syntax*. Norman, A Publication of the Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma 1975. xvi + 170 pp.

Originally, this study was written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Hawaii in 1972.

The volume is divided into four chapters, the bulk of which consists of Chapter Two and Chapter Three. Chapter One (pp. 1—14) is of an introductory character. The data collected comprise an abstract, some basic information on the Hiligaynon language and its relation to other languages, a rather detailed explanation of the theoretical principles applied in the work, a survey of the Hiligaynon inventory of phonemes as well as the system of orthography, and characteristics of the main features of Hiligaynon morphology. As to the theoretical principles, the study is based on the tagmemic model developed by Pike, but in the modified variant elaborated by Longacre and others. Chapter Four (p. 145) gives a brief summary of eighteen lines.

In Chapter Two (pp. 15—66), seventeen contrastive phrase types are identified,

while Chapter Three describes thirty-one contrastive Hiligaynon clause types (pp. 67—143).

The author has prepared a description of the grammatical structure of Hiligaynon named *Hiligaynon Reference Grammar* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1971) where the main attention is devoted to phonology and morphology. Therefore, his present comprehensive description of Hiligaynon phrase and of clause constructions not only constitutes a proper supplement to the author's previous work, but is an invaluable contribution to the Philippine studies that have so far lacked a monograph of this type.

Wolfenden has described and analysed Hiligaynon phrase as well as clause structures in considerable detail and has certainly achieved his goal stated in the Introduction and the Summary.

Jozef Genzor

Baryshnikova, O. G.—Zhulev, I. F.: *Filippiny* (Philippines). Moscow, Mysl 1975. 152 pp.

This informative booklet comprises an introduction, seven chapters and a conclusion. The introduction, chapters I (parts 1, 2), III, V, and the conclusion have been written by O. G. Baryshnikova, chapters I (parts 3, 4), II, IV, VI and VII have been compiled by I. F. Zhulev.

The authors focus upon socioeconomic problems of the young developing country, illustrating the process of overcoming backwardness in economy — a legacy of the colonial past. Besides, there is a geographical sketch and an outline of the history of the Philippines.

Topics under research are as follows: Historical Landmarks (Vekhi istorii — Chapter I, pp. 14—49), Peculiarities of Socioeconomic Development. Problems of Economic Growth (Osobennosti sotsialno-ekonomicheskogo razvitiya. Problemy ekonomicheskogo rosta — Chapter II, pp. 50—65), Agricultural Production and Agrarian Arrangement (Selskokhozyaistvennoe proizvodstvo i agrarnyi stroi — Chapter III, pp. 66—92), Role of Industrialization in Economic Development of the Country (Rol industrializatsii v ekonomicheskom razvitii strany — Chapter IV, pp. 93—111), Governmental Finances, Credit and Monetary Exchange in Process of Economic Growth (Gosudarstvennye finansy, kredit i denezhnoe obrashchenie v protsesse ekonomicheskogo rosta — Chapter V, pp. 112—122), Foreign Commerce (Vneshnyaya trgovlya — Chapter VI, pp. 123—132), Situation and Struggle of Workers (Polozhenie i borba trudyashchikhsya — Chapter VII, pp. 134—145).

This book written jointly by Soviet Philippinists O. G. Baryshnikova and I. F. Zhulev, though brief, should be welcomed by all who have an interest in the economy of the Republic of the Philippines.

Jozef Genzor

Population and Development in Southeast Asia. Ed. by John F. Kantner and Lee McCaffrey. Lexington (Massachusetts), D. C. Heath and Company 1975. xv + 323 pp.

The present book contains an introductory essay and sixteen chapters (= papers). The papers were presented at three seminars on population growth and development in Southeast Asia initiated by the late Dr. Irene B. Taeuber, chairman of the Population Panel of the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group (SEADAG) of the Asia Society, New York.

One can only agree with Dr. Taeuber's statement that the region under discussion "is a laboratory area for the study of population change and transition" (p. 3). The area has been a cross-road of various influences from time immemorial. Native cultures were stigmatized and intermingled in a high or low degree especially with those of China and India. Later on, all countries in Southeast Asia became gradually European colonies, with the exception of Thailand. Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, British, French and American colonizers left their traces in the region of Southeast Asia. Naturally, the influence of European metropolises acted everywhere, but native cultures persisted because this influence was not too deep. As for the Philippines, the situation developed in a different way. During long years of colonial rule, Spaniards exerted a very strong influence upon the local Malay culture. They imparted to a deep impress the Philippine religion, languages and culture in general. At the end of the last century, the Spanish domination was replaced by the American rule in the Philippines. However, in spite of these various colonizers, Southeast Asian countries have inherited also some sort of a common colonial legacy from the not so remote past. The countries of this region have thus to overcome the colonial structure of their economy and to remove certain economic disproportions.

After the Second World War, due to an improved health care, mortality came to be severely reduced, but the birth rate continued at a high level or declined but slightly in Southeast Asian countries. At present, Southeast Asians must face the problems created by an enormous population growth, a high rate of unemployment and half-employment, an uneven division of the countries' national wealth, a low living standard of the majority of population, inflation etc.

The book is divided into five parts: Part I — Growth and Diversity of Population in Southeast Asia (pp. 1—22), Part II — Fertility in Southeast Asia (pp. 23—91), Part

III — Population Distribution and Development (pp. 93—137), Part IV — Adaptation to Population Growth (pp. 139—279), Part V — Directions for Research (pp. 201—323). Chapters in Parts II, III, and IV are based predominantly on field research conducted in the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Taiwan. They discuss the demographic situation, internal migration, urbanization, problems of population growth, family planning, change and adaptation. Nearly one half, i.e. six of the fourteen chapters, are concerned with questions connected with the Philippines. Chapters 1 (Part I) and 16 (Part V) are compiled by Irene Taeuber. The former gives a survey of the population and development in Southeast Asia, the latter presents problems for research. Besides, Chapter 2 (Part I) brings some statistical data in five tables preceded by a brief explanatory foreword (it is not a paper in the proper sense of the word), and Chapter 15 (Part V) titled *The Survey Method in Family Planning Research and Evaluation* uses data from Pakistan and Bangladesh which can, however, be generalized and applied to the whole of Southeast Asia.

The book under review will be of great help to scholars concerned with demographical problems and development in Southeast Asia.

Jozef Genzor

Topping, Donald M.—Ogo, Pedro M.—Dungca, Bernadita C.: *Chamorro-English Dictionary*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1975. xxix + 336 pp.

There are several dictionaries of the Chamorro language — some half a dozen or so — either by German or English authors that have been published in the twentieth century. In comparison with them, the dictionary under review is notable for its greater number of entries, its more precise English equivalents and its numerous exemplifying sentences designed to illustrate the use of a particular word.

The present dictionary is a further volume of the series *PALI Language Texts: Micronesia* and has been compiled by Donald M. Topping, professor of linguistics and director of the Social Sciences and Linguistics Institute at the University of Hawaii, and also the author of *Spoken Chamorro* (1969) and *Chamorro Reference Grammar* (1973), written in collaboration with Pedro M. Ogo, a native speaker of the Rota dialect of Chamorro and the principal of the Rota Elementary and High School, and Bernadita C. Dungca, a native speaker of the Guam dialect of Chamorro and an assistant professor of Bilingual Education, University of Guam, respectively.

In the Introduction, some basic data on the language, its dialects, aim of the work, methodology, orthography, are given, as well as a guide to pronunciation, explanations concerning entries, a brief sketch of grammar etc. A bibliography is also

included. Since the dictionary is meant as a companion work to the *Chamorro Reference Grammar*, no detailed grammatical information is included.

The dictionary proper consists of two parts, i.e. Chamorro-English Dictionary (pp. 1—215) and English-Chamorro Finder List (pp. 217—336). The first part contains approximately 9,600 entries. Chamorro words are spelled according to the principles adopted by the Marianas Orthography Committee in February 1971. However, as may be expected, the spelling is not absolutely phonemic; there is no special grapheme for /æ/. In an effort to compensate for this deficiency, the authors indicate those instances in which *a* stands for /æ/. Semantically related Chamorro words are provided with cross-references. Another useful feature of the dictionary is marking the accent in those instances where it is unpredictable. Some phraseological units are also listed as separate entries. Derived words are not listed as separate entries except in some cases where the meaning may not be predictable. Borrowed words, though not marked as such, are fairly well recognizable despite some differences in orthography; they are English, Japanese, but mainly Spanish loan-words. The whole layer of these words accounts for more than one half — ca 5,200 entries, about 54 percent — of the Chamorro vocabulary, the major part of which are from Spanish, because Chamorro has massively borrowed from this language. Many plant and wildlife names have been included. More than one hundred nicknames and some place-names are likewise given, which is not common in most dictionaries. They have been incorporated for the sake of their preservation because nicknames are getting lost at present and many original place-names are wrongly pronounced.

Selected words in the English definitions of the Chamorro words are provided in an English-Chamorro Finder List. They amount altogether to some 7,800 entries and have been selected on the basis of their frequency in American English.

The Chamorro language is natively spoken by about 52,000 autochthonous inhabitants of the Mariana Islands, 40,000 of them living on Guam, the southernmost island of the chain. It belongs to the Austronesian language family and seems to be close to the Philippine languages. Chamorro is notable for a variety of interesting structural features and for an enormous layer of borrowings; the latter make it comparable to Rumanian or English. This is why the language is of considerable interest to general linguistics.

Education on the Marianas has been conducted in foreign languages (Spanish, Japanese, English). Nowadays, all schools in the Marianas use only English (with the exception of bilingual classes at a few selected schools on the islands of Guam, Rota and Saipan). On Guam, where an absolute majority of Chamorro speakers live, the young generation increasingly use English; such a prospect enhances still more the value of the work. Therefore, one can greatly appreciate the work of Professor Topping and his collaborators in the domain of the Chamorro language and their effort is to be greatly commended.

The compilers have done an excellent work. Their dictionary is arranged in a lucid

and up-to-date way. It remains to be hoped that they will continue their meritorious activities in the field of Chamorro studies.

Jozef Genzor

Josephs, Lewis S. with the assistance of Masa-aki Emesiochel, Masaharu Tmodrang and Helen Wilson: *Palauan Reference Grammar*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1975. xviii + 556 pp.

Very little has been published on Palauan so far and the present volume is the first work of its kind. It is another contribution of the series PALI Language Texts: Micronesia.

In chapter 1 (pp. 1—33), the most important features of the Palauan sound system are described. Naturally, the author could not analyse all the complexities of Palauan phonetics. He avoids sophisticated characterizations wherever possible, so that the general reader can comprehend his interpretation. This, however, does not render the explanation uninteresting to linguists.

Chapters 2—13 (pp. 34—275) deal with Palauan nouns, pronouns, and verbs, i. e. the basic Palauan parts of speech, and with other aspects of Palauan morphology; a good deal of attention is paid to the derivation of verbs and nouns. Chapters 14—25 (pp. 276—494) deal with the syntax of the Palauan language. Here, major syntactic constructions are presented, i. e. various clause types, negation, questions, modifiers and connecting words.

The book is intended mainly for Palauans, but linguists in general may also profit from perusing it. Explanations are generally clear and passages for linguistically trained readers are marked with an asterisk. For the sake of facility, cross-references are frequently used; the volume includes notes, a list of phonetic and orthographic symbols, a glossary of linguistic terms, a bibliography, and an index at the end of the book.

This reference grammar has been compiled by Lewis S. Josephs, assistant professor of linguistics at the University of Hawaii, with the assistance of Masa-aki Emesiochel and Masaharu Tmodrang, two principal informants, as well as by Dr. Helen Wilson who has conducted interviews and written preliminary versions of some of the chapters. All in all, the book contains very useful, detailed and extensive information on the Palauan language, and is to be hoped that similar grammatical descriptions will be published on other languages of Oceania as well.

Jozef Genzor

Le Duan: *Ecrits (1960—1975)*. Hanoï, Editions en langues étrangères 1976. 576 pp.

L'homme d'Etat éminent vietnamien, Le Duan, actuellement secrétaire général du Comité central du Parti Communiste du Vietnam, au cours de son activité révolutionnaire durant toute sa vie et embrassant tous les points de vue, s'est occupé aussi de certaines questions idéologiques de base dans le mouvement travailliste vietnamien et international. Plusieurs de ses allocutions, discours et études dépassent par leur portée le cadre national et ont été publiés en divers recueils non seulement au Vietnam, mais aussi à l'étranger. Un choix de ses articles et discours pour la période 1965—1970 avait été publié dans l'Union soviétique en 1971 et un autre, portant sur la période 1971—1975, à Moscou en 1975.

Tout récemment, un autre volume plutôt compréhensif de ses travaux importants théoriques, écrits au cours des 15 dernières années, vient de paraître à Hanoï. Celui-ci comprend, en ordre chronologique, les contributions qui témoignent d'un niveau très élevé du développement du travail idéologique vietnamien en union indivisible avec les étapes nouvelles de la révolution nationale démocratique et socialiste.

Ce recueil commence par le compte-rendu que Le Duan a fait sur la Conférence des représentants des partis communistes et travaillistes tenue à Moscou en 1960. L'auteur en apprécie la teneur du point de vue du Vietnam luttant contre l'intervention américaine comme une victoire éclatante du mouvement communiste international et fait ensuite une analyse du caractère de la situation internationale actuelle. Il met un accent particulier sur les rôles du mouvement national libérateur et définit l'attitude marxiste vietnamienne à l'égard des questions de guerre et de paix. Dans cette contribution, comme certes dans maintes autres, il dévoue une attention détaillée aux questions actuelles idéologiques du mouvement communiste international.

La troisième partie, présentée en 1963 à l'occasion de la IX^e assemblée plénière du Comité central du Parti des travailleurs du Vietnam (actuellement le Parti Communiste du Vietnam) vise ses tâches internationalistes et la théorie de la révolution prolétarienne, particulièrement dans les conditions des pays de l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique latine. L'analyse de l'auteur pénètre à fonds les questions essentielles des contradictions d'envergure globale.

Les pages 179—362 apportent le travail le plus compréhensif, intitulé La révolution vietnamienne — Problèmes de base, Tâches principales. Il est paru originellement en 1970 à l'occasion du 40^e anniversaire de la fondation du parti communiste. Dans la première partie l'auteur présente une appréciation de la phase nationale démocratique de la révolution vietnamienne, y compris sa continuation au Vietnam du sud en forme de résistance à l'agression américaine. La seconde partie est dévouée aux composants idéologiques politiques et économiques de la révolution

socialiste au Vietnam du nord. La troisième partie analyse les problèmes à l'intérieur du parti. L'auteur y dirige l'attention vers la stratégie et les méthodes révolutionnaires, vers les questions centrales d'idéologie, de la ligne politique du parti communiste et touche dans sa conclusion à la situation internationale par rapport à la question vietnamienne. Le travail contient des éléments créatifs et originaux reflétant les expériences très riches de la révolution vietnamienne qui sont ressorties de ses besoins et de ses buts. Un fait qui mérite un accent tout spécial est que dans ce travail, comme d'ailleurs dans ses autres écrits, l'auteur a réussi à rendre le rôle traditionnellement joué dans l'idéologie révolutionnaire vietnamienne, l'idée de l'internationalisme prolétarien. On peut considérer cette étude comme une évaluation idéo-politique la plus pénétrante de la révolution vietnamienne dès son commencement jusqu'aux succès définitifs et elle constitue le point de repère principal de ce volume.

Les 5 contributions suivantes sont dévouées au mouvement syndical, au rôle des femmes, aux problèmes des cadres révolutionnaires, à l'agriculture au Vietnam et la conclusion est donnée par le discours de Le Duan prononcé en 1975 à l'occasion des célébrations de la victoire finale. Ici aussi, l'auteur n'évite pas le moment de la signification internationale de la révolution vietnamienne.

La plupart des contributions sont ici publiées sans abrégement. Le mérite principal de l'auteur réside en ce qu'il savait, comme un personnage public vietnamien, saisir les problèmes actuels et souvent en formuler les conclusions qui plus tard se vérifiaient et se réalisaient en pratique ; en outre, leur validité n'est point restreinte au Vietnam pour lequel elles étaient destinées en premier lieu, mais elles sont de grand prix aussi au point de vue du développement et d'une application adéquate de la théorie marxiste dans le mouvement ouvrier international et la lutte nationale libératrice.

Ivan Doležal

Glebova, I. I.—Sandakova, L. L.—Tyumeneva, E. I. : *Uchebnik vietnamskogo iazyka dlya 2 kursa*, tchast I, II (Manuel de la langue vietnamienne pour la 2^e année. Parties I et II). Moscou, Moskovskii gosudarstvennii institut mejdunarodnykh otnochenii MID, SSSR 1976. 566 pp.

Le besoin de manuels modernes des langues orientales qui satisferaient aux exigences tant du côté scientifique que didactique, reste toujours actuel. Par conséquent, il faut accueillir comme opportune la parution du Manuel de la langue vietnamienne par un groupe d'auteurs qui ont mis leurs expériences scientifiques-pédagogiques de longues années dans la préparation de l'ouvrage, comblant ainsi un vide assez accentué dans le domaine du vietnamien.

Thématiquement et en partie aussi méthodiquement, ce manuel prend contact avec une publication antérieure *Natchalnii kourse vietnamskogo iazyka* par I. I. Glebova et Vu Dang At, paru en 1963, bien qu'il possède ses propres spécificités de concept et de méthode. Grâce à elles, les auteurs ont surmonté certains inconvénients, vu même insuffisances, dans l'approche méthodologique usuelle à l'explication des règles grammaticales et à l'interprétation du texte d'une langue étrangère qui se font sentir d'une manière pressante dans la pratique scolaire et aussi partout là où il y a besoin d'étudier une langue étrangère. La présente publication remplit la fonction d'un bon manuel en vue de ses concepts et notions méthodologiques qui certainement avaient été élaborées à l'avance et formulées sur une base théorique très étendue. Dans sa conception, le manuel joint organiquement un aperçu sur la langue étrangère à l'aspect de «penser» dans cette langue.

Comme le remarquent les auteurs dans leur introduction brève, le manuel est destiné aux étudiants de la 2^e année à l'université et comporte deux parties (dont la seconde consiste de deux publications indépendantes), le tout comprenant 28 leçons. Leur contenu est organiquement lié à d'autres aides audio-orales. Chacune des leçons se compose du texte, de la lexique nouvelle, des exercices et d'un commentaire de grammaire.

En ce qui concerne les textes, leur choix correspond entièrement au sujet et aux aptitudes de conversation que les étudiants sont censés posséder, cependant, leur plus grande variabilité dans le cadre des thèmes à caractère socio-politique aurait été utile. Ce qui mérite une évaluation positive, c'est l'interprétation des textes linguistiques (tout particulièrement en ce qui concerne les exercices de traduction bilatérale) qui renforce les relations communicatives entre la structure du texte linguistique et les receveurs (étudiants) au point de vue de l'extraction par l'enseignant de tels éléments de base dans la structure du texte au moyen desquels on acquiert l'effet linguistique, les traits caractéristiques de la langue sont identifiés, l'expérience de la langue et les habitudes linguistiques se stabilisent dans la mesure présumée par la phase concrète de l'enseignement. Entre le texte principal de la leçon et les textes des exercices individuels (au sens de l'adaptation) il s'agit d'un certain déplacement de marque de ces textes, c'est-à-dire que tous les textes viennent en quelque mesure en relation avec la prise de contact intertextuelle sémantique. Les auteurs ont évidemment pour but un approfondissement des connaissances de la structure de la langue vietnamienne, auquel est subordonné aussi le choix du spécifique lexical pour le processus didactique.

Les mots nouveaux (60—70) sont mis à part dans chaque leçon mais dans le cas des mots de plusieurs syllabes le sens des composants encore inconnus n'est pas donné. Dans l'intérêt d'une plus grande lucidité de l'exposé et une facilité d'orientation — points opérationnels de haute valeur dans tout manuel — il aurait été sans doute utile d'insérer un lexique alphabétique de tous les mots nouveaux à la fin du manuel.

Quant aux exercices, le manuel les contient vraiment en abondance (15 à 20 par

leçon) ce qui permet aux intéressés d'apprendre à fond le matériel lexique et grammatical. Les commentaires sur la grammaire traitent des explications des problèmes nouveaux ayant rapport aux phénomènes pertinents déjà connus, de sorte que leur continuité systémique est assurée et les règles linguistiques de teneur général peuvent être déduites logiquement.

Du point de vue purement technique, le côté typographique laisse à désirer. Une impression de disposition supérieure aurait mieux convenu à la qualité du contenu.

Ján Múčka

Nguyen Khac Vien: *Aperçu sur la littérature vietnamienne*. Hanoï, Editions en langues étrangères 1976. 233 pp.

Ce livre par le fameux historien littéraire du Vietnam paraît opportunément au temps où les Editions en langues étrangères publient la série *Anthologie de la littérature vietnamienne* à laquelle il apporte un complément utile du point de vue de l'histoire littéraire.

Dans l'introduction l'auteur donne un bref aperçu sur l'histoire de la nation vietnamienne, présentant les facteurs les plus significatifs qui y étaient actifs et dévoue une attention spéciale aux traits caractéristiques et au développement de la langue et de l'écriture vietnamiennes.

Le premier chapitre intitulé «La littérature vietnamienne du X^e au XVII^e siècle» commence à la période où se formait et graduellement se consolidait l'état vietnamien (dynastie de Ly, Tran et Le) avec un gouvernement monarchique centralisé et où commençaient à être créées aussi une littérature et culture nationales originales. Les débuts de la création littéraire vietnamienne (X^e—XII^e siècle) étaient étroitement joints à l'enseignement bouddhiste apporté au Vietnam de l'Inde par voie maritime (il serait intéressant d'apprendre plus sur ces sources de la pénétration du bouddhisme au Vietnam, car elles sont peu connues), mais plus tard principalement par l'intermédiaire des missionnaires et des textes chinois. Il s'agissait de l'école bouddhiste *thien (dhyana)* qui prédominait au Vietnam. Dans une certaine mesure celle-ci était influencée par le taoïsme, mais «la doctrine taoïste elle-même, telle qu'elle était exposée dans les écrits de Lao-tseu et de Tchouang-tseu, était réservée à une minorité» (p. 27). Vu la prédominance du bouddhisme dans le domaine des mœurs, il n'est pas surprenant que la majorité des textes du X^e et XI^e siècle proviennent des bonzes qui jouaient aussi un rôle politique dans la vie du pays. Cependant, rien «que les textes compilés dans des ouvrages des siècles postérieurs» ont été conservés (p. 30).

Lors même que le bouddhisme eût été une religion d'état, il ne pouvait pas servir de base pour le développement d'une administration centralisée qui était indispensa-

ble pour une lutte contre les calamités naturelles et l'agression étrangère de l'extérieur. Ici c'est le confucianisme qui avait un champs favorable d'application et qui est graduellement devenu une idéologie prioritaire, une philosophie et un ensemble de normes éthiques dans le développement ultérieur de l'état monarchique et d'une administration mandarine. Un point d'intérêt est qu'il n'y advint aucun conflit entre cet enseignement et le bouddhisme, ce qui met en évidence le fait qu'une tolérance religieuse avait toujours été un trait caractéristique de l'esprit vietnamien. De cette période on connaît surtout les chroniques et les travaux historiques de Le Van Huu, Ly Te Xuyen et ce qu'on appelle *thi tap* (recueil de poèmes) par Tran Hung Dao, Tran Quang Khai, Chu Van An et autres.

Quoique le chinois classique se fût prêté relativement bien pour écrire des tracts philosophiques vietnamiens et les textes politiques, dans la création littéraire-artistique il n'était pas à même d'exprimer, de rendre la spécificité nationale populaire vietnamienne de la réalité autochtone. Par conséquent, on sentait de plus en plus un besoin de créer une écriture nationale propre. C'est ainsi qu'était formée la première écriture nationale le nôm (les circonstances concrètes de son origine ni le temps exact de son invention ne sont pas connus). Parmi les premiers auteurs à en faire usage on compte Nguyen Thuyen, Nguyen Si Co et le réformateur Ho Qui Ly qui vers la fin du XIV^e siècle avait traduit en cette écriture et cette langue un des livres classiques du confucianisme (Kinh Thu — Livre des Annales). A partir de là, la culture nationale prit un essor rapide (en particulier durant la période initiale de la dynastie Le) et ainsi, au commencement du XV^e siècle, le grand penseur et poète vietnamien Nguyen Trai (1380—1442) pouvait écrire que «notre pays, le Dai Viet, depuis des siècles, avait sa propre civilisation» (p. 36). Parmi les littérateurs du XVI^e et XVII^e siècle il importe de rappeler Nguyen Binh Khiem et son disciple Nguyen Dũ (ne pas confondre avec Nguyen Du).

Dans le second chapitre «Une période féconde : le XVIII^e et le début du XIX^e siècle» Nguyen Khac Vien esquisse les conditions historiques (tout spécialement le nombre des rébellions paysannes) qui déterminaient la vie sociale et culturelle du pays. Par contraste à la crise sociale, la culture commença à fleurir (la médecine, la littérature — Le Huu Trac, l'architecture, la sculpture). Dans le domaine de la littérature il s'agissait au premier plan d'une critique de certains aspects de l'ordre féodal et de la morale confucianiste : «Ni la monarchie, ni l'ordre social, ni les valeurs traditionnelles n'étaient plus sacro-saints» (p. 57). Un autre trait de la création littéraire de cette période était une inclinaison vers le folklore vietnamien, vers une réalité de la vie, des essais pour faire prévaloir les droits au bonheur personnel et à l'amour. La poésie cherchait et mettait en valeur des formes strophiques nouvelles *phu* (genre de prose rythmée), des oraisons funèbres rejoignant par l'intermédiaire des poèmes 6—8, des sonnets à 7 pieds, des poèmes combinant les rythmes 6—8 et 7—7, les chansons poèmes aux formes très libres, des longs poèmes comptant jusqu'à plusieurs milliers de vers, le plus souvent des vers 6—8. La création

dramatique combinait la prose et les vers, alors que l'opéra *cheo* vint à domier avec succès l'humour et la satire. L'auteur caractérise cette période de la vie littéraire vietnamienne de la manière suivante: «Bref, cette époque avait vu naître une littérature bien plus riche qu'auparavant, avec une langue plus vivante, plus souple, plus colorée, et une variété de genres, de thèmes jusque-là inconnus» (p. 62). Des auteurs moins bien connus, il fait mention de Doan Thi Diem, Ho Xuan Huong, Madame de Thanh Quan, Nguyen Gia Thieu, Cao Ba Quat et Nguyen Cong Tru. Il cite tout spécialement le grand poète vietnamien Nguyen Du (1765—1820) et plusieurs des récits majeurs anonymes. Le chapitre est conclu par une section traitant des travaux historiques et philosophiques (Le Qui Don, Phan Huy Chu).

Le troisième chapitre «La littérature vietnamienne de 1858 à 1945» est caractérisé au point de vue historique dans le cadre de la nouvelle époque qui possédait deux traits de base, à savoir, les commencements de l'agression française et la lutte pour l'indépendance nationale. Durant la première phase (1858—1900) la littérature vietnamienne «était dominée par les écrits des lettrés patriotes, le sentiment national formant le thème principal, tandis que les formes littéraires fardaient la facture traditionnelle» (p. 79). La seconde période (1900—1930) est marquée par les débuts de la littérature vietnamienne contemporaine, l'usage de l'écriture nationale *quoc ngu*, une distribution plus étendue de livres et périodiques divers, l'influence de la littérature européenne sur le contenu et la forme de la littérature vietnamienne. Pendant la troisième période (1930—1945), à l'avis de l'auteur, il se développait «un double courant littéraire» à savoir, romantique et évasif d'un côté, et révolutionnaire de l'autre. L'écriture nationale *quoc ngu* avait définitivement gagné une position prioritaire dans la littérature et la vie culturelle-sociale et stimulait la création de maintes œuvres originelles quant au contenu et à la forme.

C'est de cet angle de vue que Nguyen Khac Vien caractérise dans la partie ultérieure la vie littéraire vietnamienne et les ouvrages individuels, comme aussi leurs auteurs. L'explication est accompagnée d'extraits des diverses œuvres. Ainsi, la première des périodes citées avant comporte, en premier lieu, la poésie patriotique de Pham Van Nghi, Nguyen Dinh Chieu et Phan Dinh Phung. La seconde période est représentée par une échelle complexe de divers problèmes sociaux, politiques et d'art. L'auteur donne une analyse générale de l'activité des écrivains vietnamiens tels Phan Boi Chau (1867—1940) et Phan Chau Trinh (1872—1926) et de divers groupes littéraires et associations qui ont été créés, comme aussi de l'activité des revues et journaux, tout spécialement ceux nouvellement fondés (Dong Duong Tap Chi — Revue indochinoise, Nam Phong — Vent du Sud, Tieng Du — Voix du peuple, Phu Nu Tan Van — Revue féminine, Cloche fêlée, et d'autres). Il traite de la première activité publiciste de Nguyen Ai Quoc en France, du développement de la poésie, de l'origine du roman et de la création dramatique. La troisième période est marquée par la nature compliqués des problèmes précisément dans le domaine de l'art et que l'auteur examine en relation avec son appartenance à l'un des trois

groupes de base 1. le courant romantique (poésie et roman), 2. la poésie révolutionnaire, 3. le roman réaliste.

Le quatrième et dernier chapitre, «La littérature vietnamienne de 1945 à 1975» comporte deux parties principales. Dans la première, «Une véritable Renaissance» (1945—1960), l'auteur décrit la situation d'après-guerre quand commençait une nouvelle vie et le courant révolutionnaire dans la littérature était devenu un «hégémone» incorporant tout ce qui était progressif et démocratique dans le caractère national. En outre, il note avec attention l'activité littéraire en relation avec le premier mouvement de la résistance, montre des spécimens de la poésie qui avait un vrai pathos guerrier et qui avait joué un grand rôle dans la lutte contre les agresseurs. Dans la seconde partie «La lutte contre l'agression américaine et les débuts du socialisme» (1960—1975) Nguyen Khac Vien nous présente «une poésie entièrement engagée», créée déjà par une génération éduquée par la résistance, mais aussi par la génération plus ancienne connue déjà avant 1945. En outre, l'auteur nous informe des travaux de prose (pour la plupart la prose courte), dont un grand nombre sont parus pendant cette période; ils étaient actuels, dépeignaient l'actualité vivante et étaient et restent très populaires. L'auteur lui-même écrit de cette période: «La moisson littéraire, dans tous ses domaines, poésie, prose, théâtre des quinze années 1960—1975 a été plus abondante et plus variée que la production de n'importe quelle autre époque» (p. 230).

Vu qu'il s'agit vraiment d'une esquisse de la littérature vietnamienne et de sa mission popularisante-informative, l'auteur n'a pas pu aller plus à fond et en plus de détails dans certains problèmes qui font sentir la nécessité d'un tel traitement. Cependant il a réussi dans son travail à présenter une image assez précise et en bien de sens très utile de la littérature vietnamienne.

Ján Múčka

Akademiya nauk SSSR, Institut vostokovedeniya: Osvobozhdenie Korei — vospominaniya i statyi (Academy of Sciences USSR, Institute of Oriental Studies: Liberation of Korea — Memoirs and Essays). Moscow, Nauka 1976. 336 pp.

The 30th anniversary of the defeat of Japanese imperialism in World War II was an occasion in the Soviet Union for the appearance of a series of new publications throwing light on the role of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet Army in this momentous event in the Far East in 1945. Among them is the book under review *Liberation of Korea* which may be considered a specific type of memoir literature. That is to say, this is not an explication of all the military operations and activities of the Soviet Army in the liberation of Korea, but rather represents a recall of incidents and portrays certain events by prominent leaders and direct participants of the battles.

As a whole, however, the book presents a rounded-off view of the course of military operations relating to the routing of the Japanese Kwantung army, particularly in the sphere of action of the 25th Army of the 1st Far Eastern Front and in the liberation of Korea by the Soviet Army from Japanese subjection. In this light the book brings numerous new data unpublished till then, and is supplemented with extracts from war correspondents of the time and press reports, as well as data supported by documents from military archives. Consequently, it can serve as a secondary source for historical investigations in this field of the recent history of Korea and the Far East.

Alongside the Foreword by A. M. Vasilevskii, a marshal of the U.S.S.R. and a former commander-in-chief of the Soviet armies in the Far East (pp. 3—10), essays and memoirs of commanders and direct participants of military operations in North-Eastern China and Korea constitute the backbone of the book. It is, in the first place, the essay by General I. M. Chistyakov, commander of the 25th Army, i.e. the one that had the decisive credit for the destruction of Japanese forces on the Korean peninsula and for the liberation of Korea. This essay, entitled *The Military Drive of the 25th Army* (pp. 11—60) presents an abundance of new and detailed evidence on the strategy of the 1st Far Eastern Front as a whole and on the tactical operations of the 25th Army after the U.S.S.R., faithful to its obligations towards the Allies, had declared war on fascist Japan.

Then follows the essay by General N. G. Lebedev, member of the War Council of the 25th Army and subsequently Head of the Soviet civil administration in Korea, further S. E. Zakharov's reminiscences on operations of the Pacific Fleet in the capture of north-eastern Korean harbours, or the essay by General I. Y. Platov on the task of the air force in the battles of Manchuria and Korea, etc. A particularly detailed account is given of the start of the offensive by the 25th Army on August 9, 1945 and the battles for the ports of Unggi, Najin, Ch'ongjin and Wonsan in the north-east of Korea.

The memoirs and reportages bring closer to the reader not only the portraits of outstanding commanders (often with their biographical sketches), but also those of common soldiers, political workers, military nurses etc., who distinguished themselves or laid down their lives in the fight for the liberation of Korea.

In further chapters, war veterans of the liberation fight against the Japanese, S. G. Tsyplenko, M. A. Babikov, V. A. Mitin and B. V. Shchetinin revive in their reminiscing some characteristic war episodes documenting the heroism of Soviet soldiers, their meetings with Korean partisans or guerillas, the attitude of Korean inhabitants welcoming enthusiastically their liberators, the process of setting up people's committees in northern (but also in southern) Korea, the aid of the Soviet Army and Soviet experts to the democratic forces in Korea in re-establishing the political and economic life of the country immediately after liberation, etc.

The concluding essays by the orientalists Yu. V. Vanin and V. V. Moklyak Faithful

to Traditions of Friendship (pp. 276—302) on the activity of the Society of Soviet-Korean Friendship (founded in 1958) and that by Yu. D. Dmitriev Great Fruit of Fraternity (pp. 303—334) document on concrete examples and figures the multi-faceted cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from its inception until the present times.

The publication is supplemented with 27 black-and-white photographs. In our view, the book would have gained in value had it also been provided with sketch-maps showing graphically the positions of the Japanese forces, the course of the operations and the progress of the Soviet Army.

The facts described in this book give convincing evidence of the historical reality — viz. the decisive share of the U.S.S.R. and its armies in the defeat of Japanese imperialism in the Far East and in the liberation of Korea. Simultaneously, certain causes and conditions which — in contrast to the southern part of the country where the Japanese forces capitulated before the U.S. Army — favourably influenced the setting up of a truly popular democratic power in the northern half of the peninsula, are here elucidated in the light of the policy of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet command in northern Korea in 1945 and in subsequent years. Later, after the setting up of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as an independent sovereign State in 1948, this also helped its socialist orientation.

The book *Liberation of Korea* will be welcomed by Koreanists and by all those interested in the latest developments in the Far East. This work has come to swell the quantity of existing memoir literature by Soviet authors dealing with the liberation of Korea, Korean post-war problems and Soviet-Korean relationships after 1945. A point worth noting is that also studies edited earlier by the Publishing House Nauka in Moscow, are of a similar orientation, for instance, *Vo imya druzhby s narodom Korei* (In the Name of Friendship with the People of Korea, 1965), or *Nerushimaya druzhba* (Indestructible Friendship, 1971), or the work by the prominent historian-Koreanist, Mrs. F. I. Shabshina *Yuzhnaya Koreya 1945—1946, zapiski ochevidtsa* (South Korea 1945—1946, Jottings of an Eyewitness, 1974).

Vladimír Pucek

Lewin, Bruno — Kim, Tschong Dae: *Einführung in die koreanische Sprache* (Introduction to the Korean Language). Heilbronn, Verlag Vorspann-Werbung Dr. Gustav Scherer 1976. 2nd edition. 328 pp.

The second edition of the Introduction to the Korean Language appeared within less than two years. It is an improved edition in which critical remarks of specialists in Korean studies have been taken into account. However, a comparison of both

editions makes it evident that changes and additions are inconsiderable. The number of pages has remained the same and the improvement seems largely to be confined to the superior quality of the paper.

The book comprises two introductory subchapters (pp. 1—10) where the pronunciation and script of Korean are discussed. It is further divided into 22 lessons (pp. 11—223). Each lesson consists of six parts: (1) vocabulary, (2) thematic text in numbered sentences, (3) grammar, (4) complementary notes, (5) exercises, (6) folklore and literary supplements. In the first part, words are arranged according to parts of speech. Words and examples in the first 15 lessons are equipped with the transcription (McCune-Reischauer system); from the 16th lesson onwards the transcription occurs only in word lists. In the second part, the lessons contain 20 sentences, on the average. They comprise mostly dialogues; four lessons of the second half of the book are devoted to agriculture, industry and history. The sentences are well compiled and enable the student to formulate and understand simple utterances from everyday life (greetings and conversation, hotel, transport, restaurant, shopping, weather and time, post and bank, body and care of body, profession and work, disease, holidays, clothes, agriculture, industry, railway, travel and duty, theatre and film, spare time). Grammar is explained in the third part; three to five language phenomena are discussed per lesson. In the fourth part, complementary notes contain comments to the text. In the fifth part, the great number and variety of exercises are a guarantee that topics will be well practised. The sixth part brings some ethnographical data, primarily proverbs and also poems and stories. The lessons 11 and 22 are review ones and each contains 14 exercises and one story.

Concise Grammar (pp. 227—253) summarizes systematically parts 3 and 4 of lessons. It deals with elementary grammar, arranged in a lucid way, using tables.

The Complementary Vocabulary (pp. 256—292) is compiled according to 18 thematic groups (time, relatives, activities, clothes, profession, spare time, transport, weather, body, nutrition, apartment, education, disease, post and bank, travel and hotel, industry and commerce, agriculture, speech) which are similar or identical with themes discussed in the lessons. Besides expressions used in lessons, this section includes some 1,350 additional words.

Alphabetical List of Words (pp. 294—307) contains all words and particles from lessons and Concise Grammar, altogether some 1,670 items.

Key to the Exercises (pp. 311—328) will be welcomed especially by an autodidact.

The Korean script, Chinese characters in parentheses for Sino-Korean words and marking the latter with an asterisk are frequently used.

It can be stated that the authors have achieved their aim, i.e. to furnish students with a textbook which will enable them to speak and understand simple utterances, to read and write in Korean, and to translate simple texts with the help of a dictionary. The book, according to the authors, is an introduction to Korean and should create a basis for the first language contacts and for further study. The book

completely fulfils this aim: total number of Korean words in lessons amounts to some 1,500 items and their active knowledge represents a solid basis for students of Korean. However, mastering the additional 1,350 words from Complementary Vocabulary would be a problem for a beginner. The reviewer is of the opinion that the problem can gradually be solved by an autodidact or in a Korean milieu where new words are acquired more or less "automatically". Future Koreanists have at their disposal a modern, good and practical textbook.

Jozef Genzor

Shulman, Frank J.: *Doctoral Dissertations on Japan and Korea, 1969—1974. A Classified Bibliographical Listing of International Research*. Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms International 1976. x + 78 pp.

This work has been published as a supplement to *Japan and Korea: An Annotated Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations in Western Languages, 1877—1969*. Similarly like the original study, this supplement now under review is an "annotated bibliography" listing the names of authors, titles of works, the number of their abstracts in DAI (Dissertations Abstracts International) and UM (University Microfilms), eventually files where these doctoral dissertations are to be found. Bibliographical data are also included of such works as have been either partially or completely, or in a revised version published anywhere.

The most abundant entries are those relating to history, economics and literature of Japan, while in the case of Korea these are economics, politics and government, in this order.

The work under review also has two appendices. The first deals with doctoral dissertations completed prior to 1969, which were not included in the original book referred to at the beginning of this review, the second one with Soviet doctoral dissertations on Japan and Korea for the period 1969—1974.

Both these publications belong among very important reference works for Japanologists and Koreanists.

Marián Gálik

Liu, James J. Y.: *Chinese Theories of Literature*. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press 1975. 197 pp.

The book under review is intended to be a contribution to the study of Chinese theories of literature and simultaneously represents an attempt at a typological

investigation of similarities and differences between these and the Western theories. The first and ultimate objective of the author is, however, "to contribute to an eventual universal theory of literature by presenting the various theories of literature that can be derived from the long and, in the main, independent tradition of Chinese critical thought, thus making it possible to compare these with theories from other traditions" (p. 2). To make of this work a handbook elucidating Chinese theories of literature was the more immediate and second purpose.

To what extent has Mr. Liu succeeded in making good these two most important designs?

First, about the "more immediate" — and therefore, his second purpose. This book is the first attempt in a Western language at presenting Chinese literary and critical theories insofar as they are concerned with an extensive historical period. For this, the author deserves credit and even gratitude on the part of interested investigators. As a matter of fact, to come by the information, the latter had often to rummage in heaps of primary sources in Chinese or in general histories of Chinese literary criticism (published in Chinese or Japanese), generally difficult to understand, with numerous quotations only loosely connected with the accompanying text. Nor could the various articles or monographs sufficiently facilitate research work. As regards Chinese theories of literature as part of national literature, Professor Liu strove primarily to elucidate concepts and terms in a manner different from, e.g. Kuo Shao-yü or Chu Tung-jun who dealt with the various concepts in their historical evolution together with the personality of the critics — authors or bearers — of these concepts. He attempted to characterize them within the frame of reference of the so-called "total situation of a work of art", namely, the work, the artist, the universe (society, "supersensible entities") and the audience (readers). This is the scheme within the framework of which M. H. Abrams judged Western critical theories in *The Mirror and Lamp* (1953). With the aid of this scheme, Mr. Abrams determined four classes of critical theories: mimetic, pragmatic, expressive and objective. Using a slightly differently arranged scheme Mr. Liu discovered six classes among the Chinese theories of literature, viz. metaphysical, deterministic, expressive, technical, aesthetic and pragmatic.

Metaphysical Theories is the heading of the second chapter of this book, but the present reviewer is of the opinion that the term "metaphysical" is hardly convenient — "cosmological" would certainly be more apt for, according to Liu, here "may be subsumed theories that are based on the concept of literature as a manifestation of the principle of the universe" (p. 16). This chapter is the longest one in the book, although these theories were not the most influential or the most ancient among Chinese theories of literature (*ibid.*). The reason lies mainly in that they are the most interesting in comparison with Western theories, they are "Chinese contributions to an eventual universal theory of literature" (*ibid.*).

The third chapter is entitled Deterministic and Expressive Theories. The deter-

ministic concept differs from the "metaphysical" in that "it identifies the universe with human society instead of the cosmic Tao" (p. 63). In Liu's interpretation, the deterministic concept is not one that "has been greatly elaborated in Chinese literary criticism" (ibid.). The expressive theories are of two types: the first of these, Mr. Liu calls primitivism which is "a spontaneous expression of universal human emotions" (p. 67) and the second he terms individualism which is "placing more emphasis on individual personality than universal human emotions" (p. 70). In this chapter he follows the ups and downs of these theories through the development of Chinese literature.

A chapter is devoted to each of the remaining three types of theories. The last chapter entitled Interactions and Syntheses endeavours "to restore a proper historical perspective by recapitulating chronologically the developments of the various kinds of theories in broad outline" (p. 117). Mr. Liu succeeds only partially in implementing this design and his endeavours simultaneously to show "interactions among different kinds of theories", "contradictions between critics", "self-contradictions or illogicalities" and the "attempts at reconciling and synthesizing different theories", though earnest and strong, nevertheless remained at the plane of "efforts". And in general, Mr. Liu's method reminds us of the very dexterous hands of the cook named Ting who was cutting up an ox for Lord Wen-hui, described in the book *Chuang-tzu*. Mr. Liu is a past master in analysis, breaking down theories into their various elements, but he never seriously strives for their synthesis, to show us what those theories had been like, to enable us to judge them, to evaluate and assess them in their entirety. Another problem is whether some of those "theories" which he so ingeniously and interestingly analyses had ever existed as entities, as a whole, as a systematically arranged set of statements on a definite reality. Is it at all possible in the domain of Chinese literary criticism (or theories of literature) to speak of metaphysical theories, of a deterministic theory, or of aesthetic theories? This is not too convincing, for a few sentences need not as yet constitute a theory. The so-called metaphysical theories were nought else as lip-service to cosmological principles and were never elaborated in any consistent manner. Speaking of "full development of the metaphysical concept (cf. p. 21), Mr. Liu states that its most eloquent expression could be found in the *Literary Mind: Elaborations (Wen-hsin tiao-lung)* by Liu Hsieh (died ca 523) and all the while he has in mind only the first chapter of this book, although the latter comprises 50 chapters; moreover, though it is not quite certain whether the "basic conception of literature" described in it is metaphysical, Mr. Liu chooses to consider it as such but adds that "it is not the only possible interpretation" (p. 21). If the "full development of the metaphysical concept" is in fact problematic, what then are the remaining "theories"? Well, the so-called deterministic concept or "deterministic theories" fare no better (p. 65). The author of the book mentions as the only representative of this concept the scholar and commentator of Confucian writings, Cheng Hsüan (127—200) who intended to

express merely that "it is the normality or abnormality of society that determines the normality or abnormality of literature" (ibid.). When to this are added two quotations from other books, it seems that this is inadequate as yet to constitute "concepts" or "theories". As to the aesthetic theories, the author himself says that they are so close to the "technical concept" as to represent two sides of the same coin. In Chinese theories of literature, there are indeed some theories of literature, but fewer than Mr. Liu would have us believe. There is decidedly good ground for speaking of the pragmatic and expressive theories and even more so of the theory of Ts'ao P'i (187—226), Lu Chi (261—303), Liu Hsieh, Shen Yüeh (441—513), Yen Yü (ca 1180—1235), Yüan Mei (1718—1798) and others. But the book under review has been designed otherwise.

And now a few words about that first and ultimate objective. In his book, Mr. Liu indicates or suggests his theories rather than processing them in a systematic manner. His comparative method is somewhat as follows: he compares the various elements of these theories with a larger or smaller number of Western theories. A striking point is that he compares some of the oldest (i.e. metaphysical) with modern symbolist or phenomenological — of course also with older ones. A discussion on the suitability or otherwise of such a comparison would be here an unwarranted digression. Typological (or analogical) studies are, of course, inevitable and often fruitful. But it is questionable whether only certain elements may be picked out from the theories and these compared, the deductions being made valid for the entire theories. Theories ought to be compared solely with theories, for only in them alone, in their systemic entity, can the whole teaching be correctly reflected. Individual elements may distort the overall view. Their comparison may indeed satisfy our curiosity, but the scientific results need not be satisfactory. Mr. Liu does not compare at all Chinese and Western pragmatic theories. The only reason for that is that parallels between them are too obvious (p. 116).

Sinologists will still have to wait for a history of Chinese literary theories in the English language. In the book under review, one feels rather too much analysis and too little synthesis.

Marián Gálik

Tatlow, Antony: *Brechts chinesische Gedichte*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1973. 163 S.

Im rezensierten Buch unterwirft Antony Tatlow, Literaturwissenschaftler an der Universität Hongkong, einer der wenigen Fachleute für Brechts Beziehung zur chinesischen Literatur und Kultur, 12 chinesische, von Brecht ins Deutsche übersetzte Gedichte einer Analyse und kritischen Bewertung. Es ist dies die ganze

Produktion Brechts auf diesem Gebiet. Mit Ausnahme der letzten zwei Gedichte wurden alle anderen auf Grund der englischen Übersetzungen des weltberühmten Sinologen A. Waley übersetzt. Von diesen 10 Übersetzungen stammen sieben Originalgedichte vom berühmten chinesischen Dichter Po Chü-i (772—846). Brechts Hauptquelle war Waleys bekannte Sammlung *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* aus den Jahren 1918—1919. Es war wohl kein Zufall, dass Brecht beinahe zwei Drittel der Gedichte Po Chü-is für seine Übersetzungen ausgewählt hat. Wahrscheinlich war er auch von der Vorlage, in der fast die Hälfte der Gedichte von Po Chü-i stammen beeinflusst, und Brecht war gewiss auch die politisch-gesellschaftliche Engagiertheit der Poesie Po Chü-is sympathisch.

Antony Tatlow beurteilt Brechts Übersetzungen nicht als Sinologe. Nicht aus mangelndem Vermögen, aber deshalb, weil dies nicht sein Ziel gewesen ist. Er wollte auf die Qualitäten von Brechts Übersetzung, auf eine Seite „der Kunst des Übersetzens“ hinweisen. Die in diesem Buch besprochenen zwölf Gedichte sind nur die erste grössere Arbeit, die die gesamte Beziehung Brechts zu China und die Rolle der chinesischen Kultur in seinem künstlerischen Werk zeigen soll.

Im rezensierten Buch versucht Tatlow im Zusammenhang mit Brecht die ständig wiederholte, noch nie jedoch ausreichend und bislang noch nicht zufriedenstellend gelöste Frage zu beantworten: wie sind die alten chinesischen Gedichte zu übersetzen? In vorliegender Rezension geht es nicht darum zu zeigen, wie diese Frage gelöst wurde, z. B. von den ersten Übersetzungen E. Pounds, Fletchers, Crammer-Byngs, Harts und anderer bis zur Gegenwart. Für dies wäre nicht genügend Raum vorhanden. Tatlow zeigte jedoch auf Grund des Studiums von Brechts Übersetzung „aus zweiter Hand“, von Waleys Übersetzungen aus dem Original und der eigentlichen chinesischen Originale, dass Brechts Übersetzungen besser als jene von Waley sind und dass sie deshalb besser sind, weil Brecht es vermochte von seinen unmittelbaren Vorlagen Abstand zu nehmen. „Die Rechtfertigung der Waleyschen Übersetzung“ schreibt Tatlow bei der Analyse von Po Chü-is Gedicht *Ch'ï ying-cho*, das ins Englische als *Hermit and Politician* übersetzt wurde, „besteht aber seinen eigenen Prinzipien zufolge in deren Genauigkeit. Bedeutet das aber nicht auch, dass Brechts Gedicht sich gleichermassen oder sogar weiter vom Original entfernt haben muss, wenn man die selbst in den wörtlichen Übersetzungen unvermeidlich vorkommenden Bedeutungsverschiebungen bedenkt? Überraschenderweise lautet die Antwort darauf: Nein! Darin sehe ich selbstredend keine besondere Rechtfertigung des Brechtschen Gedichts. Seine Berechtigung als Übersetzung kann und darf nicht auf dem Massstab einer im Grunde unmöglichen und mit Sicherheit sterilen, wörtlichen Entsprechung beruhen. Wenn Brecht sich nun dem Original tatsächlich nähert, ist dieser Vorgang von doppelter Signifikanz, da er es nicht gekannt hat“ (S. 69).

Diese Worte sind sehr überraschend, obwohl das, was sie aussagen wollen, in der Geschichte des Übersetzens nicht neu ist. Brecht übersetzte das analysierte chinesi-

sche Gedicht (aber auch die übrigen Gedichte) besser vor allem deshalb, weil er adäquate wirksame künstlerische Mittel anzuwenden vermochte. Er wusste sich der „Formen der gegebenen Dichtersprache funktionell, nicht äusserlich“ bemächtigen, wie dies im Jahre 1930 ein tschechischer Kritiker bei einer Gelegenheit konstatierte. Eine Übersetzung ist nämlich nicht nur „ein blosser Umtausch einer Sprache, sondern eine funktionelle Umwandlung einzelner Elemente“ (Popović). Darüber haben wir jedoch etwas ausführlicher in den vorjährigen AAS berichtet, und zwar im Zusammenhang mit den Übersetzungen der chinesischen Poesie im allgemeinen und mit der Übersetzung von *Sunflower Splendor. Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry* im besonderen.

Die Feststellung zu Beginn des vorigen Absatzes soll keineswegs die Bedeutung von Tatlows Beitrag zum Studium der brechtschen und der waleyschen Problematik, noch die seines Beitrags zur Theorie der künstlerischen Übersetzung (obwohl Letzteres nicht sein Ziel war) herabsetzen. Tatlows Analysen sollten von Übersetzern der chinesischen Poesie gelesen werden. Für jene, die der deutschen Sprache nicht mächtig sind, würde zumindest gewissermassen auch die verhältnismässig zugängliche Studie *Stalking the Dragon: Pound, Waley and Brecht*, in: *Comparative Literature* (Eugene, Oregon), XXV, 3, 1973, pp. 193—211 genügen, wo Tatlow, ähnlich wie im rezensierten Buch, Po Chü-is Gedicht *Hei t'an lung* (Die Drachen des schwarzen Pfuhls), sowie die Gründe von Brechts Erfolg und Waleys Misserfolg eingehend analysiert.

Die innere Gliederung des rezensierten Buches ist sehr einfach. Bei jedem der 12 Gedichte wird zuerst die Zweitübersetzung Brechts, dann die Erstübersetzung Waleys, bzw. der zwei anderen Übersetzer beim elften und zwölften Gedicht angeführt, danach folgt das chinesische Original mit Transkription und einer wörtlichen englischen und deutschen Übersetzung (besser gesagt mit der Bedeutungsangabe der einzelnen Zeichen). Schliesslich folgt eine kürzere oder längere Analyse der einzelnen Übersetzungen.

Dem Buch geht eine Einführung voraus, in der der Autor auf die Quellen seines Buches hinweist, sowie auf Po Chü-is literarisch-kritische Ansichten und auf Waleys Methoden der Übersetzung. Abschliessend, Anstelle einer Zusammensetzung, weist der Autor wieder auf andere Wege bei der Übersetzung der chinesischen Poesie hin: auf die von Klabund, Ehrenstein und Pound. Sein Ideal scheinen die sog. „paraphrastischen Originalprodukte“ (ein Termin des Herrn Tatlow) zu sein, zu denen sich Brecht und Pound am nächsten herangearbeitet haben. „Nur durch eine solche schöpferische, jedoch verantwortliche Untreue,“ so beendet Tatlow sein Buch, „vermag man chinesische Lyrik heute wiederzugeben und sie für uns dabei wirklich lebendig werden zu lassen.“

Es sind dies recht überraschende Worte, für jeden jedoch, der eine ausdrucksvolle, kommunikative, gedankliche und ästhetische Wirkung der Übersetzung erreichen will, so dass diese zu einer „Wieder-Aktion“ des Originals werde, ist es

notwendig, und es bleibt wohl nichts anderes übrig, sich über Tatlow's Analyse Gedanken zu machen.

Marián Gálík

Dolby, William: *A History of Chinese Drama*. London, Paul Elek 1976. 327 pp.

After the outstanding works — though not easily comprehensible even to a sinologist — by Wang Kuo-wei, Chou I-pai, Aoki Masaru, and following the works of great merit particularly by A. C. Scott, Dr. Dolby presents to readers and students of Chinese literature “the first substantial outline in any Western Language of Chinese theatre, from its origin to the present day”. This is truly a pioneering work, meritorious and daring. Meritorious, because it presents a relatively comprehensible overview of the history and prehistory of Chinese theatre (drama) and daring because the author has evidently not flinched before the immense amount of accessible and unsifted material and decided to make it accessible in a suitable form also to readers and investigators. As a matter of fact, the book is destined to the ones and the others.

It comprises twelve chapters. The first, entitled Antecedents of Drama and T'ang Plays is a prehistory of Chinese drama. The second called Sung and Chin Plays deals primarily with an analysis of the so-called *yüan-pen*, probably (but not surely) “texts or books of the entertainers” which represented the form preceding dramas called *tsa-chü* (miscellaneous plays) from the 13th century, from the period of the Mongol rule — the golden era of Chinese drama. In addition, this part also contains an analysis of the plays *nan-hsi* (Southern plays) and the ballads *chu-kung-tiao*.

The next two chapters analyse the Yüan drama and the so-called theatre world during the Yüan (i. e. Mongol) Dynasty (1276—1361). This period constitutes the principal domain of Dr. Dolby's interest. In 1967 he wrote his Ph.D. dissertation thesis on Kuan Han-ch'ing (between 1220—1300) — the most important representative of the Yüan drama. The origin and evolution of the Yüan drama have their deep cultural and social causes. The Mongol occupation of China meant for the most part a barbarous intervention into the political and administrative life of China. Chinese scholars — a stratum from which were recruited administrative executives and officials, culturally the most advanced, politically and socially the most influential people of contemporary China, found themselves *en masse* out of office, without a job. The Mongols endeavoured to rely on their own strength or on members of non-Chinese nationalities from Central Asia, on Mohammedan businessmen and tax collectors, and as is generally known, also on Polos of Venice. Therefore, many of the traditional scholars for whom literary education had been the most characteristic trait of all, tried to test their talent, and pour out their anger in

literary works: at that time, in the very modern poetic form *ch'ü* and *tsa-chü*, in which *ch'ü* played a very considerable role. Naturally, the Yüan drama cannot be correctly understood solely within this light. The authors of contemporary drama were extremely good professionals who were masters of their trade, and morally or in their "world outlook" many of them differed essentially from members of the gentry from which came the majority of Chinese scholars.

Histories devoted to the Chinese drama rarely contain descriptions of the "theatre world" which, however, are of great interest to the reader and student of the Chinese theatre and may in fact help him better to understand history itself. And this is precisely one of the characteristic features of the present book which tries, on the basis of numerous, though brief items of information, to show what the male and female actors were in the different periods of the development of Chinese theatre, mention being made of their life, the places where they acted, the problems they had to solve in connection with the political, social and moral life of their epoch.

Even though the period of the Yüan Dynasty is most familiar to the author, its processing does not seem to come up to that of the Ming Dynasty (1368—1644). The author devoted considerable attention to the so-called *nan-hsi* drama, *ch'uan-ch'i* drama and *k'un-ch'ü* drama of this period despite the fact that they were overshadowed by great Chinese novels and short story production. In the study of various dramatic trends of the Ming period, he adopted the same procedure as in the case of the Yüan period. After an exposé of the various genres and the individual representatives, he devoted attention to the "theatre world" during the Ming Dynasty. The present reviewer is of the opinion that the author ought to have given closer attention to one of two most outstanding creators of the Ming drama, Shen Ching (1553—1610). A few brief notes will hardly do to bring out the importance and the place he holds in the history of Chinese drama. It is possible that, writing about the charm and beauty of the dramas by T'ang Hsien-tsu (1550—1617), the author just forgot his most successful literary double.

Three chapters of the book analyse the dramatic production of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644—1911). One of them deals with the developments in the early Ch'ing, the second about the nineteenth century and the rise of Peking Opera, a form better known in the West than any other of Chinese drama. In the chapters dealing with the drama from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the author presents interesting items on literary inquisitions, censorship, publication control and the burning of books. And Chinese dramatic writings were no exception either. One fact emerging from the book is that there was incomparably greater freedom of literary and artistic expression under the detested "barbarian" Mongol domination than under the rule of the native Ming or the "Chinese-turned" Manchu dynasties. The reign of cultural terror achieved a peak during the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1736—1796), an otherwise enlightened and well educated and capable emperor of the last dynasty when "thousands of books were destroyed and many more totally banned or partially

altered, in an attempt to suppress writings deemed subversive to Manchu rule or otherwise immoral”.

The situation prevailing in the Chinese theatre during the three quarters of our century is described in the last three chapters. The Appearance of Western-Style Drama briefly points to contacts with the European drama and deals with the creation of Chinese modern drama — *hua-chü*. Traditional Drama in the Twentieth Century is an analysis of Peking Opera and local operas that came to be cultivated with varying success in the People's Republic of China until the sixties. Drama under the People's Republic represents a short history of drama—modern and traditional, and the so-called contemporary revolutionary drama after the recent Cultural Revolution.

A List of Works Cited is appended to the book and includes also Western and Modern Writings on Chinese Drama, the works by Chinese and Japanese authors. A further bibliography called Some Translations of Chinese Dramas into Western Languages is “primarily intended to provide a sample of what has appeared in translations and suggestions towards some further reading”. Readers and scholars will find the detailed index of great help.

A certain drawback of the book is that the author is rather fond of using terms that are not generally common among sinologists, calling for instance, the novel *Shui-hu* (*Water Margin*) by the unusual name Fenlands, or the emperor Ch'ien-lung by his dynastic title Kao-tsung. And he even identifies the greatest emperor of the Manchu dynasty K'ang-hsi (1662—1722) with Shih-tsu (p. 311) which is an evident error. K'ang-hsi's dynastic title was Sheng-tsu. The author's vocabulary is very rich and this goes to enhance the value of his book but simultaneously demands a certain effort on the part of the non-English speaking reader if he wants correctly to understand everything.

The book under review belongs easily among the most noteworthy studies on Chinese literature published in recent years. Students of Chinese literature and particularly anyone interested in the study of Chinese theatre ought become familiarized with it.

Marián Gálík

History of the Mongolian People's Republic. Translation of the original work edited by Bagaryn Shirendyb et al. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1976. 915 pp.

A team of foremost representatives of Mongolian social sciences led by the President of the Academy of Mongolian People's Republic Bagaryn Shirendyb have extensively processed Mongolian history in three volumes reaching from the remotest times down to the year 1966.

The closing, third volume of this work is devoted to the most recent lapse after the Great October Revolution, during the course of which the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) was constituted. This period became the subject of an enhanced interest on the part of international science and politics already at the time when the Mongolian revolution embarked on a course of an immediate transition from feudalism to socialism and even more so after World War II when also further Asian countries began to look for ways of accelerating their emancipation and an independent development. Naturally, attention of foreign experts was roused also by MPR's strategical position in the heart of the New Asia, as well as its place in the commonwealth of socialist countries.

An extraordinary interest in this volume was manifested also in the United States of America where it was published in a very good translation in 1976.

This is the first complex work written about the history of MPR exclusively by Mongolian scholars. It represents an official interpretation of the most recent phase of Mongolian history, and as such, is an expression of Mongolian self-awareness and a document of Mongolian standpoint with regard to numerous important elements still being discussed in the development of MPR and its international relationships. At the same time this is the most extensive historical work of this type, equipped with a solid scientific apparatus and abundant complementary material.

The first part of the book includes 7 chapters covering the period from 1917 until 1940. In it the authors investigate all the principal motivating forces and events that characterized the democratic stage of revolution. They elucidate in detail and often with the aid of new material the movemented period following World War I, when the people resisted raiders of the White Guard and the Chinese occupational armies that claimed sovereignty over the entire Mongolian territory. The subsequent chapters of this first part elucidate the fundamental causes and the results of the origin of the revolutionary movement, its victory, the setting up of the MPR and its complex struggle with deeply rooted feudal out-dated remnants, transition to a noncapitalist way of life, and the successful resistance towards Japanese attacks along the border in the period 1935—1939 and the revolutionary social and cultural changes.

The five chapters of Part Two comprise the socialist phase of revolution during the years 1940—1966. As milestone, the authors chose the Xth congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party that set as its goal to build up the foundations of socialism. The authors evaluated Mongolia's share in World War II, the transition to a planned economy, as also the political, economic and cultural successes that contributed to an enhancement of authority and the international position of MPR.

Of special value to the historian is the comprehensively commented review of Mongolian written sources and significant works concerning contemporary Mongolian history on pp. 5—43.

The American edition of this Mongolian work of Marxist historiography contains the complete text with all the notes and supplements (maps, photographs, a chronological table, list of references) of the original edition. In addition to the introduction, a very good supplement is appended of translators' notes on pp. 741—839 that provide further complementary material items of information, that would otherwise be difficult of access, to the various terms, names, concepts and affinities, less familiar to foreign readers. The translators' visible endeavour was to avoid in these thorough informative supplements taking any standpoint towards the ideological-political aspect of the work. They added their own list, principally of more recent bibliographic data, explanations of special Mongolian terms and an author index. A certain number of orthographic errors, particularly in the English transcription of Russian book titles has been overlooked.

By its content, extent and design, *History of the Mongolian People's Republic* represent a fundamental work in the field of Mongolian studies.

Ivan Doležal

Kalupahana, David J.: *Causality: The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1975. 265 pp.

Kalupahana, David J.: *Buddhist Philosophy. A Historical Analysis*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1976. 189 pp.

The first of these books represents the fundamental work of Professor Kalupahana (born in 1933) who is presently Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Hawaii. The work which resulted in this volume was undertaken while he was doing his postgraduate research at the University of London.

The question of causality is one of the basic issues of Buddhist philosophy and it is to Mr. Kalupahana's credit and that of his late teacher Prof. Yayatilleke that while studying this topic they reached out principally for the early Buddhist teachings as found in the Pali Nikāyas and Chinese Āgamas. According to Professor Eliot Deutsch, in the last years "Western interest in Buddhism has been directed mainly to Mahāyāna traditions, principally to the Mādhyamika school of Nāgārjuna and to Zen. Professor Kalupahana is to be warmly commended for turning out our attention back to the philosophical riches of the early schools, where, together with profound spiritual concepts, a good deal of sharp philosophical analysis is to be found" (p. ix—x). As regards the comparative studies concerned with Pali Nikāyas and Chinese Āgamas, Mr. Kalupahana continued in the footsteps of the Japanese scholars Ni Hakuji and Akanuma Chizen, although their treatises remained inaccessible to him, as he does not know the Japanese language.

Scientifically, this book is of more significance than the second one which is in fact a condensation of the former and simultaneously its extension beyond the frontiers of causality.

The book on causality is made up of eight chapters, of which the first two deal with the pre-Buddhist theories of causation, the next four with questions of causality in early Buddhism and the last two are concerned with further developments in later Buddhist philosophy.

The first chapter treats of the Vedic traditions concerning the theory of causality. Two types of causality are involved, viz. self-causation (*sayam katham, tzu-tsao*) and external causation (*param katham, t'a-tsao*). The first type is to be found in *Rgveda* (the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C.) and consists of the conception according to which "one phenomenon gives rise to or produces another phenomenon by its own inherent power (*svadhayā*) in an orderly sequence" (p. 6). In *Upaniṣads* (7th–4th cent. B. C.) there is a conception of change but it is "merely an illusion of our deceptive senses because it is incompatible with a permanent reality" (p. 8), i. e. with the concept of *Ātman* or *Brahman* which is imperishable (*akṣara*) (p. 9). Therefore, the *Upaniṣadic* contribution to the theory of causality was a negligible one. Insofar as the so-called external causation was concerned, the most important among the theories were those of the so-called divine creation, of which several types existed. Thus, for instance, in *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* use is made of the terms *īś* and *īśvara* meaning Omnipotent God. In subsequent theories, e. g. in *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣads* this omnipotent god is *Brahmā*.

The second chapter deals with non-Vedic traditions concerning the theories of causation. One of great importance among these is that relating to causation through inherent nature (*svabhāva, tzu-hsing*) which was characterized as "the unique power or property of an object or a class of objects" (p. 29). It is uniqueness of the object. All things are born (cause and effect) of the inherent nature, e. g. smoke from the fire. Complete determinism or fatalism was also one of the non-Vedic theories. Determinism (*niyati, ting-fen*) presumes the denial of the validity of human exertion, there is no effect of good or moral actions, freedom and emancipation come through the inherent nature. The last of these theories is the so-called theory of fortuitous origination (*adhiṅśamuppāda, wu-yin wu-yüan*), which is in fact a theory of non-causation.

Of great importance is chapter three called Clarification of Terminology. A similar chapter ought to be inserted in every book dealing with ancient oriental philosophy, literary scholarship, aesthetics, religions, etc. *Patīccsamuppāda* (causation, causality), in Chinese *yin-yüan fa* or *yüan-ch'i fa* characterizes Buddhaghosa (5th cent. A. D.) as "the mode of causes. The mode of causes is that according to which coordinate phenomena are produced mutually" (p. 54). A cause in the early Buddhist tradition was characterized as "the sum total of several factors" (p. 59), or "of the various conditions" (p. 58). The expression "the mode of causes" is identical

with “dependent origination”, i.e. something originates, ensues, when the required conditions had been created for it. Causation or causality in the Buddhist sense of the word may be apprehended as a system of various factors whose components are mutually interdependent and thus set up what may be called “structure”. In this interpretation, only if a cause includes all the necessary factors or elements will it give rise to the effect. The author then goes on to devote great attention to the terms cause (*hetu*, *yin*) and condition (*prataya*, *yüan*), to their meaning and place in various stages of the development of Buddhist philosophy.

The whole of chapter four is devoted to the clarification of a single concept, namely, that of *dharma* (*dhammā*). Mr. Kalupahana’s endeavour is to elucidate this extremely important term in the sense of the original Buddhist teaching. *Dhammā* in the early Buddhism meant “empirical things”, both physical and mental facts and by its nature is impermanent (*anicca*, *wu-ch’ang*), unsatisfactory (*dukha*, *k’u*) and unsubstantial (*anatha*, *wu-wo*). All things (i.e. all *dhammās*) are “causally conditioned”.

The fifth chapter takes contact with the end of the fourth one and explains the causal principle in the early Buddhism. This chapter examines “the pattern according to which changes take place in things (*dhammā*)” (p. 89). The causal nexus presupposes four properties: objectivity (*tathatā*, *ju-fa-erh*), necessity (*avittathatā*, *fa-pu-li-ju*), invariability (*anannathatā*, *fa-pu-i-ju*) and conditionality (*idappaccaya-tā*, *sui-shun yüan-ch’i*).

In chapter six, entitled The Causal Explanation of Existence, Mr. Kalupahana endeavours to show that causality is operative “in every sphere of existence” (p. 110): in the physical (organic) world, in the physical (inorganic) world, in the sphere of thought or mental life, in the social and moral sphere, and in the so-called “higher spiritual life”.

In the first four spheres of causation, early Buddhists were relatively — sometimes even strikingly rational, but were mystical in the last one and it seems that Mr. Kalupahana also, not daring to criticize Buddhist faith from the position of a modern philosopher in the so-called retrocognition, clairvoyance, clairaudience, knowledge of the destruction of defiling impulses and telepathy, abandons the field of real philosophical considerations.

The seventh chapter presents concisely the later development in the question of causality, as does also the last one.

The book is supplemented with an abundant list of references, a very useful Index of Chinese Terms (with a few misprints in transcription) and a General Index. One of the books missing in the reference list and which Dr. Kalupahana might have made use of is that by Chan Thich Minh (Bhikshu): *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pali Majjhima Nikāya*, 1964. As to misprints, we have in mind e.g. *tsu* instead of *tzu* (p. 242), *chü* instead of *ch’u* (p. 244), or *t’eng* instead of *tang* (p. 248).

The second of Kalupahana’s books under review — *Buddhist Philosophy*.

A Historical Analysis owes its origin to a course that its author taught at the University of Hawaii in 1971. Later, the book was supplemented and revised.

Buddhist Philosophy. A Historical Analysis, is made up of two parts: one dealing with an analysis of the philosophical problems of the early Buddhism, the other devoted to problems of later Buddhism. The entire exposition with the exception of Zen Buddhism, begins and ends on the soil of India, for according to the author of the book, "the basic philosophical concepts were well developed before Buddhism left the shores and boundaries of India" (Preface, xv).

As may be expected, from the author's orientation and preferences, the first part is the longer one and the better processed. It comprises 7 chapters analysing the most important concepts of the early Buddhism and partly of the Buddhist teachings in general: causality, *karma* and rebirth, morality and ethics, three characteristics of existence (impermanence, unsatisfactoriness or suffering and nonsubstantiality) and, of course, *nirvana* (*nibbana*), the so-called *summum bonum* of early Buddhism. The chapter devoted to *nirvana* is the longest one in the whole book. The reason is that alongside the concept of *dharma* (*dhammā*), this is the term most discussed in the entire Buddhist philosophy or religion. Kalupahana's teacher, the late G. P. Malalasekera considered this chapter to be "probably the most provocative in the book" (Foreword, p. ix). This is primarily because Kalupahana presents this concept against the empirical background of the early Buddhist philosophy, though he makes it clear that to the very rationalistically inclined Buddha, the empirical principle alone proved inadequate when he wished to enforce his interpretation of *nirvana*, thus admitting and propagating the transempirical existence. With the exception of K. N. Jayatilake in his *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, researchers on *nirvana* failed to note the empirical hot-bed of this issue. The first two chapters analyse the historical background of the early Buddhism and its epistemology as a necessary precondition for the origin and development of Buddhist philosophy and religion.

The second part is more concise. The first chapter in this part (otherwise the eighth in the book) constitutes a base for the next two: the ninth chapter analyses the important problems of three Hināyāna schools: Theravāda, Sarvastivāda and Sauntrāntika, while the tenth one writes about the development of the Mahāyāna, explaining the essence of this teaching — extremely diversified in time. In the last two chapters of his book, the author deals with the teaching of two of the most important Indian schools belonging to Mahāyāna, viz. Mādhyamika (Doctrine of the Middle Position) and Yogācāra (Consciousness-Only School).

Two issues that stand outside the scope of the book proper, yet bear a certain affinity to it, are dealt with by Professor Kalupahana in studies attached as Appendix I — Metaphysics and Buddha, and Appendix II — Reflections on the Relation between Early Buddhism and Zen. In the latter, which will probably be of more interest to the reader in the West, the author of the book presents a different view

regarding the connection between early Buddhism and Zen from that propounded by either D. T. Suzuki or H. Dumoulin.

Professor Kalupahana's book reviewed here may serve as a short introduction to the early Buddhist philosophy, or also to later developments of Buddhist teachings in India.

Marián Gálik

Deshpande, Bani: *The Universe of Vedanta*. With an introduction by S. A. Dange. The Indian Institute of Socialist Studies. Bombay 1974. 167 pp.

The Universe of Vedanta by Bani Deshpande is a thought-provoking publication, giving account of the author's inquiry into the field of Vedic philosophy. As an attempt to find some materialistic and dialectical elements in it the book is rash in its conclusions. It belongs to the sort of books which are useful more by what they suggest than by what they really expose.

Owing to the character itself of the Hindu view of life, there has always been a possibility of many interpretations of their philosophy. Growing out of the very ancient attitudes of man when he only began to separate himself from the fold of nature, the Vedic view of life is based on a special metaphysical kind or mixture of idealistic and materialistic approaches, for idealism and materialism started to be distinctive and eventually opposed to each other, i.e. antagonistic, at some later stage when man felt himself to be a separate entity and individuality, different from nature.

As S. A. Dange aptly puts it in his introductory notes to this book: "For man to pose the fundamental question of philosophy, whether being comes first or thinking, that is the relation of nature and spirit, that whether matter is primary or consciousness is primary, to raise the question itself, man must have developed consciousness enough to distinguish between himself and nature between his ideas and nature and between himself and the society." Indicative in this respect may also be what the Upanishad says: "In darkness are they who worship only the world, but in greater darkness they who worship the infinite alone. He who accepts both saves himself from death by the knowledge of the former and attains immortality by the knowledge of the latter." The eternal infinite truth can thus be arrived at only through the finite truth of this material world.

Bani Deshpande's basic idea is that it was dialectics that governed the Vedic thought in its approaches to empirical world thousands of years ago. It indeed stands out for the historians of philosophy to reveal that, by its nature, dialectics is the most ancient groundwork of human logic starting from early philosophers, ancient Greeks and coming through Hegel up to its scientific elaboration by Marx and Engels.

The author deals in several chapters with dialectical laws trying to show (though not convincingly enough) how strongly the Vedanta thinkers felt the world being dialectical and at the same time material as, e.g. in relation to matter and motion, both of which they thought to be inseparable, motion being an inherent quality of matter. Kapila, the author says, postulated for the first time that matter is eternal and is evolving and developing dialectically in its various manifestations. He laid down the laws of this development in process of contradictions, negation of negation, quantitative and qualitative change and established the indivisibility of cause and effect. He further established, as Bani Deshpande maintains, that since matter is evolving, there cannot be any creator of this universe or else, he too must get into the process of dialectical development and its cause and effect.

Further he deals with the views of Vedic thinkers on material unity of the world (Matter-Space-Time), reduction of all matter to elements then to a few types of particles, particles to forces and forces to a single concept of energy, and eventually their mass-energy concept and materiality of the world based on the interaction of matter itself.

It must be objected to the author's enthusiastic exposition of the Vedic theoretical achievements that he calls them scientific. They are outstanding speculations based on an acute sense of observation, power of intuition and intellect but they are not science, for at the Vedic stage knowledge (and obviously the pursuit of it) was an integral part of spiritual wisdom and hence, it had rather a gnostic character. It was not seen as something separate from, or independent of religious and spiritual wisdom, which did not mean that the latter could not be inspired by the former. The Hindu view of life implies the influence of knowledge on wisdom and vice versa, wisdom however is thought to be, in compliance with its idealistic nature, of a higher order than knowledge. And that is why it sounds grossly out of proportion if the writer says that "the dimensions of scientific thinking of the ancient Indian thinkers, in the field of philosophy, had crossed and left behind in some respects even the 20th century in which knowledge is standing firmly rooted in the high development of natural sciences".

Due to the above-mentioned and other shortcomings, the book has aroused a hot discussion and criticism in Indian Marxist circles. There are also some chronological mistakes or misprints (e.g. Kant is mentioned as the philosopher of the 17th century, the Ionian Greeks as those living about 400 B. C.).

As for the Vedic dialectical method itself, it seems however not to be limited to the empirical world, and that is why it is Hegelian and idealist: It goes beyond to produce a category of spirituality. According to their own dialectics developed materiality is not denied by spirituality. Eventually, they do not contradict each other: they are two indispensable aspects of One Reality. Within the empirical world there is a contradiction between existence and non-existence, and in the Hindu view, spiritual as a sort of synthesis is to overcome this contradiction. Thus the contradic-

tion within Finite is solved at a higher level by the introduction of Brahma, the infinite attributeless Atman, the Spirit. Not necessarily outside the human being, but rather as a new dimension, the dimension of spirituality in which the opposites of this world are removed in a kind of higher unity from which the world is viewed synthetically i.e. spiritually. By that the world is not changed but the viewpoint is changed through a shift of emphasis. *Avidya* is replaced by *vidya* but the world is not denied, it is, as Dr. Radhakrishnan says, rather re-interpreted.

What does this sort of dialectics similar to that of Hegel, convey? A quest on the part of Vedic sages, though vain, for a harmony, a balance which had been losing ground in the Hindu society. There had been looming up a contradiction of private property, exchange, rise of Varna, caste and classes, dividing and splitting commune. That had taken place by the time of the Upanishads and gave rise, as S. A. Dange writes, to the questions of philosophy which was to have played a very important part in pointing the way from contradictions to "reinstatement of balance".

The suggestions contained in the book of B. Deshpande should be an invitation to further research in which the efforts of historians, Indologists (Sanskritologists) and philosophers may be combined to achieve a deeper understanding of the ancient Indian wisdom.

Vladimír Zahradník

Fekete, L.: *Einführung in die persische Paläographie. 101 persische Dokumente.* Aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers hrsg. von G. Hazai. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1977. 594 S. und 242 Tafeln.

Lajos Fekete (1891—1969) war ein bedeutender ungarischer Turkologe und Kenner der osmanischen Paläographie, dessen Werk *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatie der Türkischen Botmäßigkeit in Ungarn* (Budapest 1926) noch immer eines der besten praktischen Handbücher der osmanischen Paläographie und Diplomatie bleibt, trotz neuerer Handbücher, die diese eher beschreiben als weiterentwickeln. Ähnlich verhält es sich auch mit dem Werk *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung I—II* (Budapest 1955), welches bislang noch von keinem gleichwertigen Werk ersetzt wurde. Ausserdem trug der Autor dieser paläographischen und diplomatischen Handbücher bedeutend zur Erkenntnis der osmanischen Schriftstücke und Defters aus Ungarn, als deren vorbildlicher Editor und Übersetzer ins Ungarische und Deutsche bei.

Die Einführung in die persische Paläographie stellt ein postumes Werk dar, das G. Hazai zur Herausgabe vorbereitet hat. Professor L. Fekete begann noch in den 20-er und 30-er Jahren auf seinen Reisen durch europäische Archive nach osmanischen

Schriftstücken zur Geschichte Ungarns persische Dokumente zu sammeln. Die grösste Anzahl sammelte er jedoch während seines Aufenthaltes in der Türkei aus dem Archiv Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul. Diese bearbeitete er laufend und gab einige auch heraus. In seiner Hinterlassenschaft blieben 101 persische Dokumente in arabischer Schrift transkribiert, deren Übersetzung ins Ungarische, sowie auch weiteres Hilfsmaterial. Verdienste um diese Ausgabe haben neben G. Hazai auch B. Alavi, M. Lorenz, W. Sundermann und P. Zieme.

In der Einleitung, die der Feder L. Feketes entstammt, finden wir eine kurze Beschreibung des bearbeiteten Materials, Angaben über dessen Herkunft, seine Eingliederung, sowie auch grundlegende Informationen über den Inhalt dieser Dokumente.

Bei der Übersicht über die persische Diplomatie ging L. Fekete vor allem aus den Dokumenten, die er editierte hervor und er verweist nur selten auf weitere Editionen. Er setzt auch allgemeine Kenntnisse über islamische Kanzleien voraus.

Im sehr knappen paläographischen Teil weist er lediglich auf die Spezifika der persischen Kanzleien hin. Im diplomatischen Teil widmet er seine Aufmerksamkeit eingehender jenen Arten von Schriftstücken, denen wir in der Ausgabe am häufigsten begegnen. Es geht vor allem um *syōzūmīz* (Befehl des Herrschers), *arza-dāšt* (Meldung, Bericht niedrigerer Beamter dem Herrscher) und *fath-nama* (Siegesmeldungen).

Die inneren Zeichen der Schriftstücke verfolgt er vor allem auf den Befehlen des Herrschers (*farmān*, *nišān*, *parvāne*, *syōzūmīz*, *buyruq*, *yarlıq* u. a.). Er zeigt, dass die persischen Schriftstücke, ähnlich wie die osmanischen sich aus beinahe denselben inneren Teilen zusammensetzen, welche im Schriftstück auf eine ähnliche Weise aneinandergereiht sind, wie dies bei den europäischen Schriftstücken der Fall war, was von den gemeinsamen Wurzeln der islamischen und europäischen Kanzleien in der griechisch-römischen Kultur zeugt.

Seine besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmete L. Fekete den Dokumenten des Typus *fath-nama*, die den fremden Herrschern von den Erfolgen des Machthabers gegen seine Gegner berichteten.

Die einhundertein Dokumente, die der Textteil der Einführung in die persische Paläographie (S. 63—560) und deren deutsche Übersetzungen bringt, sind gleichwertig, und vom historischen Standpunkt aus zweifelsohne wertvoller als die kurze Einleitung. L. Fekete brachte darin Dokumente aus drei Jahrhunderten (1396—1702). Und was für pädagogische Ziele am wichtigsten ist, befinden sich im Abschluss die Fotokopien aller transkribierter und übersetzter Schriftstücke, so dass es ein unermesslich wertvolles Material für paläographische Übungen bringt.

Was die Herausgeber betrifft, stammen von den ältesten Dokumenten vier aus der Kanzlei der Timuriden, vier aus der osmanischen Kanzlei des 15. Jahrhunderts und einundzwanzig Dokumente aus der Kanzlei Uzun Hasans, des Herrschers der Familie Aq-qoyunlu und eines gefährlichen Gegners der Osmanen im östlichen

Anatolien. Aus der Zeit der Regierung der Dynastie der Safaviden stammt die Mehrzahl der Dokumente von deren Hof, es sind hier jedoch auch einige Dokumente von osmanischen Sultanen, von den Khans aus Buchara und Samarkand, sowie von georgischen Herrschern.

Die meisten Dokumente, wie bereits erwähnt, entstammen dem Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi zu Istanbul, weiter sind es persische Dokumente aus Venedig, Rom, Warschau, London, Den Haag und Wien. Bereits die Hinterlegung dieser Dokumente weist in einem bedeutenden Masse auf deren Inhalt hin.

Die überwiegende Mehrzahl der Dokumente betrifft aussenpolitische Fragen, ob es sich nun um die osmanische Politik im Osten, die Stellungnahme Uzun Hasans zu den Osmanen, die Politik der Safaviden zu den Osmanen und zu den nördlichen Nachbarn, oder um die Beziehung Persiens zu den europäischen Staaten handelt. Ein relativ kleiner Teil der Dokumente betrifft die inneren Angelegenheiten der Länder, welche in ihren Kanzleien das Persische benützten — sie betreffen meist das Einholen von Steuern, Erteilen von Lehen oder Handelsangelegenheiten. Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen die frühosmanischen *fath-namas* der Sultane Mehmed I. und Murad II. über den siegreichen Feldzug gegen die Moldau, bzw. über den Sieg bei Varna im Jahre 1444. Man kann getrost erklären, dass die herausgegebenen Dokumente einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, vor allem zu dessen Beziehung zu den östlichen Nachbarn darstellen.

Zahlreich sind die Dokumente der persischen Schahs, die zur Zeit der schweren Kämpfe des Safavidenreiches mit den Osmanen an europäische Höfe gesandt wurden. Die veröffentlichten Dokumente zeigen uns auch wie Persien bemüht war freundschaftliche Beziehungen zu europäischen Staaten, wie Venedig, die Niederlande, England, zu den Habsburgern in Ungarn und Österreich, Polen, ja sogar zum Papst herzustellen.

Den persischen Texten und deren paralleler deutscher Übersetzung folgen Indices (S. 561—594), wo sich eine Bibliographie, ein Verzeichnis der Fundorte und Signaturen der Dokumenten, ein Überblick über die chronologische Verteilung, Siegelabdrücke der Dokumente, ein Überblick über die Koranzitate in den Dokumenten, ein Register der Personennamen und geographischer Namen in den Dokumenten befinden.

Von den kleineren Fehlern sei angeführt, dass es sich in den Dokumenten 7, 10, 11, 14, 15 nicht um den osmanischen Sultan Mehmed I., sondern um Mehmed II. handelt. Weiter geht es auf Seite 103 um das Jahr 1468 und nicht 1486, da zu diesem Zeitpunkt Uzun Hasan bereits tot war.

Die Einführung in die persische Paläographie ist ein wertvoller Beitrag nicht nur zur persischen Paläographie, sondern auch zu verschiedenen Fragen der Geschichte des Vorderen Orients im 15.—17. Jahrhundert.

Vojtech Kopčan

Lewis, Bernard: *History. Remembered, Recovered, Invented*. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1976. vii + 111 pp.

One of the most prominent historians of the Near East, Professor Bernard Lewis, in his lectures at the Yeshiva University, New York in 1974 endeavoured "to achieve some deeper insights and reach some more general conclusions about the nature of historical knowledge, study and writing and about their functions and purposes in human societies".

Professor Lewis is concerned not so much with formulating novel methodological approaches in investigating the past but rather with the problem of utilizing history, hence, the way the results of historical sciences are being applied to practical purposes. To do justice to this design and render correctly these tendencies, the author has had recourse to a special classification of history which is here reproduced in his own words to facilitate an understanding of his conception:

(1) "Remembered history. This consists of statements about the past, rather than history in the strict sense, and ranges from personal recollections claimed by the elders to the living traditions of a civilization, as embodied in its scriptures, its classics, and its inherited historiography. It may be described as the collective memory of a community or nation or other entity — what it, or its ruler and leaders, poets and sages, choose to remember as significant, both as reality and symbol.

(2) Recovered history. This is the history of events and movements, or persons and ideas, that have been forgotten, that is to say, at some stage and for some reasons rejected by the communal memory, and then, after a longer or shorter interval, recovered by academic scholarship — by the study of records, the excavation of buried cities, the decipherment of forgotten scripts and languages, and the consequent reconstruction of a forgotten past. But reconstruction begs the basic question, and disguises what would be better described as construction. The word itself indicates the dangers of process, and leads us to the third type of history.

(3) Invented history. This is history for a purpose, a new purpose differing from previous purposes. It may be invented in either the Latin or the English sense of the word, devised and interpreted from remembered and recovered history where feasible, and fabricated where not" (pp. 11—12).

The author illustrates this basic classification with numerous examples from history, primarily from the history of the Near East from the remotest times down to the present.

In Chapter One entitled Masada and Cyrus (pp. 3—41), the author gives an example of recovered history, viz. the celebrations of the anniversary of the defence and fall of Masada during the Jewish rebellion against the Romans in the year 66 A.D. in Israel, and the celebrations of the 2,500th anniversary of the foundation of the Persian State by Cyrus the Great in contemporary Iran. Both these events, whether that of Masada or the origin of the Achaemenian empire had been forgotten

in the traditions of both these nations and were successfully revived on the strength of foreign sources, eventually thanks to modern science which has resolved the cuneiform writing. In this manner, both these events acquired a new role in the two nations, within the framework of novel relationships.

Chapter Two called *Medium and Message* (pp. 43—69) cites numerous examples of what Prof. Lewis has called “Remembered History”, hence, various annual festivities that recall significant events of religions (annual ecclesiastic feasts) or of States (anniversary day of foundation, etc.). The author also deals with problems of history as memory of mankind brought up by several contemporary historians or social scientists. Furthermore, he takes up the question of embellishment of the origin and the past of various nations and States from the antiquity down to modern times, the methods of claiming legitimacy, the myth about the golden age of diverse civilizations, the myth of ancient freedom as applied by the Arabs and Turks, etc.

Chapter Three entitled *As It Should Have Been* (pp. 71—102) brings several illustrations of what the author has termed *Invented History*. The first is the example of the discovery of the lost glory of Moslem Spain which, thanks to European investigators, has come into the cultural subconsciousness. Nevertheless, an uncritical admiration of investigators both European and Mohammedan has given rise to an inadequately favourable image of this civilization, a fact which the author dwells on in more detail in the myth of a religious tolerance of Moslem Spain. An instructive example is also the present-day incorporation of Ibn Khaldūn into the contemporary Arab world. The author cites many examples from modern Arab interpretation of their Mediaeval history, whether there be question of their relationship towards the Turks, the Mongols or the Crusades, etc. Prof. Lewis devoted special attention to questions of interpretation of the colonial era in the history of the Near East and other Moslem regions of Asia. Here, however, it should be noted that since the mid-fifties, Soviet historiography on questions of annexation of Central Asia and the Caucasian territories to Russia has passed through a considerable development and similar changes may be noted also in the historiographies of the Balkan nations concerning Ottoman expansion.

Despite the fact that one may have some reservations towards a few of the formulations, the book may be considered to be an outstanding work by an eminent scholar.

Vojtech Kopčan

War, Technology and Society in the Middle East. Ed. by V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp. London, Oxford University Press 1975. viii + 448 pp.

These are proceedings of a conference held in September of 1970 at the School of

Oriental and African Studies, University of London. The conference was oriented to an interesting topical subject, namely to the relationship between war, development in technology and changes in the social organization. Even though these factors constitute a dialectical unity, a view of the evolution in the relations between war, technology and social changes in the course of many centuries (7th—20th cent.) may appear to be rather complicated. It includes a wide range of problems and the organizers had to rely more on what the speakers from various countries had to offer than on any conception elaborated in advance and which would cover only the crucial problems in these relations over the centuries.

The editors have assembled twenty papers in a chronological order, although this mode of approach levels out somewhat the difference between comparative studies and minor analytical contributions that often deal with very specific issues. The editors have endeavoured to explain this in an extensive introduction (pp. 1—31) which simultaneously is a fine summary of the whole problem. Their chief argument in support of a chronological arrangement of the papers is that it helps to bring out clearly the fundamental changes that occurred in the relations of war, technology and society in the course of centuries. On the other hand, however, this chronological arrangement has shown the weaknesses of military history of the Near East. Thus, for instance, the problem of the military confrontation of the Ottoman empire and the Safavid State in Persia has been omitted. In view of the great significance of the Ottoman-European military confrontation in the 14th—19th centuries and its indubitably deep consequences, the contributions included, dealing with this topic, are inadequate to render exactly the whole complexity of the problems involved and this despite their very high standard. As a matter of fact, they take into account only some of the aspects of the complex relationship between war, technology and society both on the Ottoman and the European side. Another question that has been left on the side-lines is the confrontation of the Moslem armies with the Mongols, although some of the participants refer to this problem (e.g. C. Cahen).

The early Arab military might that reaped great successes on three continents is dealt with by D. R. Hill in his contribution *The Role of the Camel and the Horse in the Early Arab Conquests* (pp. 32—43). The author pointed out the synthesis in the tactics of nomads and settled populations in the first Arab incursions. He showed that the original tactics based on mobility, in which the decisive role was played by camels, was successful under the conditions prevailing in Syria, Iraq and Egypt. In the fights taking place in the mountainous environment of Persia and Asia Minor the conquerors were obliged to take over the tactics of the local inhabitants, whereby the scale of tactical operations of Arab armies became enlarged.

Professor D. Ayalon (*Preliminary Remarks on the Mamlūk Military Institution in Islam*, pp. 44—58), whose studies on problems relating to the Mamlūks are well-known, attempts to outline the role of the Mamlūk Military-slave institution as

a specific phenomenon in Moslem countries. The author draws attention to the fact that the great expansion of the empire required the incorporation of numerous defeated detachments into the Islamic armies which initially maintained an Arab character but in time, as a result of mass recruiting, absorbed also Persian and Turkish elements. An item of interest is his observation that the Mamlūk institution achieved a preponderance in the Moslem world only after the caliphate had politically disintegrated into minute units.

C. E. Bosworth in his paper *Recruitment, Muster, and Review in Mediaeval Islamic Armies* (pp. 59—77) investigates the fundamental questions of mediaeval Islamic war history. This paper is one of the weightiest in the entire collection dealing as it does with social and economic bases of the various groups of armies and further issues of great impact.

M. Brett's contribution *The Military Interests of the Battle of Haydarān* (pp. 78—88) studies the changes in the historiographic interpretation of the battle of Haydarān in 1052.

The next paper is concerned with the Byzantine military might that proved a significant opponent of Islamic armies. H. Ahrweiler in his paper *L'organisation des campagnes militaires à Byzance* (pp. 89—98) takes note of the change in military organization, building up of defence systems and the approach to the defence of Byzantium, on the basis of military tracts.

L. White's Jr. article *The Crusaders and the Technological Thrust of the West* (pp. 97—112) is of a general pattern. It investigates the relations between the Crusades and the technological progress in the West. Besides development in weapons and military techniques, Prof. White follows also the demographic and the economic factors that affected the origin and growth of the Crusade idea in western Europe.

The contribution by Professor C. Cahen, *Les changements techniques militaires dans le Proche Orient médiéval et leur importance historique* (pp. 113—124) shows that the successes of Arab raids were conditioned by moral and social factors rather than technological superiority. These raids simultaneously meant that the Arabs came into contact with new methods and new weaponry. However, the author notes in more detail the introduction of the stirrup, the bow and the crossbow or arbalest into the Arab and later also Moslem armies. Nor does he omit heavy siege weapons such as the ballistae and mangonels for hurling stone projectiles, improved during the Crusading periods. Prof. Cahen's paper brings in also further insights into matters of Islamic art of war.

S. Vryonis Jr. in his paper *Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower* (pp. 125—152) examines such sources in Byzantium, among the Seljuks of Asia Minor and in the Ottoman empire. The paper deals with the problem of foreign military units or mercenaries in detachments or in the services of various states from the 11th to the 15th centuries and their adaptation to this environment.

A contribution of a strictly military character is that by H. Rabie, *The Training of the Mamlūk Fāris* (pp. 153—163) in which the author is concerned with the training of Mamlūk riders in Egypt and Syria.

The next two papers take note of the spread of fire-arms in the Balkans and the socio-political consequences of their spread in the Near East. Dj. Petrović in *Fire-arms in the Balkans on the Eve of and after the Ottoman Conquests of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (pp. 164—194) is primarily concerned with the introduction of fire-arms to the Balkans and their mediation by the Ottomans who, in the first half of the 15th century, made enormous progress in the production and utilization of fire-arms, primarily of artillery. H. İnalçık in *The Socio-Political Effects on the Diffusion of Fire-arms in the Middle East* (pp. 195—217) follows up the spread of fire-arms along a double plane — first in the Ottoman empire, and then from the latter into the remaining regions of the Islamic world. İnalçık simultaneously notes also the socio-political consequences of this process.

In an extensive article *La Manière de Combattre* (pp. 218—256), the late V. J. Parry analyses the views on Ottoman Military practices as they have been preserved in works of European military theorists from the 16th and 17th centuries. These include mainly works by imperial commanders L. Schwendi, G. Basta and R. Montecuccoli who had practical experience from battles with the Ottoman armies, and in them they expressed their views how best to stand up to the enemy from the tactical aspect. Parry further shows how European generals analysed in detail the Ottoman way of fighting and set up against it counter tactics that enjoyed success in South-East and Eastern Europe as of the 17th century.

Less familiar issues of the military art are dealt with in the contribution by L. J. D. Collins, *The Military Organization and Tactics of the Crimean Tatars, 16th—17th Centuries* (pp. 257—276). Of importance is the statement on the economic function of the Tatar raids where the booty played a significant role in supplementing home economy.

Abdul Karim Rafeq in *The Local Forces in Syria in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (pp. 277—307) concentrates on nonmilitary functions of the detachments in Syria where the situation differed from that prevailing in Egypt or Iraq in that there existed close relationships among urban, country and clan groups.

In *Mountain Warriors and the Greek Revolution* (pp. 308—329), D. N. Skiotis illustrates on the example from Greece, the role of *armatolos* in the Greek uprising. A pity though, that the author is not familiar with the works of the Yugoslav historians — M. Vasić *Martolosi u jugoslovenskim zemljama pod turskom vladavinom* (*The Martoloses in Yugoslav Countries under Turkish Domination*, Sarajevo 1967), which is an excellent summary of this problem from the 15th to the 19th centuries and carries also an extensive German summary, and A. Stojanovski on the *Dervendjis* institution in Macedonia.

The extensive study by one of the editors of the collection, M. E. Yapp, *The*

Modernization of Middle Eastern Armies in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative View (pp. 330—366) investigates the important period of transition of the Near East armies to the pattern of training and equipment of the European armies. The author devotes major attention to Ottoman armies where modernization caused great social commotions and brought about a crisis between the State and the society towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

Military changes in the Ottoman army and the role of German advisers are followed by G. W. Swanson in War, Technology and Society in the Ottoman Empire from the Reign of Abdulhamid II to 1913: Mahmud Şevket and the German Military Mission (pp. 367—385).

The last three studies are from the pen of D. A. Rustow, J. C. Hurewitz and M. Janowitz respectively and deal with the 20th century containing significant generalizations. D. A. Rustow in his Political Ends and Military Means in the Late Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Middle East (pp. 386—399) expresses the interesting view that the high military expenses in the Near East are not related solely to the momentary political situation but also to Moslem military tradition, since Islam is the most bellicose of world religions. He further points to the association between military might and political aims in the Near East during the present century.

The contribution by J. C. Hurewitz, Soldiers and Social Changes in Plural Societies: The Contemporary Middle East (pp. 400—411) investigates the roles of armies as a factor affecting the development of society and its relationships with the army in Near-Eastern countries. The author corrects to some extent his views expressed in his book *Middle East Politics: The Military Dimension* (New York 1969).

M. Janowitz's comparative sociological study, Some Observations on the Comparative Analysis of Middle Eastern Military Institutions (pp. 412—440) deals with the complex issues of the origin and attitude of military officers from the Middle East towards the political development in their own countries. It investigates the origin of officer strata in Europe and the Near East and notes also the complex questions of leadership and ideology in Near-East countries.

The proceedings represent the first more extensive summary of problems of mutual interactions of war, technology and society in the Near East over several centuries. Despite a certain lack of balance (as regards topics, depth of insight and extent) its publication may be welcomed as a useful addition to the existing literature on this subject.

Vojtech Kopčan

The Muslim East. Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus. Ed. by Gy. Káldy-Nagy. Budapest, L. Eötvös University 1974. 264 pp. XIII Illustrations.

Even in his own home environment the jubilarian is known as the author of very successful travelogues and translations from Arab literature rather than as an Islamist and Turkologist. However, the results of his scientific works have found recognition also abroad — in the Arab countries by the award of numerous honours and membership in Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi Academies, repeated invitations as guest professor at Indian universities, etc.

An evaluation of J. Germanus's life work — who celebrated his ninetieth birthday on November 6th, 1974 — is given in the introductory article from the pen of Gy. Káldy-Nagy.

The first two contributions deal with the history of oriental studies. J. Németh has published his paper from the XXth Orientalist Congress in Brussels (1938) under the title *Die Orientalistik in Ungarn 1938* (pp. 11—22) in which he treats of the state and aims of Hungarian orientalist science of that time. H. R. Roemer, in his contribution *Al-Biruni in Deutschland* (pp. 23—29) presents an overview of research on al-Biruni in the past and its contemporary tasks in Germany in connection with the jubilee of the birth of this great Muslim scholar.

W. Montgomery Watt in *The Man of the Ukhdūd (Sura 85)*, (pp. 31—34) proposes a historical interpretation of the Koranic verses 4—7 of Sura 85 in relation to the persecution of the Christians in Najrân, instead of the eschatological interpretation as had been stated earlier by Grimme and Horowitz.

A. Schreiber brings evidence of the name Balaam being used by Spanish Jews although it has been generally assumed that Jews would not adopt the name of this arch-fiend of Israel (*War der Name Balaam gebräuchlich bei den Juden?* pp. 35—37).

Mediaeval history of Islamic-Slavonic or Islamic-Hungarian relationships are dealt with in the papers by T. Lewicki and Gy. Székely. T. Lewicki, *Die Namen der slawischen Völker in den Werken der frühmittelalterlichen arabischen Schriftsteller* (pp. 39—51) first points out the general problems of recording Slavonic names in Arab sources and then bring evidence for the denominations of Slav nations (Bulgarians, Russians, Croats, Velets and others) in Arabic and Persian works. Gy. Székely, in his *Les contacts entre Hongrois et Musulmans aux IX^e—XII^e siècles* (pp. 53—74) presents historical and archaeological material in support of the existence of contacts of Musulmans with Hungary from the times of the Magyars' settling down in Pannonia until the end of the 12th century when Muslim elements in Hungary began to be repressed.

The Turkish historian M. Tayyib Gökbilgin in his paper *Molla Gürânî ve Pâdişaha Sunduğu Yazılar* (pp. 75—83) published three documents from Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, Istanbul, two of which were written by şeyhülislam Molla Gürânî (1416—1482) to the Sultan Bayezid II and the third by an anonymous writer also deals with the above şeyhülislam.

The most extensive contribution to this "Festschrift" is that by A. Fodor entitled

Malhamat Daniyal (pp. 85—159). Following a brief introduction, the author gives the Arabic text and its English translation of *Malhama* (i.e. forecast, prediction) from the turn of the 10th—11th century on the basis of the modern edition of the Iraqi Najaf.

In his paper *Anthroponymes turcs mahométans* (pp. 161—173) Zs. Kakuk lists a classification of Muslim names as preserved in Hungarian documents from the 16th and 17th centuries and which the authoress had collected in her book *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue osmanlie des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. Les éléments osmanlis de la langue hongroise*, Budapest 1973.

G. Fehér, Jr. who has recently published a representative work on Ottoman miniatures dealing with Hungary (*Török miniatúrák a Magyarországi hódoltság koráról*, Budapest 1975), presents some notes on Ottoman miniatures with illustrations (*Hungarian History in Islamic Miniature-Painting*, pp. 175—187).

From a comparison of the remnants of Muslim building monuments from the times of the Ottoman dominion in Hungary with monuments of Islamic architecture in Bosnia and from a careful check-up of the origin of the donators of these monuments, Gy. Gerő in *The Question of School and Master in the Study of the History of Islamic Architecture in Hungary* (pp. 189—199) comes to the conclusion that the donators of Islamic buildings in Hungary were for the most part Ottoman dignitaries of Bosnian origin. He likewise proves that the majority of the builders belonged to the school of the great master of Ottoman architecture Sinan and they were equally active in Hungary as in Bosnia.

The editor of the collection Gy. Káldy-Nagy in his paper *Beginnings of the Arabic-Letter Printing in the Muslim World* (pp. 201—211) examines the cultural and economic prerequisites for book printing in the Islamic world, primarily, however, in the Ottoman Empire until the introduction of printing by Ibrahim Müteferrika in the first half of the 18th century.

On the basis of *Safinat ul-Mahmud's* manuscripts deposited in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, E. Apor brings data on 33 poets from the Persian provinces of Mazendaran and Gilan in the first thirty years of the 19th century (*Local Poets in Qâjâr-Tazkeres — A Study on the Safinat ul-Mahmud of the Hungarian Academy Library in Budapest*, pp. 213—220).

The American Iranologist Richard N. Frye in his study *Historical Evidence for the Movement of Peoples in Iran* (pp. 221—225), on the basis of documents from Persian dialects points to the migration of the inhabitants in Iran from the Sasanid period down to the present days.

The questions relating to the symbiosis of the Islamic and Indian culture from the times of the penetration of Islam into India up to the present times are investigated by V. Gáthy in *Islamic Culture — Indian Culture* (pp. 227—251).

The collection is concluded by a bibliographic list of Prof. J. Germanus' works from the years 1906—1973 containing 132 items.

This "Festschrift", by its colourful contents reflects the wide range of Prof. Germanus' interests and constitutes a worthy homage on the occasion of his remarkable jubilee.

Vojtech Kopčan

Birken, Andreas: *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*. Wiesbaden, Dr. L. Reichert Verlag 1976. XIV + 322 S., 6 Karten. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 13.

Es gehörte schon seit längerer Zeit zu den dringenden Aufgaben der Osmanistik das verschiedenartige Material und die Literatur zur Organisation der osmanischen Verwaltung zu bearbeiten. In der Frage der Verwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches und dessen administrativer Gliederung wurde in der Literatur oft eine Menge sich widersprechender Ansichten überliefert (die aus den sich widersprechenden Angaben in Quellen hervorgehen). Diese sich widersprechenden Angaben werden auch von den neuesten Publikationen enzyklopädischen Charaters nicht immer auf das rechte Mass zurückgeführt.

Andreas Birken's Arbeit ist keine Spezialarbeit über die osmanische Verwaltung, sie entstand vielmehr als Erläuterungsband zu den Karten „Osmanisches Reich. Die Provinzverwaltung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert“ und „Osmanisches Reich. Die Provinzverwaltung am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts“ des Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.

Der erste Teil des Buches (S. 1—25) bringt einen kurzen Abriss der Verwaltungsgeschichte des Osmanischen Reiches. Er fusst überwiegend auf den Arbeiten H. A. R. Gibb—H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West. Vol. I. Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century. 1—2*. London—New York—Toronto 1950—1957 und K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*. Berlin 1973. Der Autor informiert in diesem Teil kurz über das gesellschaftliche System, die Lehnorganisation, die Vasallenstaaten und die Gerichtsorganisation des Osmanischen Reiches in dessen Blütezeit. Dann spricht er vom Verfall des Lehnsystems und der Tanzimat-Epoche.

Den zweiten Teil des Buches stellt das Lexikon der osmanischen Provinzen in geographischer Anordnung, wobei die Sandschaks unter allen Eyalets angeführt sind, zu denen sie einmal gehört haben (S. 28—276) dar.

Zur besseren Orientierung ist bei jeder Provinz eine übersichtliche Landkarte angeführt. Als Hilfstelle des Buches sind hier *Erklärungen osmanischer Fachausdrücke und Titel* (S. 277—287 deutsch und englisch), ein *Literaturverzeichnis* (S. 289—301) sowie ein *Register der Eyalets und Vilayets* (S. 303—322).

In der Beilage hat das Buch 6 Karten: 1. *Die Verteilung der Lehen im 17.*

Jahrhundert (nach Aynî Ali und Evliyâ Çelebi); 2. Die Kaşis im 18. Jahrhundert; 3. Die Provinzen um 1800 (nach d'Ohsson); 4. Die Gerichtsorganisation Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts; 5. Bevölkerungsdichte um 1900 (nach Cuinet und Supan); 6. Nationalitäten in Kleinasien am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts (nach Cuinet).

Zu Seite 6 bemerken wir, dass die Reiter, die den Sipahi in den Kampf begleiteten, nicht *ğelebi* oder *ğebelü* oder *ğebeli* geheissen haben.

Einige Anmerkungen zu den ungarischen Eyalets:

Estergon (ung. Esztergom) war ein Sandschak des Ofener Eyalets in den Jahren 1543—1595, zehn Jahre war er in kaiserlichen Händen und wurde 1605 wieder von den Osmanen zurückerobert.

Filek (ung. Fülek, slow. Fiľakovo) wurde zum Zentrum des gleichnamigen Sandschaks erst im Jahre 1554, als die Osmanen die Burg von Fiľakovo eroberten. Die kaiserliche Armee eroberte die Burg Ende November 1593 und sie gelangte nie wieder in die Hände der Osmanen.

Hatvan fiel in osmanische Hände erst im Jahre 1544.

Der Name *Garžgal* (?) ist in der Neuausgabe Peçevis entstellt und die Begebenheit knüpft sich an das Jahr 1553 an.

Novigrad wurde von den osmanischen Armeen im Jahre 1544 erobert und von den kaiserlichen Truppen im März 1594 zurückerobert.

Sečen (ung. Szécsény) war in den Jahren 1552—1593 ein osmanischer Sandschak.

Váč (ung. Vác, dt. Weitzen) war nicht Sitz eines Sandschaks.

Eyalet Egri (ung. Eger, dt. Erlau) entstand nach J. Blaškovič, *Rimavská Sobota v čase osmansko-tureckého panstva* (Rimavská Sobota zur Zeit der osmanisch-türkischen Herrschaft), Bratislava 1974, S. 26—27 sofort nach dem Fall Egers (Oktober 1596). Ein neuer Eyalet sollte aus zwei Sandschaks gebildet werden. Den einen bildete der Rest des Sandschaks Fiľakovo, der zweite war der neugegründete Sandschak Eger.

Bačka (?), *Germat* (Balassagyarmat) und *Sečen* (Szécsény) sind ausser Evliya Çelebi in anderen osmanischen Quellen als Sandschaks des Eyalet Egri nicht belegt.

Filek (slow. Fiľakovo) wird lediglich in den ersten Jahren des Bestehens des Eyalet Eger als dessen Sandschak erwähnt. Wie J. Blaškovič, op. cit., S. 27 sagt, haben sich die osmanischen Staatsorgane und die Beamten aus dem Sandschak Fiľakovo in Eger niedergelassen. Als bewiesene Sandschaks des Eyalet Egri können wir daher (ungefähr bis in die ersten Jahrzehnte des 17. Jahrhunderts) die Sandschaks *Egri*, *Hatvan*, *Segedin* (ung. Szeged), *Solnok* (ung. Szolnok) und *Filek* halten.

Eyalet Uyvar (ung. Érsekújvár, slow. Nové Zámky) entstand nach der Eroberung der Festung 1663, die kaiserliche Gegenoffensive reduzierte jedoch bedeutend die osmanischen Gebietsgewinne in der Westslowakei. Ausser Evliya Çelebi sind die *Bukbak* (?) und *Holok* (vielleicht Hollókő, südöstlich von Szécsény) als Zentren der Sandschaks des Eyalet Uyvar nirgends belegt.

Bei *Nitre kaFe* (so soll die richtige Transkription lauten!) kann von einer Absicht

der osmanischen Verwaltung die Rede sein einen Sandschak zu gründen. Die Stadt wurde bereits im Frühjahr 1664 von den kaiserlichen Armeen erobert.

In *Levice* ist auch der Sandschakbeg Çatrapatazade Ali Pascha in einer Urkunde vom 4. 3. 1664 (herausgegeben von J. Rypka, *Čtyři turecké listiny z Dolného Kamence na Slovensku*. In: Průdy, XI, 1927) belegt. Ausser *Seyahatname* bestätigen die Angabe von der Gründung des Sandschaks in Levice auch weitere osmanische narrative Quellen.

Novigrad (ung. Nógrád) wurde nach der Eroberung der Burg durch die osmanische Armee Anfangs November 1663 wieder zum Sitz des Sandschaks, es ist jedoch nicht eindeutig geklärt, ob dieser in den Eyalet Nové Zámky gehörte. *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, Paris, Bibliothèque National Suppl. Turc 506, 47 b besagt, dass Novigrad mit Eger vereint war. Höchstwahrscheinlich gehörte er in den Jahren 1664–1685 zu Ofen.

Trotz zahlreicher Fehler ist die Arbeit ein nützliches und praktisches Handbuch. Leider, nicht alle Angaben, die der Autor den sich widersprechenden osmanischen Quellen entnommen hat, können für bare Münze genommen werden. Es ist Schade, dass der Autor nicht Handschriften oder ältere Ausgaben der Werke (in arabischer Schrift) osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber benützte, weil viele unrichtige Transkriptionen den modernen türkischen Ausgaben anzurechnen sind (Peçeви, Naima, Evliya Çelebi).

Vojtech Kopčan

Kreiser, Klaus: *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyā Çelebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*. Freiburg, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1975. xxxiii + 289 S. Türkischer Text 148b–169a.

Obwohl der Autor seine Arbeit im Untertitel „Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt“ genannt hat, sind auch deren weiteren Aspekte nicht ohne Bedeutung, vor allem als Beitrag zur weiteren Kenntnis des Werkes von Evliyā Çelebi. *Seyahatname* (Das Buch der Reisen), das Richard F. Kreutel als „eine der wichtigsten türkischen Quellen für unsere Unterrichtung über den physischen und geistigen Habitus der osmanischen Welt des späten 17. Jahrhunderts...“ (*Neues zur Evliyā-Çelebi-Forschung*. In: *Der Islam* 48, Berlin 1972, S. 269) bezeichnete, wurde zur Erkenntnis der verschiedenen Fragen der osmanischen Geschichte und Kultur nicht genügend ausgenützt. Dies wurde teils auch durch die Tatsache verursacht, dass wir bislang keine kritische Ausgabe von *Seyahatname* zur Verfügung haben, teils durch die farbenprächtige, ungenaue und unübersichtliche Art, in der Evliyā die durchreisten Länder, Städte oder die eigenen Erlebnisse bei verschiedenen Ereignissen beschrieben hat. Wie wir uns aus Kreisers Kommentaren

überzeugen konnten, sind nicht alle, bei der Beschreibung Edirnes angeführten Angaben Evliyâs als glaubwürdig anzusehen. Es geschah nämlich, bei einem noch so kritischen Zutritt zu Evliyâs Angaben, dass auch seriöse Forscher die Angaben aus *Seyahatname* benutzten, ohne sie jedoch kritisch zu überprüfen und diese für glaubwürdig hielten. So finden wir z. B. in der *İslam Ansiklopedisi* unter dem Stichwort Amasya von Besim Darkot die Angabe, dass die Stadt Amasya 1060 Geschäfte hatte, und V. Minorsky führt laut Evliyâ im Stichwort Mardin in dieser Stadt 1060 *cebeli* an. Wie Gy. Káldy-Nagy (*Macar Tarihinin Kaynakları*. In: *Studia Turco-Hungarica* I. Budapest 1974, S. 17; in ungarischer Sprache 1972) kürzlich zeigte, können diese zahlenmässigen Angaben nicht wörtlich genommen werden, und er führt an, dass Evliyâ diese Zahl bei der Beschreibung Ungarns einige Male unbegründet benutzte. Laut *Seyahatname* z. B. gab es in Ofen (Buda) und in der Stadt Gyula 1060 Häuser, dieselbe Zahl von Geschäften gab es in den Städten Košice und Gyöngyös, die Zahl der Gemeinden im Ofener Eyalet ist ebenfalls 1060, genauso wie die Zahl der Gefallenen Musulmanen in der Schlacht bei Parkan oder die Zahl der *Balyemez*-Kanonen unterhalb von Nové Zámky. „Diese Angaben Evliyâ Çelebis — wie Gy. Káldy-Nagy weiter sagt — können also nicht als übertriebene Verdrehung gewertet werden, weil er mit der Zahl 1060 anscheinend anführen wollte, dass ihm die genaue Anzahl zwar nicht bekannt ist, diese jedoch gross genug sei. Es besteht kein Zweifel, dass er in diesen Fällen seine Beobachtungen und Informationen nicht mit genauen Angaben anführt, gerade deswegen jedoch sollten solche Zahlen nicht zitiert werden...“ (ebenda). Damit wollten wir sagen, dass in der an Angaben reichen *Seyahatname* auf den Forscher viele Tücken lauern und dass diese ständig mit weiterem Material konfrontiert werden muss.

Kreisers Arbeit bringt das Faksimile der Handschrift Bağdat Köşkü 305 fol. 148b—169a, die die Beschreibung von Edirne, weiter die Übersetzung dieses Teils ins Deutsche (wobei einige Absätze weggelassen wurden, siehe S. xxxii), sowie Kommentare und Erläuterungen enthält. Die Erläuterungen und Kommentare bilden den umfangreichsten Teil des Buches. Hierbei benutzte der Autor die lokalen Chroniken, wie z. B. Hibrîs *Enisü'l-Müsamirîn*, Bâdis *Riyaz-i belde-i Edirne*, Örfîs *Tarih-i Edirne*, weitere osmanische Chroniken, geographische Werke und *tezkere*, das publizierte Archivmaterial (vor allem jedoch M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*), sowie auch die moderne Fachliteratur und Enzyklopädien. K. Kreiser schöpfte ausgiebig auch aus den Berichten europäischer Reisender und Botschafter.

Nach den einleitenden Teilen, in denen sich der Autor mit den Fragen der Transkription befasst, führt er die im Werk benützten Abkürzungen an und bringt einleitende Kenntnisse über das Werk Evliyâ Çelebis, dessen Quellen zur Beschreibung von Edirne, sowie genaue Angaben über jene Teile, die er in der Übersetzung weggelassen hat.

Kreiser hielt sich an Evliyâs Text und kommentiert nicht nur dessen Angaben auf Grund eines umfangreichen Vergleichsmaterials, sondern widmet seine Aufmerk-

samkeit auch den philologischen Aspekten von *Seyahatname*. Aus den reichhaltigen Kommentaren des Autors erfahren wir über Evliyās Arbeitsweise bei der Stadtbeschreibung, über seine Informationsquellen, über die Benützung von zahlenmässigen und chronologischen Angaben usw.

Zu der reichhaltigen Quellengrundlage möchten wir auch noch eine weitere Quelle hinzufügen — das Tagebuch des aus Bratislava stammenden Bürgers Johann Ferdinand Auer, der im August 1663 in osmanische Gefangenschaft gefallen war und in Edirne ungefähr zwei Wochen verbrachte. Manche seiner Angaben können die zahlreichen, von Kreiser angeführten Beweise über die Stadtbefestigung, die Häuser und den Palast des Sultans ergänzen. (Siehe *Auer János Ferdinand pozsonyi nemes polgárnak héttoronyi fogságában írt naplója 1664*. Ed. I. Lukinich. Budapest 1923. Magyarország törökkori történetének forrásai, 1.)

Zur Seite 151 wäre anzuführen, dass die dem S^oO IV, S. 397 entnommene Angabe nicht richtig ist, da Kibleli Mustafa Paša nicht im Jahre 1074 bei Nové Zámky gefallen ist. Zur Zeit der Belagerung von Nové Zámky war er als Serdar der plündernden Truppen in der Westslowakei (Necatí, 14b) und einige Monate nach dem Fall der Festung wird er bei der Verteidigung der Brücke in Essek (GOR VI, S. 125) erwähnt. Was Šamizade Mehmed Efendi anbelangt, muss präzisiert werden, dass dieser zusammen mit seinem Schwiegersohn Kadızade Ibrahim Paša am 9. Šafer 1074 (12. September 1663) hingerichtet wurde — siehe Evliyā VI, S. 331—332, Silahdar I, S. 276 und weitere osmanische Quellen.

Klaus Kreisers Buch darf als ein wertvoller Beitrag nicht nur zur Erkenntnis einer osmanischen Stadt, im konkreten Fall der Stadt Edirne in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts, sondern auch zur Kenntnis des eigentlichen Werkes von Evliyā Çelebi gewertet werden.

Vojtech Kopčan

Özdemir, Hasan: *Die altosmanischen Chroniken als Quelle zur türkischen Volkskunde*. Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1975. 460 S. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 32.

In der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung trafen mehrere Überlieferungen aufeinander, die ihrem Charakter und Inhalt nach abweichend sind. Eine dieser Überlieferungen war auch die islamische religiöse Epik (*Menakıbnâme*, *Gazavatnâme*), die noch aus den vorislamischen Zeiten her stammte. Es ist natürlich, dass die epische Literatur, die die kriegerischen Taten der *gazis* oder die Missionsverdienste der Derwische verherrlichte, viele Volkserzählungen umfasste, und das sehr oft auch solche von nichtislamischer Herkunft. Wie dies vor einiger Zeit H. İnalcık (*The Rise of Ottoman Historiography*. In: *Historian of the Middle East*. London 1962, S. 157)

bemerkte, finden wir in den Texten der ältesten Quellen zur osmanischen Geschichte, wie *Aşıkpaşazade*, *Anonyme Chronik Tevarih-i Al-i Osman* und *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman von Oruc b. Adil*, zwei Typen dieser *Menakıbnama*. Der eine besteht aus typischen Volkserzählungen, in denen vom Traum Osmans I. über die Zukunft seiner Dynastie oder von den Wundertaten Murads I. erzählt wird, während der zweite Typ der *Menakıbnama* oder *Gazavatname* wirkliche historische Informationen enthält.

Obwohl diese Fakten den Wissenschaftlern, die sich mit der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung befassten, bekannt waren, kam es doch nicht zu einer zusammenfassenden Bearbeitung der folkloristischen Elemente in den altosmanischen Chroniken. H. Özdemirs Buch ist seine an der Universität zu Freiburg verteidigte Doktorarbeit. Über die Bedeutung und die Ziele seiner Arbeit spricht der Autor selbst folgendermassen: „Eine nähere Betrachtung zeigt uns, dass die Chroniken unter anderem für folgende Bereiche der türkischen Volkskunde nutzbar gemacht werden können: vorislamische und volksislamische Kulturvorstellungen (Heiligkeitkult, Grabkult, Baumkult, Steinkult usw.), Brauchtum, Trachten, Musikinstrumente. Da wir es bei den Chroniken in erster Linie mit literarischen Werken zu tun haben, wollen wir uns im Rahmen dieser Arbeit mit der systematischen Sammlung und Analyse des Sprach- und Erzählgutes nach volkskundlichen Gesichtspunkten befassen“ (S. 4).

In seiner Arbeit benützt der Autor folgende altosmanische Chroniken: *Ahmedî, Düsturname-i Enverî, Aşıkpaşazade, Oruc ben Adil, Cihannüma von Mehmed Neşrî, Anonyme Chronik Tevarih-i Al-i Osman, Menakıbnama-i Sultan Bayezid Han*, er zitiert aber auch spätere osmanische Autoren, wie Sadeddin, Solakzade, Evliya Çelebi und andere.

Im Teil über die Sprichwörter und Redensarten trug der Autor 29 Sprichwörter und 333 Redensarten aus altosmanischen Chroniken zusammen. Der Autor führt hier nicht nur Beweisstücke aus Chroniken an, er weist auch auf Parallelen in Sprichwörtersammlungen, sowie aus sprachwissenschaftlicher und folkloristischer Literatur und Wörterbüchern hin.

Im Hauptteil des Buches, betitelt „Die Erzählungen im Rahmen der Chroniken“, führt der Autor folgende Zyklen von Erzählungen an: (a) Auf einen Ort bezogene Erzählungen, wo nachstehende Erzählungen angeführt sind (1) *Temaşalık*, das Schloss Salomons: (2) Erzählungen um die Gründung der Stadt Konstantinopel: (3) Erzählungen um die Erbauung der Hagia Sophia: (4) Die Entdeckung der heilkräftigen Quelle von Yalaqova und im Rahmen (b) Erzählungen um historische oder mythische Gestalten folgende Erzählungen: (1) Die Geburt Muhammads und der Wiederaufbau der Hagia Sophia: (2) Ertugrul und Hızır: (3) Hızır und der Fuhrmann: (4) *Rical al-gayb* (die Männer der Verborgenheit): (5) Überlieferung über die arabischen Expeditionen gegen Konstantinopel: (6) Die Wundertaten Murads I.: (7) Wunder und Heldentaten Bi-neva Babas: (8) Süleyman Paşa und

Umur Beg: (9) Die Sage von der Eroberung der Festung Aydos: (10) Şah Meliks und seiner Söhne Kampf mit dem Drachen: (11) Cingiz Hans Abstammung: (12) Salsal und sein Schwert: (13) Die Sage vom Kaiser Güngörmez: (14) Der gerechte Padişah.

In diesem Teil versammelte der Autor das ganze folkloristische Material aus den altosmanischen Chroniken und konfrontiert es mit weiterem Vergleichsmaterial aus der asiatischen und europäischen Folklore, sowie mit der Fachliteratur.

Der letzte Teil „Kosmologische Überlieferungen“ verfolgt die kosmologischen Elemente in den altosmanischen Chroniken auf dem weiten Hintergrund anderer Quellen und Literatur.

Das Buch enthält eine umfangreiche Bibliographie (S. 384—418), sowie ergänzende Literaturangaben von L. Röhrich (S. 419—421). Zur Orientierung im Buch trägt ein Index von Eigennamen, die geographischen Hinweise und ein Wörter- und Sachverzeichnis ausgiebig bei.

Das Buch H. Özdemirs stellt eine wertvolle Zusammenfassung des folkloristischen Materials und der bislang ungenügend erschöpften Quellen der osmanischen Geschichtschreibung dar, und wird nicht nur zur weiteren folkloristischen Nachforschung, sondern auch zur Vertiefung der Kenntnisse über den inhaltlichen Charakter der osmanischen Chroniken beitragen.

Vojtech Kopčan

Turkologischer Anzeiger 1. Hrsg. von Andreas Tietze und Georg Hazai. In: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 67, 1975. S. 339—488.

Arbeiten auf dem Gebiet der osmanisch-türkischen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft sowie der Geschichte bilden den Gegenstand mehrerer periodischer Bibliographien, von denen viele einen internationalen Charakter haben. Von diesen sind vor allem der *Index islamicus* (der die Produktion seit 1906 festhält)¹ oder die *Bibliographie des études balkaniques*² zu erwähnen. Die osmanistische Bibliographie hat auch ihr Monumentalwerk, die von H.-J. Kornrumpf stammende *Osmanische Bibliographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa* (Leiden 1973), welche die Angaben aus den Jahren 1945 (in vielen Fällen auch ältere) bis 1970 festhält. Ähnlich den obenangeführten periodischen Bibliographien hat jedoch auch dieses Werk viele Arbeiten aus dem osmanisch-türkischen Gebiet nicht

¹ Der erste Band, der die Jahre 1906—1955 umfasst, erschien im Jahre 1958, die weiteren in den Jahren 1962, 1967, 1972, 1973, 1976 unter der Redaktion von J. D. Pearsons.

² Ab 1966 vom Institut des études balkaniques in Sofia herausgegeben.

erfasst und auch die Art der Zusammenstellung lässt so manches zu wünschen übrig.

Der Turkologische Anzeiger (TA 1) ist von gut durchdachter Konzeption. Die bibliographischen Angaben sind in fünf Hauptgruppen eingereiht (A. Allgemeines, B. Sprache, C. Literaturgeschichte, D. Geschichte, X. Sonstiges), von denen jede einzelne eine logische innere Gliederung hat. Betrifft eine Arbeit mehrere Gebiete, befinden sich an weiteren Stellen passende Hinweise. Der Teil B. Sprache wurde von G. Hazai (Berlin), die anderen Teile von A. Tietze (Wien) bearbeitet.

Ein weiteres Positivum der neuen Bibliographie ist ihre Vollständigkeit. Während der *Index islamicus* (zumindest dessen erste Bände) die Arbeiten in slawischen Sprachen, im Ungarischen und Rumänischen³ fast ignoriert hat, und die *Bibliographie des études balkaniques* grosse Lücken in der türkischen und griechischen Produktion aufweist, trachtete der TA 1 diese Mängel zu vermeiden. In den Jahren 1973 und 1974 sammelten die Zusammensteller 1418 bibliographische Angaben. Und, wie A. Tietze in der Einleitung sagt, werden Nachträge für 1973 und 1974 in der nächsten Lieferung erscheinen. Die einzige Angabe, die der TA 1 aus der tschechoslowakischen Produktion nicht erfasst hatte, ist die Studie von Josef Kabrda, *Poids et mesures employés dans les sandjaks balkaniques aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*. In: Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university, C 20. Brno 1973, S. 103—130.

Bei den im Türkischen, in den slawischen Sprachen, im Ungarischen, Rumänischen und Griechischen verfassten Arbeiten führen die Zusammensteller am Ende des Titels dessen Übersetzung ins Deutsche an, oder es wurde der Titel eines anderssprachigen Resumées verwendet. Viele bibliographische Angaben sind auch mit kurzen Annotationen versehen, womit der TA 1 den Rahmen einer einfachen Bibliographie überschreitet. Bemerkenswert ist auch die Tatsache, dass in den Titeln aus osteuropäischen Sprachen fast keine oder nur wenige Fehler vorkommen.

Von den kleinen Fehlern führen wir an: S. 429 Nr. 938 der Titel *Baníctvo na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí na konci 16. storočia* soll als Der Bergbau an der slowakisch-türkischen Grenze am Ende des 16. Jhs übersetzt werden. S. 478 im Index der Name Cengiz, H. sollte unter Hakov, C. angeführt werden.

Da Kornrumpfs *Osmanische Bibliographie* mit dem Jahr 1970 endet, wäre es nicht angebrachter gewesen den TA mit dem Jahr 1971 zu beginnen?

Vojtech Kopčan

³ Siehe Majer, H. G.: *Osmanistische Nachträge zum Index islamicus (1906—1955)*. In: Südostforschungen, 27, 1968, S. 242—291.

Studia Turco-Hungarica. I, II. Edidit Gy. Káldy-Nagy. Budapest, L. Eötvös University 1974, 1975. 77 and 74 pp.

In 1974 the Chair of Turkish Philology at the Budapest University started a middle-sized series of articles under the title *Studia Turco-Hungarica* under the editorship of the foremost Hungarian Turkologist Gy. Káldy-Nagy.

The first volume carried Gy. Káldy-Nagy's study *Macaristanda 16. Yüzyılda Türk Yönetimi* (Turkish Administration in Hungary in the 16th Century). The introduction consists of the lecture *Turkish Sources to Hungarian History*, which Gy. Káldy-Nagy had read on the occasion of the centenary of the foundation of the Chair of Turkish Philology at the Budapest University, in 1970 (it was published in Hungarian in the journal *Századok* 1972). Following a brief review of the history of translations of Ottoman sources into Hungarian, Káldy-Nagy deals in some detail with the work of the traveller Evliya Çelebi and stresses that from Evliya's travelogue those data should be selected that may positively contribute to a knowledge of the Ottoman domination of Hungary. He polemizes with Szekfü's analysis of Ottoman narrative sources and asserts that these may be effectively utilized only when they will be known in their entirety. Further, Káldy-Nagy deals with Ottoman documents and points to existing Hungarian translations of these sources and to the abundant results of paleographic and diplomatic surveys in Hungary. He summarizes the last results of the study of Ottoman defters and underlines the necessity of a knowledge of Ottoman sources for a study of Ottoman domination in Hungary.

A further part of the book is the chapter entitled *The People Living under Turkish Domination*, originally published by the author in Hungarian in the book *Harácszedők és rájak (Török világ a XVI. századi Magyarországon)*, Budapest 1970. In it the author examines some important aspects of Ottoman domination in Hungary. The subchapter: *Two Commercial Centres: Budin and Vaç* (Hung. Vác) gives an analysis of the demographic development of the two towns. The author notes that the number of the inhabitants in Budin, Vaç and Peşte (Hung. Pest) dropped considerably in comparison with the pre-Ottoman occupation and European travellers describe Budin, for instance, as a deserted town. Káldy-Nagy also takes note of the national and social composition of these towns and on the basis of Ottoman customs records follows in detail the trade of these towns, observing that while Muslim merchants (Turks, Bosnians and others) traded chiefly in cereals, horses and southern fruit, Hungarian merchants exported cattle and hides and imported western goods (cloth, textiles, hats and cutlery), and Jewish merchants carried on business predominantly with contraband goods, as for instance, the strategically important copper. From Ottoman house registers in the towns of Budin, Peşte, Vaç, Estergon, Vişegrad, Novigrad and Diregel from the year 1570, Káldy-Nagy infers the economic position of the Muslim inhabitants at Vaç and their housing standards

which were lower than that of the Christian inhabitants, but also cites examples when many spent almost all their lives on frontier duty and even died there.

Another subchapter is devoted to the history of Estergon (Hung. Esztergom, Ger. Gran) during the Ottoman rule (*A Türkisch Town in Hungary*). After capturing the castle in 1543, the Ottomans expelled the native population from the castle for strategic purposes, and settled the place with Muslims. They turned the castle buildings into barracks for Ottoman soldiery or munition and arms stores. The majority of the houses at Estergon were owned by soldiers of the local garrison, but also the fief-owners (22 holders of *timar* and 5 *zaim*'s) had their seat there. Besides soldiers, also Muhammedan clergy, craftsmen and merchants lived in the town. The majority of the Muslims lived here with their families. These were evidently fairly numerous for Sandjaqbeg Mahmud Beg had a school built here and the governor of Budin, Mustafa Pasha Sokolović Turkish baths.

The life in the little towns of lower Hungary is taken up in further subchapters of the study. The first deals with the town of Tolna which produced large quantities of fine quality wine in the second half of the 16th century. However, in the seventies of that century, probably due to some epidemics, the number of inhabitants dropped considerably and so did also the prosperity of the town. A further decline in the town was caused by the Ottoman administration whose exorbitant extortions caused the number of the inhabitants in 1590 to be only half that of 1570. The development in the towns of Kecskemét, Cegléd and Körös in the period 1546—1590 is studied in the subchapter *Towns in Lower Hungary Without (Ottoman) Garrisons*. On the basis of Ottoman defters, the author shows that until the 80s of the 16th century the number of the inhabitants of Kecskemét had a rising trend, but during the last decade of that century dropped to half its highest point. The economic potential of the town also grew, the latter utilizing the deserted villages and fields of the environs for enlarging its pastures. Annually it sold some 3,000—4,000 head of cattle and 6,000—8,000 sheep on the western markets. Kecskemét was a sultan's *khass* and its representatives paid levies directly in Budin. The town was protected against the misfeasance of Ottoman officials and molestations of soldiery and the army by the Kadi who had his seat in the town itself. Under Ottoman rule the crafts enjoyed a marked boom in the town (goldsmiths, furriers, soap-makers).

The development of the town of Segedin (Hung. Szeged) in the 16th century is dealt with in the subchapter Pastoral Segedin. As a matter of fact, the town at this period was characterized by a flourishing cattle breeding at the expense of other types of agricultural productions and trades.

In an endeavour to provide a complete picture of the life of Hungarian populations under the Ottoman domination in the 16th century, the author presents also data from the life in the villages. He has selected six such villages in the Pest province and follows up their development in the years 1546—1590 and shows that despite certain divergences in some of them, the number of heads of families remained approxi-

mately the same over a 44-year period. But the author himself admits that this conclusion cannot be accepted as valid for the entire territory of subjugated Hungary, for the situation in the frontier regions was different and the population migration greater.

In his conclusion Káldy-Nagy deals with the problem of paying taxes on two sides. As an example of the unbearable situation of the frontier populations, the author cites the complaint presented in 1572 by inhabitants from the region of the Körös river to the Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha. The inhabitants complained of the great oppression by the former landowners who demanded from them payment in the original amounts and of the bad protection on the part of the Ottoman authorities. The author remarks that a similar situation prevailed in the whole frontier region, but neither was the interior freed from a double taxation. He considers that the greatest tragedy of the population was taking people into captivity. In 1546 the Budin treasury collected 40,000 akçe as transit dues for the passage of the captives (some 2,000 persons). During times of war the number of captives increased several times over.

The second volume of *Studia Turco-Hungarica* contains a paper by Professor Gy. Székely, *La Hongrie et la domination ottomane (XV^e—XVII^e siècles)*. We find here two independent studies connected by a common theme — the Ottoman expansion in Hungary. The first is rather some sort of a prologue to the Ottoman occupation of Hungary and follows up events up to mid-16th century, while the second deals with the contemporary conceptions of expulsing the Ottomans from Hungary as reflected in coeval works of Hungarian historical writings.

The first study is entitled *Ottoman Invasion and Its Social Sequelae* in which Gy. Székely endeavours to explain the reasons why Ottoman power succeeded in penetrating as far as Hungary. He takes a critical view of the Balkan politics of the Hungarian rulers which indirectly contributed to the progress of the Ottomans in South-eastern Europe. As a significant milestone in the anti-Turkish defence, the author considers the times of John Hunyady and shows that this magnate utilized the means allotted for the defence to improve the army and in extreme cases did not hesitate to enroll also armed peasants and burghers to defend the regions confined to his command. In addition, Hunyady tried to carry the fight with the Ottoman adversary over to his own territory as attested to by his marches far into the interior of the Balkan peninsula (1443, 1444, 1448). In Székely's view, Hunyady's defence of Belgrade meant a stop to Ottoman attacks for fifty years. In analysing Matthew Corvin's Turkish policy, he rightly states that conquering wars in the west needlessly weakened the anti-Turkish defence.

Nor did the Yagellons devote adequate attention to defence against the Turks, due to financial problems. It was rather a piece of good luck for Hungary that sultan Selim I had to attend to pressing problems in the East. The great crusade expedition against the Ottomans declared in 1514 which was to profit by their involvement in

the East, ended in a large-scale popular uprising. The defeat of the popular masses, with the traditional indifference of the nobility to questions of defence, meant the destruction of the only effective force in the struggle against Ottoman occupants. The author explains the defeat at Mohács as a natural consequence of the preceding development and of the neglect on the part of the ruling classes to the defence of the country.

As the most baneful effect of the Ottoman invasion of the Danubian basin, Székely considers the devastation of the country against which defence came to be organized very slowly only.

Székely's second study analyses the views of Hungarian chroniclers Szerémi and Istvánffy regarding a solution of the Turkish question in Hungary against a background of the political and cultural history of the 16th century.

Both the volumes of *Studia Turco-Hungarica* constitute valuable contributions to a knowledge of the Ottoman-Hungarian relationships in the 15th—16th centuries. In addition, they make accessible to the international public the results of Hungarian Turkology which boasts not only of a long-standing tradition, but also of outstanding contemporary representatives.

Vojtech Kopčan

Kononov, A. N.: *Očerk istorii izučenija tureckogo jazyka* (Übersicht der Geschichte des Studiums der türkischen Sprache). Moskau, Nauka 1976. 118 S.

Das Interesse für das Studium der türkischen Sprache kann auf eine lange und reiche Geschichte zurückblicken. Bislang gab es jedoch kein Werk, das sich mit der Geschichte des Studiums der türkischen Sprache als Ganzes zumindest konspektiv befasst hätte. Die rezensierte Publikation, deren Verfasser der bekannte sowjetische Wissenschaftler A. N. Kononov ist, will diese Schuld begleichen. A. N. Kononov stützt sich in seiner Arbeit auf die Teilforschungen auf diesem Gebiet.

In der Einleitung (S. 4—8) umreißt der Autor kurz die Geschichte der Besiedlung der Halbinsel Kleinasien durch die Türken, ohne deren Kenntnis es unmöglich wäre zum Studium der Geschichte der Bildung und der Entwicklung der türkischen Sprache heranzutreten.

Der erste, umfangreichste Teil der Publikation (S. 9—48) ist der Geschichte des Studiums der türkischen Sprache in europäischen Ländern gewidmet. Die ersten Informationen der Europäer über die Türken und deren Sprache beginnen am Ende des 14. und zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts zu erscheinen. Diese stammen in den meisten Fällen von Kriegsgefangenen. Bis ans Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts sind sie von zufallsbestimmtem und fragmentarischem Charakter. Der erste Versuch um eine Zusammenstellung der Grammatik der türkischen Sprache fällt in den Anfang

des 17. Jahrhunderts, d. h. in die Zeit des erhöhten Interesses für das Studium der türkischen Sprache, das mit der zunehmenden Machtstellung des Osmanischen Reiches im Zusammenhang stand. Kononov gibt eine Übersicht der Dolmetscherschulen wieder, die in verschiedenen Ländern Europas seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts entstehen, oder die von europäischen Ländern direkt in Konstantinopel errichtet wurden.

Kononov hebt die grosse Bedeutung der Arbeiten von M. Meninski und J. Deny für das systematische Studium des phonetischen und grammatischen Aufbaus der türkischen Sprache hervor.

Der erste Teil der Publikation schliesst mit einer Übersicht des gegenwärtigen Standes der turkologischen Forschung in den europäischen Ländern.

Der zweite Teil der Publikation (S. 49—62) befasst sich mit der Geschichte des Studiums der türkischen Sprache in Russland und in der Sowjetunion, wo das Interesse für dieses Studium einerseits von politischen Gründen, andererseits durch die Existenz zahlreicher turksprachiger Ethnika im Staate erweckt wurde. Im Vordergrund der turkologischen linguistischen Forschung steht das vergleichende Studium der Sprachen und die Lexikographie.

Die russische und sowjetische Turkologie erreichte auf dem Gebiet der Forschung der türkischen Sprache, sowie der Turksprachen bemerkenswerte Ergebnisse, Namen wie Radlov, Gordlevskij, Melioranskij stellen international anerkannte turkologische Kapazitäten dar.

Der dritte Teil der Publikation (S. 63—84) befasst sich mit der Entwicklung der türkischen Sprache und derem Studium in der Türkei selbst. In der Vergangenheit verband sich das Interesse für das Studium der türkischen Sprache mit dem Kampf aufklärerischer Persönlichkeiten gegen die Hegemonie der arabischen und persischen Sprache im gesellschaftlichen Leben und in der Literatur, sowie mit dem Kampf für die Säuberung der türkischen Sprache von arabischen und persischen Elementen. Nach dem Entstehen der Türkischen Republik kann als bedeutendstes Ereignis in der neuzeitigen Geschichte der türkischen Sprache die Abschaffung der arabischen und die Einführung der lateinischen Schrift, sowie die Gründung der Gesellschaft der türkischen Sprache (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) angesehen werden. A. N. Kononov beurteilt objektiv den Beitrag der Gesellschaft für die Entwicklung der türkischen Sprache, unterwirft jedoch gleichzeitig einige ihrer negativer Tendenzen, hauptsächlich die Linguistische Sonnentheorie (*Güneş Dil Teorisi*) der Kritik.

Die letzten zwei Teile der Publikation geben eine kurze Übersicht über das Studium der türkischen Sprache in den USA und in Japan, sowie über das Studium der türkischen Mundarten, das sich seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts eines erhöhten Interesses der Linguisten erfreut.

Im Abschluss (S. 92—96) führt der Autor Klassifizierungen der Entwicklung der türkischen Sprache einiger bekannter türkischer Linguisten, sowie auch seine eigene an. A. N. Kononov unterscheidet fünf Entwicklungsstadien der türkischen Sprache :

1. die anatolische Turksprache (13.—15. Jahrhundert), 2. Frühtürkisch (Ende des 15.—16. Jahrhundert), 3. Mitteltürkisch (17.—Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts), 4. Neutürkisch (Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts—Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts), 5. die neueste türkische Sprache (seit den 30-er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts).

Abschliessend steckt A. N. Kononov Ziele, die vor der Turkologie auf dem Gebiet des Studiums der türkischen Sprache in der Zukunft stehen.

Eine detaillierte Bibliographie von Grammatiken, Wörterbüchern, Lehrbüchern der türkischen Sprache, in Russland, bzw. in der Sowjetunion herausgegebenen wissenschaftlichen Monographien aus dem Bereich der türkischen Sprachwissenschaft, sowie von Doktorarbeiten, die in der Sowjetunion verteidigt wurden, ergänzt die Publikation.

Xénia Celnarová

Andrews, Walter G., Jr.: *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry*. Minneapolis and Chicago, Bibliotheca Islamica 1976. 195 pp.

Works on Ottoman poetry published thus far show an apparent lack of a systematic approach to these problems, one that would take support in an exact, strictly defined literary-scientific methodology.

In the Introduction (pp. 1—13) of his publication W. G. Andrews subjects to criticism all the approaches employed up to now for determining the nature of Ottoman poetry. The methodology that W. G. Andrews endeavours to apply to a research of Ottoman poetry is embodied in the spirit of T. S. Eliot's aesthetics and based on the methodological principles of New Criticism. Taking the poem out of its socio-historical context, abstracting it from its author and reader, he intends to investigate it as a unit independent of anything extraneous, self-contained, complete and encompassed within itself. The goal of his critical analysis consists in determining: "how does a poem work?" However, when formulating the mission of his book, the author hastens to express his assumption that the reader wishing to grasp the inner content of Ottoman poetry is adequately familiar with the cultural and historical framework in which this poetry originated.

Here, the author has included within the range of his interests exclusively pure lyrical forms. He has deliberately omitted the narrative forms of Ottoman poetry including even such characteristic and significant part of Ottoman literary heritage as is the *mesnevi*, pointing to their more comprehensive and specific content that would require a more detailed elucidation and an analysis of formal and philosophical differences between narrative and lyrical poetry.

The closing part of the Introduction carries several remarks concerning translations from Ottoman poetry and the sources.

The material proper is divided into four chapters, each of which consists of two parts: the first presents a concise interpretation of the traditional theory, pointing out differences between Anglo-Saxon poetics and poetics of the Islamic cultural tradition. The aim of the second part — the analytical one — is not to give a final definition of the nature of Ottoman poetry, but rather to bring out its specific peculiarities. The examples are given in modern Turkish transliteration. The author cites also the original text in Arabic only where this is required by the functional aspect. The examples are paraphrased in English so as to facilitate orientation in the text to beginners. The author omits paraphrasing only a few hemistiches and distiches in Chapters One and Two on design, in order that the reader might concentrate his attention solely on the poetic feature under discussion. Each chapter is provided with pertinent notes.

In Chapter I (The Rhythmical Element : Prosody, pp. 14—47) the author presents a few simple norms of investigating Ottoman poetry. He makes a point of the fact that while works by modern authors take into consideration the essential difference between Arabic and Persian concepts of rhythm, the existence of an Ottoman conception has not been investigated as yet. In the analytical part the author directs his attention to practical problems of the *arūz* metre, its fundamental norms.

The problem of rhyme in Ottoman poetry (Chapter II. Rhyme : The Poetic Sound, pp. 48—71) has its specific differences from the interpretation of rhyme not only in Anglo-Saxon poetry, but like Persian poetry, shows these differences also when compared to rhyme in Arabic, this being due to differences in the phraseology and morphology of the two languages, but also to those deriving from poetic taste.

The content of the first part of Chapter III (Rhetoric : The Art of Communication, pp. 72—130) consists of an exposition of the so-called Arab communication theory (*‘ilm al-belāġa*) which already in the 8th century became a scientific discipline with the Arabs and then served as the theoretical basis for the rhetoric art in Persian and Turkish traditions. The author summarizes the fundamental concepts and terms of this theory and supports them with examples from Ottoman poetry.

On the basis of an analysis of the second part of this chapter the author arrives at these conclusions: (1) A meaning dimension, once set up by an Ottoman poet, is seldom, if ever, dropped, (2) Comprehension of Ottoman poetry is made difficult by several factors, including the fact that poetry created by a relatively small group of people with a specific education was in turn destined again to only a restricted group of readers with an education of a similar standard.

In the closing chapter (Chapter IV. The Formal Aspects of Ottoman Poetry, pp. 131—174), after giving a characteristic of the fundamental poetic units in Islamic poetic tradition, viz. the *misrā* (monostich) and *beyt* (distich), the author reviews the *gazel* and the *kasīde* which constitute the vast bulk of Ottoman poetry and goes to characterize some of the less usual and rarely used forms, such as the *tuyuġ*, the *kıf’a*.

In the supplements, the author cites additional technical details of traditional

prosody, rhythmic patterns used in Ottoman verse and specimens of Ottoman poetry in its original written finish.

In the Introduction to his book W. G. Andrews states that his aim was not merely to present a review of the existing basic information on Ottoman poetry, but also to elaborate methodological approaches to its study. True, W. G. Andrews's work, based on a careful, even scrupulously detailed analysis of the text, does bring out a lucid interpretation of the formal aspects of Ottoman poetry, yet this method simultaneously carries him away from an investigation of Ottoman poetry as a whole, an entity, conditioned by its origin and effect. Consequently, his efforts yield but partial results that do not fully meet the expectations raised by the publication's title.

Xénia Celnarová

Der Drachen im Baum. Herausgegeben und aus dem Türkischen übersetzt von Yüksel Pazarkaya. München, Jugend und Volk Verlag 1976. 252 S.

Zwei Jahre nach der Herausgabe der für Kinder und Jugendliche bestimmten Originaltexte bedeutender türkischer Autoren (*Ağaca Takılan Uçurtma*, München, Jugend und Volk Verlag 1974. 224 S. — Rezension veröffentlicht in *Asian and African Studies*, 12, S. 278) erscheint im Jugend und Volk Verlag deren deutsche Übersetzung. Der Verlag begründet diese Initiative mit dem Bestreben der deutschen Öffentlichkeit die Mentalität, die Lebensweise und die Kultur der Türken, mit denen sie bereits seit zwanzig Jahren in täglichem Kontakt steht, näherzubringen. Die deutsche Ausgabe kann gleichzeitig den türkischen Arbeitenden, die für kürzere oder längere Zeit in Deutschland angesiedelt sind, als geeigneter Lehrbehelf beim Studium der deutschen Sprache dienen.

Es ist vorauszusetzen, dass die Bemühungen des Übersetzers Yüksel Pazarkaya in der Mikro- sowie Makrostruktur der Übersetzung vom ursprünglichen Text so wenig wie nur irgend möglich abzuweichen, gerade durch diesen zweiten Beweggrund motiviert wurden. Auch wenn der Übersetzer im Vorwort betont, dass er bei der Übersetzung um eine maximale Übertragung der spezifischen Besonderheiten des Stils der einzelnen Autoren bemüht war, ist ihm dies nicht immer gelungen.

Für die am meisten geglückte Übersetzung kann die der Erzählung von Mehmed Seyda *Liebe* betrachtet werden. Die Erzählung spielt im städtischen Milieu, im Rahmen der Familie und Schule und gerade diese Sphäre scheint Dr. Pazarkaya am nächsten zu stehen. Bei der Übersetzung dieser Erzählung gelang es ihm die adäquatesten Ausdrucksmittel für die Übertragung des Spezifischen des Textes zu finden.

Bemerkenswert ist die Tatsache, dass gerade bei der Autorenübersetzung des Stückes *Das Minaret, das zum Mond fliegt* die Bemühung Dr. Pazarkayas um die

Auswahl adäquater Idiome und syntaktischer Bindungen am ausdrucksvollsten zum Vorschein gekommen war.

In seiner dramatisierten Adaptierung des Volksmärchen *Der Honig, der stottern macht* erreicht Aziz Nesin den Effekt der Alltagssprache nicht durch die Lexik, sondern durch eine Lockerung syntaktischer Bindungen. Diesen künstlerischen Vorgang des Autors respektiert der Übersetzer nicht, wodurch er die humoristische Färbung des Stückes teilweise abschwächt.

Bei der Übersetzung der Gedichte bemühte sich Yüksel Pazarkaya um eine höchstmögliche Äquivalenz der sprachlichen Mittel, von den dichterischen Ausdrucksmitteln respektiert er meist nur den Endreim und die Alliteration.

Zusammenfassend kann Yüksel Pazarkayas Übersetzung als unterinterpretiert bewertet werden — sie erfasst die Oberflächenstruktur des Originals eher als dessen Tiefenstruktur. Auf der Ebene der sprachlichen und thematischen Korrespondenz erstarrend gelang es ihm nicht das Niveau der ausdrucksfähigen Äquivalenz zu erreichen.

So wie die ursprüngliche türkische Ausgabe enthält auch die deutsche Übersetzung kurze Informationen über die Autoren und deren Werke. Es ist schade, dass die Anmerkungen zu den Texten (S. 247—249) nicht auch in die ursprüngliche Auswahl miteingeschlossen wurden. Viele Begriffe und Realien können auch den, in langfristiger Isolierung vom heimatlichen Milieu lebenden türkischen Kindern und der Jugend fremd sein.

Xénia Celnarová

Püsküllüoğlu, Ali: *Türk Halk Şiiri Antolojisi* (Anthology of Turkish Folk Poetry). Ankara, Bilgi Yayınevi 1975. 572 pp.

While the classical poetry of the divan is strange to contemporary Turkish reader and the sphere of its influence is confined to a restricted circle of literary historians and scholars, the poetry of popular poets even though reaching several centuries back, is equally close to modern man as it was to the author's contemporaries. This poetry, thanks to its wide range of topics, its form and language, has never ceased to be actual. It was precisely folk poetry as the conservatory of the original Turkish national language practically untainted by Arab and Persian influences, which became the starting point for Turkish linguists in the reform of the literary language. Hence, it is quite natural that new publications devoted to folk poetry and its authors should constantly appear.

The present Anthology of Turkish Folk Poetry set up by the poet and linguist Ali Püsküllüoğlu represents the most comprehensive and the most complete selection thus far of works of folk poets. Beginning with the 13th century represented by the

founder of cloistral (*tekke*) poetry Yunus Emre, whom A. Püsküllüoğlu calls the father of mystical folk poetry, every subsequent century is represented by the best specimens from the works of the more prominent and lesser known popular poets up to modern times. The 14th century is represented by the mystic Hacı Bayram-ı Velî, the 15th by the founder of Alevi-Bektashi poetry, Kaygusuz Abdal, the 16th — the most pregnant not only in religious-mystical, but also lay poetry — by Pîr Sultan Abdal, the greatest from among the Alevi poets, his disciple Kul Himmet, Koroğlu and Âşık Garip with whose name are associated the epic cycles, the 17th century, still very rich in folk poetry — Âşık Ömer who also wrote in the classical quantitative metre, the wandering poet — the pessimist Karacaoğlu, the poet of the Corps of Janissaries Kayıkçı Kul Mustafa, and Kerem Dede to whom is associated the legend of his love towards Aslı, the 18th century, known for a decline in the activity of folk poets, Kuloğlu. The 19th century again gave birth to a whole galaxy of famous names, such as Seyranî, Erzurumlu Emrah, Dertli, Turcoman Dadaloğlu, a fighter for the rights of nomads, and many others. Among folk poets of the present century, Âşık Veysel and Âşık İhsanî enjoy the greatest popularity.

The selection is preceded by a short preface (Önsüz, pp. 9—13) by the compiler. A. Püsküllüoğlu suggests the terms *âşık* and *saz şairi* to be replaced by the term *halk ozanı*. Such a substitution would not be adequately justified, to our mind, by the argument that *âşık* and *şair* are not words of Turkish origin; these terms have such deep roots in and are so closely bound with Turkish folk poetry that their replacement by another expression would be a forcible one. The word *âşık* had become the pseudonym of numerous folk poets. On the other hand, the use of term *ozan* leads in this case to inaccuracy for it implies a poet of the pre-Ottoman period who in his poems celebrated the victories of his clan and the heroic deeds of its members.

The selection is supplemented with a short biography of folk poets included in the Anthology (Ozanlar üzerine bilgiler, pp. 525—545), a glossary of Arab, Persian and archaic Turkish words and expressions (Sözlük, pp. 549—568) and sources on which the compiler drew (Kaynakça, pp. 589—572).

The book may be warmly recommended as supplementary material to Turkologists in their study of the Turkish language and folk literature.

Xénia Celnarová

And, Metin: *Karagöz. Turkish Shadow Theatre*. Ankara, Dost Yayınları 1975. 80 + xvi pp.

An original form of Turkish folk theatre which has persisted in full vigour for over four centuries and still today acts as an inspirational moment in modern Turkish art is

the subject-matter of the present monograph in which the author, Dr. And, drawing on extensive source materials, presents a rounded picture of this significant element in Turkish national culture. The publication, originally intended as a textbook for students, by its wide and seriously based take, has exceeded this design and may rightly be numbered among basic works from the history of Turkish folk art.

Having outlined four principal traditions of Turkish folk theatre (the folk theatre tradition, the popular theatre tradition, the court theatre tradition and the western theatre tradition) in the introduction of the monograph, the author takes up the very important and as yet unresolved question of the origin of Turkish shadow theatre. The Turks enjoyed a long-standing established puppet tradition, but until the 16th century, the variant of shadow theatre was not known among them. Dr. And does not agree with the view of western scholars concerning the influence of the ancient theatre through the intermediary of Byzantium on Turkish theatre forms. He considers as the more plausible assumption the influence of Italian *commedia dell'arte* through the medium of the numerous Italian colony in Istanbul, and through Jewish emigration. Many of the Jews coming to Istanbul through Italy at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century performed here as actors of folk theatre. Shadow theatre was at that time relatively well-known in Spain, many words in the terminology of the Turkish shadow theatre originated in Spain. Another pathway of penetration of the Javanese shadow theatre into the Ottoman empire was through Egypt which was in continuous contact with Java.

The Turkish shadow theatre, named in the 17th century after the character of its protagonist as *Karagöz* (i.e. "Black Eye"), took over the technique of the Javanese theatre, but it further went on developing along its own road, drawing on the traditions of its own puppet theatre. Dr. And points out some of the most typical differences between the Javanese and the Turkish shadow theatre.

The monograph then goes on to deal with the technique aspect of the Turkish shadow theatre, its structure and the clan characters in its repertoire. The author describes the making of the figures and their construction peculiarities, speaks of the demanding manner of performing in shadow plays which required promptness and dexterity on the part of the puppet master, but above all, an ability of improvising and an adequate linguistic competency.

Dr. And includes a concise summary of several of the scripts of *Karagöz* repertoire but underlines that written records can in no way capture that specific atmosphere which improvisation before the audience imparted to the performance.

Karagöz had always a satirical character to it, pillorying various outdated customs and social ailments. In the 19th century, thanks to its subtlety imperceptible by censorship, became an effective instrument of political and social satire.

Turkish *Karagöz* penetrated into countries of the Near East, Northern Africa and the Balkans where it became assimilated with the home culture.

In the concluding section of the monograph, its author examines some of the

striking resemblances between western theatre forms and *Karagöz*, besides other genres of Turkish traditional theatre and points out the possibilities of utilizing elements of traditional shadow theatre in contemporary histrionic art.

The publication is graphically supplemented with eighty-five colour and eighty black-and-white illustrations, many of which are reproduced for the first time.

Xénia Celnarová

Modern Turkish Drama. An Anthology of Plays in Translation. Edited with an Introduction by Talat Sait Halman. Minneapolis—Chicago, Bibliotheca Islamica 1976. 415 pp.

While modern Turkish poetry and prose have gradually come to occupy a strong position within the context of world literature, Turkish dramatic production has remained, and wrongly so, outside the interest of scholars studying world drama. This drawback is underlined by the editor of this publication under review in his Preface. He lists several major publications that have appeared over the past few years in the United States of America dealing with world drama in which no mention is made of the dramatic writings from the Islamic lands, including Turkey.

T. S. Halman's *Anthology* represents a minor specimen of contemporary dramatic production in Turkey. The editor has selected four typologically different plays by foremost authors.

The play by A. Turan Oflazoğlu *Ibrahim the Mad (Deli İbrahim)* won the 1968 Drama Award of the Turkish Language Society. The play draws on history for its plot, the protagonist being the sultan Ibrahim (1640—1648) and represents the story of a corrupt people corrupting power.

The genre of the village drama is represented by the play *Dry Summer (Susuz Yaz)* by Necati Cumalı. The economic conflict which represents the ideological core of the play is intensified by the rivalry over the same woman. The drama has its model in a novel of the same name and its film version won a major international award at the Berlin Film Festival in 1964.

The Ears of Midas (Midas'ın Kulakları) by Güngör Dilmen represents a very frequent type of plays in contemporary Turkish dramatic production, inspired by myths and legends. However, in G. Dilmen's work, the mythological episode forms but an epic background to the plot. In the person of the ancient king Midas, the author has portrayed a new man, his contemporary, who was able to raise himself above his fate. This novel interpretation of the ancient myth together with the strength of poetic diction permits this play to aspire to a foremost place among the most successful works in the domain of Turkish drama.

The last of the four plays included in the anthology, *The Ballad of Ali of Keshan* (*Keşanlı Ali Destanı*) by Haldun Taner represents a successful attempt at Brechtian epic theatre in Turkey. However, the originality and vitality of this work spring from anti-illusionists epic elements in the traditional Turkish drama. The play about the birth of popular hero is simultaneously a play about a meeting of myth with reality, a play about society. It has won applause among spectators not only in Turkey, but also on the stages of several cities in GFR, in London, and it had seven-month run in Brno (not in Prague, as erroneously stated by Halman on pp. 46 and 413; on p. 413 a seven-week run is given by mistake).

In the introduction to the translation of the plays (Introduction. The Evolution of Turkish Drama, pp. 13—51) T. S. Halman attempted to outline at least in a rough sketch the picture of the traditional Turkish theatre and its transition to the new, modern theatre of European type. He places the beginnings of the new theatre in the year 1873, when on April, the play by the outstanding playwright and personage in the history of the Turkish nation Namık Kemal, *Fartherland or Silistria* (*Vatan yahut Silistre*) was staged in the Gedikpaşa theatre in Istanbul.

Halman goes on to characterize the three major forms of traditional theatrical entertainment in the Ottoman Empire: the performances of a *Meddah* (the story-teller), *Karagöz* (the shadow play) and *Ortaoyunu* (the theatre-in-the-round). In his explanation, T. S. Halman draws support in foremost experts in this domain, such as Metin And, Fuad Köprülü, Nicholas N. Martinovitch.

The invasion of the European theatre is connected with the beginnings of systematic Westernization, even though Ottoman Turks from higher social strata already had a certain idea of European dramatic writings earlier through embassies and consulates of European countries in Istanbul and Izmir. The first original play in the western vein was *The Poet's Marriage* (*Şair Evlenmesi*, published in 1860) by İbrahim Şinasi. Halman outlines the evolution of the new Turkish theatre from the origin of this work up to the present day.

When characterizing plays with a village topic, he mentions as precursors of this genre the writers Yaşar Kemal, Orhan Kemal and Fakir Baykurt. Yaşar Kemal and Fakir Baykurt are truly eminent authors of village fiction, but in the field of prose, Orhan Kemal by his works stands outside the framework of the so-called village literature.

The *Anthology* is supplemented with a Bibliography (pp. 407—410), Bibliographical Sketches (pp. 411—415) about the authors of the plays and the translators who are Carolyn Graham, Murat Nemet-Nejat and Nüvit Özdoğru, and about the editor himself.

The translation of Haldun Taner's play *The Ballad of Ali of Keshan* is provided with notes by the translator Nüvit Özdoğru and the music composer to the songs Yalçın Tura. The translator speaks in his note about his work on the translation in

which he had to accept three different planes of style in the dramatic expression: the jargon of *Karagöz* and *Ortaoyunu*, lyrics written in doggerel, and realistic dialogue.

Xénia Celnarová

And, Metin: *A Pictorial History of Turkish Dancing from Folk Dancing to Whirling Dervishes-Belly Dancing to Ballet*. Ankara, Dost Yayınları 1976. 182 pp.

A further valuable publication by Metin And, Associate Professor in the Drama Department of the University of Ankara and for many years a theatre critic, brings a clear picture of the structure and significance of the dance in Turkey.

One hundred and seventy-nine colour and black-and-white reproductions illustrate dances beginning with dance creations by the Shamans of Central Asia up to modern ballet on the stage of the Turkish State Opera. Metin And's text, however, is not a commentary to the various illustrations, but a rounded off, multi-faceted study of the Turkish dance in its historical evolution.

The study is made up of five parts. In the first one (Introduction: Background of Turkish Dancing, pp. 5—31) the author speaks of the influence of five major cultural trends during the course of nine centuries on the shaping of Turkish folklore. In the first place, he deals with the influence of the culture of the ancient Anatolian peninsula, however, in his view, the principal role was played by the Shamanist rituals of the Ural-Altaic region, then came the negative influence of the Islamic culture, the fourth stage in the evolution is given by a reciprocal cultural exchange with the peoples of the countries under the Ottoman Empire and the last trend is connected with the penetration of Western civilization.

An informative review of sources enabling the reader to come to know the evolution and shaping of dancing traditions from the earliest times and becoming familiar with the terms designating music and dance in the various regions of Turkey constitutes a further part of the introductory chapter. Next, the author gives the names of the most important folk dances and their description. He draws attention to the need of distinguishing two mutually very different evolutionary lines in Turkish dances: that of Istanbul, the capital of the Empire and some other big cities, and that of the village. Precisely the village dances, of which over one thousand have been preserved so far, have maintained their unique and original character over the centuries. Cultural elements of the ancestors from Central Asia have been most saliently preserved in the dances of the Nomad tribes which have remained most isolated from the penetration of Western civilization.

Turkish dances classified according to their inherent motivation and function constitute the content of the remaining four sections of the publication. Part Two

(The Ecstatic and Sacred Dancing, pp. 32—47) deals with ritual dances of the members of the Dervish orders and the religious Shiite or Alevi sects, which had for ages attracted the attention of European travellers and scholars. Many of the latter have attempted to draw parallels between Shamanism of Central Asia and the Dervish dances. Shamanist elements are particularly notable in the Bektashi order and in Alevi villages. Many authors tend to interpret the dancing of dervishes by the planetary system.

M. And brings a detailed description of dances of the Mevlevi Bektashi orders and several types of religious dances of the Alevi villages from various parts of Anatolia. Already in the 18th century several authors of European ballet were inspired by dances of the Mevlevi order to create ballet dances embodying these elements. M. And presents an informative review of ballet stagings on motifs of Dervish dances seen on contemporary ballet scenes of the world.

Part Three (Dancing as Spectacle, pp. 133—151) is concerned with dances performed by professional dancers for the entertainment of spectators. Besides professional dancers such as were the actors Ortaoyunu, comical dancers, boy or girl dancers (*cengi*), also individuals from the ranks of local populations performed dances as an organic part of primitive acting in the countryside. While the tradition of professional dancers (we have in mind the old, traditional forms) has died out under the impact of the rapidly progressing Europeanization of the cities, popular theatre in the countryside has preserved its vitality and even today over one hundred original folk plays are still being performed there.

However, the greatest hope of survival even during the modern epoch belongs to dances of an originally ritual character, which, nevertheless, lost their ritual function centuries ago and have become an inseparable part and parcel of festive and extraordinary occasions in the life of country folks. To these dances M. And devotes the fourth part of his study (Dancing for the Sake of the Dancer, pp. 151—166).

One cannot speak of a single all-national Turkish dance, for every region, sometimes even individual villages have their own dance, characteristic for a region or a village. Though widely different in character and origin, the regional dances of Turkey may be classified in seven or eight groups according to geographical boundaries. Even dances with the same name, as for instance, *halay*, *bar*, *horo*, *zeybek*, possess a very different character in the various regions. The author details out the principal characterizing features of dances relating to various regions, their choreographic categories and types. In the majority of Turkish circle dances, the direction of the circle is counter-clockwise. M. And suggests that there may be a question here perhaps of a remnant of the migration direction of the Finno-Ugrian and Turk tribes in the past.

A new chapter in the history of Turkish dance, of less than thirty years' duration, is represented by classical ballet. In the introduction of the fifth — the last part of the study (A Newcomer: Classical Ballet, pp. 166—178), M. And speaks of the first

ballet performance in Istanbul that took place in 1524 at a carnival banquet of the Italian Community. But the real birth of classical ballet in Turkey is connected with the arrival of Dame Ninette de Valois, the well-known choreographer and founder of the British Royal Ballet, to Istanbul in 1947 and with the foundation of the ballet school in 1948. The author presents the history of the young Turkish ballet from this date up to the present day when it can already boast of its first successes abroad, its own talented choreographers and several original ballets.

In conclusion, M. And expresses the hope that the folklore dancing group, recently founded under the auspices of the Ministry of Tourism and Information, will popularize and revive the art of Turkish folk dance and its members will be excellent envoys of Turkish art.

Xénia Celnarová

Belkin, V. M.: *Arabskaya leksikologiya* (Arabic Lexicology). Moscow, Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1974. 200 pp.

There are few books scientifically treating the lexical stock of Arabic. Belkin's monograph is one of them. We must say at the very beginning that this work covers an extraordinarily great assortment of relevant topics: theoretical background of Arabic lexicology, Arabic lexicon — its development and present structure, the set of most outstanding problems the Arabic lexicon-makers have to face in the recent stage of lexical and terminological maturation of Arabic, and many others.

In Chapter I (Arabic lexicology and the scope of its investigation, pp. 3—14) the status of lexicology as an autonomous linguistic discipline and its scope of investigation are defined.

One of the crucial problems of lexicology, the definition of the word, is dealt with in Chapter II (Theoretical problems of Arabic word as a lexical unit, pp. 15—35). The author gives here a very good survey of a number of controversial approaches recently adopted in delimiting the word unit in Arabic, in particular in the treatment of monosyllabic formations, such as the co-ordinator *wa*, some prepositions: *bi*, *li*, *min*, etc., the definite article *al-*, the set of pronominal suffixes, and the like. While some authors treat them in terms of affixes, some others regard them as autonomous lexical units. Two radically different approaches to establish the word identity are further analysed at the stem level. While some authors (G. M. Gabuchan, A. A. Kovalev) are considering the identity of stem as a criterion in establishing the identity of a word, some others (B. M. Grande) recognize the word identity even in paradigmatically differentiated multithematic formations like *kitāb* — *kutub*, *katab* — *yaktub*, and the like. The former approach, as evident, totally rejects the idea of internal, viz. pattern-marked inflection, since every intra-root change, owing

to its stem-formative nature, is interpreted in word-formational terms. This approach, when consistently applied to the whole domain of Arabic inflection and word-formation, would possibly lead to surprisingly new results. It seems, however, that the amount of conceptual resystemization needed would be uneconomically high. The latter approach is currently used with quite satisfactory results.

The extent of nonparadigmatical variation, possibly occurring within a word unit, is subsequently documented by a rich and expertly selected linguistic material. The author's statement that, in Iraqi Arabic, owing to the fusion of /d/ and /z/, the form *bāhiḍ* "excessive, exorbitant" is used instead of the Standard Arabic *bāhiḥ* (p. 26), does not seem to be in tune with the linguistic reality. It is true that, in Iraqi Arabic, there is a mingling of /d/ and /z/, but the resultant phoneme is /z/, and not /d/. Accordingly, we have *bāhiḥ* (for the Standard Arabic *bāhiḥ*) and, likewise, *ḡarab*, *ḡirab* "to strike, hit, beat" (for the Standard Arabic *ḡarab*). Nevertheless, the Iraqi Arabic phoneme we symbolize as /z/ is an 'interdental emphatic' while the Standard Arabic /z/ is a 'pre-palatal emphatic'. It is even possible that the author has simply covered the Iraqi Arabic 'interdental emphatic' by the symbol /d/, instead of /z/ or, still more adequately, /ḏ/. At any rate, the symbol /d/ fails to indicate the feature of spirantization which is essential in characterizing the Iraqi Arabic reflex of the Classical Arabic phonemes /d/ and /z/.

A very fine account of the intricate process of lexicon constituting in the linguistic domain of Modern Written Arabic is given in Chapter III (Formation of the MWA lexicon, pp. 36—56). The author succeeded in establishing all the main lines in which the Classical Arabic lexical heritage has been incorporated into the lexicon of Modern Written Arabic. The author further examined the part played by the lexical innovation in the formation of the MWA lexicon.

In facing a number of literary and colloquial words the author quotes some pairs among which also *xaraja* (MWA) — *sāb* (colloquial) "to go out, to leave" (p. 50). The colloquial *sāb* (viz. the Eg. Ar. "to let alone, to leave (alone), to let go, to release, etc.") does not cover the meaning of the MWA or, in general, Classical Arabic *xaraja*, not even approximately. The most appropriate colloquial counterpart of the literary *xaraja* is obviously *rāḥ*.

In dealing with the Arabic word-formation (Chapter IV: Word-formation, pp. 56—97), the author points out one of the major problems related to this linguistic domain, notably that associated with the difficulty of establishing a workable distinction between derivational and inflectional phenomena of the language (cf. p. 56). In this connection we cannot fully agree with the author's statement that "the Arabic grammar very consistently distinguished derivation (*iṣṭiqāq*) from the whole of inflectional variation of words on the morphological level" (p. 56). Despite the predominant use of the term *iṣṭiqāq* in denoting derivation, the latter term frequently covers inflectional variation as well, especially the introflectionally conveyed number, viz. *kitāb* — *kutub*, gender, viz. *'aḥsan* — *ḥusnā*, *'aswad* — *sawdā'*, and

verbal voice, viz. *ḍaraba* — *ḍuriba*. Even the affix-marked inflectional variation is sometimes, though more rarely, interpreted in terms of *ištiqāq*, as in *ʿalima* — *ʿalimnā*, *ʿalamu* — *naʿlamu*, *ʾflam* — *ʾflamī*, etc. For the last-quoted three examples see ʿAlī ʿAbdalwāḥid Wāfī, *Fiqh al-luḡa*. Cairo, Lajnat al-bayān al-ʿarabī 1956, p. 172 (viz. *ištiqāq ʿāmm*). In the latter case, the term is used synonymously with terms like *ṣarf*, *taṣrīf*, *taṣarruf* which are to a considerable extent ambiguous, too.

In this chapter the author provides a short but very instructive account of various word-formational patterns (*ʾawzān*): deverbative derivatives, denominative derivatives (*nisba*, *-iyya* — abstracts, *-a(h)* — marked derivatives). A special section is devoted to lexicalized duals (viz. *al-ḥaramāni* “Mecca and Medina”) and plurals (*muntajāt* “products”, *ʾihsāʾiyyāt* “statistics”, etc.).

The classification of the feminine suffix *-a* (*-ah*) as derivational in e.g. *fallāḥa* “peasant woman”, *ḥafīda* “granddaughter”, *ṭabība* “woman doctor”, etc. (p. 93), despite the extra-linguistic category of sex associated with the linguistic category of gender, in this particular case, does not seem to be in harmony with the current practice. In fact, the latter use of the feminine suffix is almost exclusively treated in inflectional terms, in order to mark the relevant distinction between it and a true derivational application of *-a* (*-ah*), irrespective of whether coinciding with gender classification (viz. Belkin’s classes 2, 3, 4) or not (class 5).

Chapters V (Lexical borrowing, pp. 98—117) and VI (Terminology, pp. 118—129) provide valuable documentary material relevant to the respective fields.

Chapter VII (Polysemy and Homonymy, pp. 130—143) as well as Chapter VIII (Synonymy, pp. 144—163) are, despite their relative brevity, a true introduction to the scientific study of multiple meaning relationships in the linguistic domain of Arabic. As against synonymy, which has since long attracted the attention of Arabists, no significant description of polysemy and homonymy is available so far.

The last chapter (Arabic lexicography, pp. 164—192) is a very good survey of Arabic lexicography.

At the end of the book the reader will find copious Bibliography relevant to the matter (pp. 193—199).

Some misprints recorded: (vowel quantity unnoted) *ʿaqaʾidiyy* (p. 89), *bustaniyy* (p. 90), *šuʾūn maliyya* (p. 93), *al-ḥamdu li-l-lahi* (twice, p. 96), *subḥāna li-l-lahi* (p. 96), *barmaʾiyy* (p. 97), *lamubālāh* (p. 97), etc.; (/z/ instead of the correct /ḏ/) *garāz*, *ṣantāz*, *hidrōzen* — *haydrōzen*, *sikolōziya* — *saykōlōziya* (p. 115). Further: *qaṣṣa/qass* — *qaṣṣa/qaṣaṣ*, *ḥiyār*, *ḥarītah* (twice) (p. 142); *wuquf* (pl. of *wāqif*), *ḥudūr* — *ḥuḍūr* (p. 143), etc.

Annexion-type constructions involving *-a(h)* in nonfinal position, like in *ʿābirah al-muḥīṭāt* “oversea transport vessel”, *ḥāmīlah aṭ-ṭāʾirāt* “aircraft carrier” or *darajah al-ḥarārah* “temperature grade” (p. 125), etc. would perhaps better be represented in terms of the nonpausal variant of the feminine suffix, that is *ʿābirat*

al-muḥītāt, *ḥāmilat aṭ-ṭā'irāt*, *darajat al-ḥarārah*, etc. That this feature is not merely a matter of formal presentation, but rather a living distinction deeply-rooted in the linguistic system of Arabic, may be seen in colloquial Arabic pairs like (Eg. Ar.) *tuffāḥa xadṛa* "a green apple" as against *tuffāḥit xadṛa* "Xadṛa's apple". Or even in Classical Arabic construct — nonconstruct allomorph variation in *-āni/-ā*, *-ayni/-ay*; *-ūna/-ū*, *-īna/-ī*, and, of course, *-a(h)/-at*.

Belkin's monograph is a valuable contribution to the study of Arabic lexicon, lexicography and word-formation. Owing to an extraordinarily high rate of fresh ideas and authentic linguistic documentation, the book is not an easy lecture. But whoever reads it thoroughly, will amply be rewarded by new theoretical platforms, stimulating ideas and an extremely rich linguistic documentation, the substantial part of which cannot be found elsewhere. The book is designed for research workers and advanced students of Arabic.

Ladislav Drozdík

Czapkiewicz, A.: *The Verb in Modern Arabic Dialects as an Exponent of the Development Processes Occurring in Them*. (Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej, Nr. 11). Wrocław—Warsaw—Kraków—Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1975. 251 pp.

Despite the fact that Arabic dialectology, increasingly attracting the attention of scholars, has a relatively large number of specialized studies and monographs dealing with particular dialects, the present work is one of the really few synthetic studies of a truly panoramatic design which have ever been written in this field. The book is intended as an attempt to gather relevant data to the description of verbal morphology in recent Arabic dialects on the contrastive background of Classical Arabic and to provide basis for the study of the development processes taking place in them.

The selection of dialects is representative of the whole arabophone area with inclusion of its peripheries and most important social milieux. The selected body consists of the following dialects: *ḥassāniyya* (Mauretania), an urban dialect of Morocco, dialects of Ulād Brāḥīm and Tlemcen (Algeria), a mixed-up dialect of Tunis, Tripolitanian and the urban dialect of Benghazi (Libya), a Bedouin dialect in use in Waday and to the East of Tchad, the urban dialect of Omdurman (Sudan), Cairo Arabic, the rural dialect of Kermakiti (Cyprus), the rural dialect of Kfar'abīda (Lebanon), the rural dialect of Palmyra (Syria), urban Palestinian (Jerusalem), rural Palestinian, *balgāwī* (a rural dialect of Jordan), Bedouin dialects of the Syro-Arabian Desert, Baghdadi Arabic, dialects of Moṣul and Mārdīn, Bukharian (a mixed-up dialect of Uzbekistan), a Bedouin dialect of the Dōsirī tribe (Kuwait), another

Kuwaiti dialect (a mixed-up dialect pretending to the role of koiné in this territory), urban dialects of Baḥrayn and Qaṭar, mixed-up dialects in use on the territories of the sheykhāt (Dubay, Abū Ḥabī, etc.), Bedouin dialects of Oman, Zanzibar and Ḥaḍramawt, a mixed-up dialect of Aden and, finally, an urban dialect of Ṣanʿāʾ (Yemen).

With regard to the fact that some areas are given a full representation (e.g. the oil-producing region adjacent to the Persian Gulf), one may wonder at some rather unexpected omissions. Maltese Arabic is one of these unrepresented cases, in spite of its quite unique position among Arabic dialects (even if, technically, as a literary language of Malta, it cannot be properly classified as an Arabic dialect any longer). This gap is partly filled in by the inclusion of the eastern rural dialect of Kermakiti (Cyprus) which in many respects displays similar features due to a strong influence of a non-Semitic linguistic environment.

The description of verbal morphology is based on the confrontation of Classical Arabic data with those corresponding to them in selected dialectal varieties. Where necessary, relevant data of other Semitic languages have been taken into account as well. Since Classical Arabic, serving as a medium for explaining dialectal phenomena, is itself only one of the ancient Arabic dialects, the author found it purposeful to widen the comparative basis of the present work by including also the Ugaritic linguistic evidence. The striking parallelism observable between both these languages, separated from each other by an interval amounting to more than two millennia, can be taken as further evidence of the linguistic archaism of Classical Arabic and its suitability to serve as a basis for comparative studies both in Semitology and Arabic dialectology.

Apart from a foreword and introductory matters (viz. list of more important abbreviations, list of publications, introductory notes), the monograph consists of eight chapters as follows: I. Suffixal Conjugation; II. Pre- and Suffixal Conjugation; III. Imperative; IV. Special Forms; V. Verbs with Pronominal Suffix; VI. Participle; VII. Maṣḍar, and VIII. Closing Remarks. The book is closed by an Index of terms.

Classificatorily, the description of suffixal conjugation substantially differs from that related to the pre- and suffixal conjugation. While the former starts from the description of what the author calls 'schemes' which are subsequently related to individual dialects, the latter is primarily based upon the inter-dialectal distribution of linguistic phenomena analysed. Moreover, Chapter I differs from the rest of the book by another significant point: by a nearly total lack of illustrative examples. This omission, due to editorial reasons (see p. 11), has to be compensated by an extraordinarily high degree of mental concentration while going through this chapter (which by itself constitutes more than one third of the total extent of the book). The great number of abbreviations and symbols used throughout the book makes the reading even more difficult. In any future edition of the book, the addition of an

exhaustive list of abbreviations and symbols used would surely be appreciated by the reader.

The treatment of Form IV verbs does not seem to be quite satisfactory. As far as we did not overlook a Form IV scheme among those quoted for the imperfect, the author recognizes this derived verbal form in modern Arabic dialects only in connection with the perfect paradigm. Here he lists the following cases:

'v₁C₁C₂v₂C₃/ / C₁C₂v₂C₃ (dialectal) vs. 'v₁C₁C₂v₂C₃ (classical); the scheme corresponds to Cl. Ar. active stems of the IV. cl. of V.St.S., V.M./ /U.H., V.P.w/ /y, V.P.w/ /y and M./ /U.H. (p. 69). The author reports that this form has only been attested in a Kuwaiti dialect (viz. Eastern Bedouin dialect of the Dōsirī tribe). Despite the fact that Form IV verbs are, in general, very rare in modern Arabic dialects (progressive disappearance of glottal stop, vowel assimilation), a number of Form IV verbs do occur in modern Arabic dialects under the linguistic impact of Classical Arabic, as in Egyptian Arabic: 'aṣbaḥ "to become", 'atlaf "to destruct", 'aṣkar "to deny", etc. (Tomiche, N.: *Le parler arabe du Caire*. Paris—La Haye, Mouton 1964, p. 132), or in Iraqi Arabic: 'a'lan "to announce", 'awda^c "to leave for safekeeping", 'asarr (ʿalā) "to insist (on)", etc. (Erwin, W.M.: *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press 1963, pp. 67—68), etc. The author himself quotes at least one example of a Form IV verb found in another dialect than that quoted above, viz. 'abṣar (-yibṣir), in the dialect of Ṣanʿā' (Yemen) (p. 120).

On the other hand, a more general inter-dialectal spread is recognized for the following Form IV schemes:

'v₁C₁v̄C₂ / /'v₁C₁v₂C₂ (dialectal) vs. 'v₁C₁v̄C₂ / /'v₁C₁v₂C₂ (classical); the scheme corresponds to Cl. Ar. active stems of this form of V.M. w/ /y. It is said to be attested in dialects of Waday, Egypt, some dialects of the Syro-Arabian Desert, urban and rural Palestinian (p. 55). This delimitation, once again, seems to be rather excessively restrictive. The following Iraqi Arabic quotations could no doubt find parallels in still other Arabic dialects (on condition that cultural criteria in defining an Arabic dialect would not be too narrowly set): 'aḏāṣ "to broadcast", 'ašār "to refer" (Erwin, op. cit., 68), etc.

This colloquial variety of Arabic is not reported to be attested in the following scheme, either:

'v₁C₁C₂v₂/ / 'v₁C₁C₂/ / 'v₁C₁C₂v̄ (dialectal) vs. 'v₁C₁C₂v̄ / /'v₁C₁C₂/ / 'v₁C₁C₂v₂C₃ (classical); the scheme corresponds to Cl. Ar. active stems of this form of V.U.y, V.M.H. and U.y, V.P./ /M.w. and U.y. The list of dialects, in which this form is reported to be attested, could once again be completed by Iraqi Arabic, at the very least, e.g.: 'alga "to cancel", 'alqa "to deliver (speech)", etc. (see *ibid.*, 68).

In general, a wider recognition of Form IV verbs, despite a more or less 'educated' flavour associated with most of them, would have been more in harmony with the classification of the relatively frequent Form IV *maṣḍars* which cannot be classified

otherwise as just in terms of Form IV derivatives, e.g. 'iḵāma, 'irāda, 'išāra, 'ixbār, 'ikrām, 'ibṣār, etc. (various dialects quoted p. 170).

Of course, it is not altogether easy to decide whether forms like the Ḥaḍramawti *gām* — *yigīm* (Class.: 'aqāma — yuqīmu) "to stay", contrasting with *gām* — *yigūm* (Class.: qāma — yaqūmu) "to get up, to stand up" (see p. 119) should be classified, in a synchronic description, as belonging to Form I (owing to the loss of the Form IV formative in the perfect and despite the formal distinction maintained in the imperfect), or rather as a case of Form IV (owing to the formal distinction in the imperfect and despite the loss of the Form IV formative in the perfect).

The description of *maṣdar* forms, as given in Chapter VII, is one of the most complete. The contrastive inter-dialectal statement of these forms, at the present level of exhaustiveness, cannot readily be found in literature.

Czapkiewicz's monograph offers a truly panoramatic view on the verbal morphology in modern Arabic dialects. By the extent of exact information available and the way the development processes in Arabic dialects are indexed and evaluated, the book has no parallel in literature. It will be of interest to Arabists, linguists and dialectologists.

Ladislav Drozdík

Schregle, G.: *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch* (German-Arabic Dictionary). Unter Mitwirkung von Fahmi Abu l-Fadl (fasc. 1—2), Fahmi Abu l-Fadl und Mahmoud Hegazi (fasc. 3), Mahmoud Hegazi (fasc. 4—5), Mahmoud Hegazi und Tawfik Borg (fasc. 6), Tawfik Borg (fasc. 7—9), Tawfik Borg und Kamal Radwan (fasc. 10), Kamal Radwan (fasc. 13—15). Fasc. 1 (1963), 2 (1965), 3 (1966), 4 (1967), 5 (1968), 6 (1969), 7 (1970), 8, 9, 10 (1971), 11, 12 (1972), 13 (1973), 14, 15 (1974). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1963—1974. viii + 1472 pp.

As against several reliable Arabic — non-Arabic lexicons already in existence in the linguistic domain of Modern Written Arabic (esp. Wehr, Baranov), there was no comparable lexicon of an opposite arrangement available in 1963 when the fascicle 1 of the present work appeared. Although several lexicons listing Arabic as the second language have subsequently appeared (see e.g. the excellent Krahls *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch*, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, Leipzig 1964, primarily designed for the study of German; *The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage*, edited by N. S. Doniach, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1972, etc.), none of them seems to be fully comparable with Schregle's *Wörterbuch* in its size, general goal or reliability and neatness of presentation.

Any lexicon of Modern Written Arabic has to face a number of serious problems most of which being largely irrelevant to the lexicographical treatment of modern

European languages: extraordinarily close interaction between 'colloquial/oral/regional' and 'classical/written/pan-Arabic', currently known as Arabic diglossia, serious gaps to be filled in the field of scientific and technical terminology, extremely low degree of terminological codification and inter-Arab unification in the latter domain, and the like.

All these problems, which constitute basic characteristics of the present-day linguistic reality throughout the Arab World, are quite necessarily reflected in the present lexicon. It must be said that the author has succeeded in finding an acceptable solution to most of them. For obvious reasons, the lexicon is based upon the Egyptian usage of Modern Written Arabic which, of course, does not impair the general usefulness of the work and its applicability to the whole linguistic domain of Modern Written Arabic, in any significant degree.

Furthermore, the author has made an important step forward in restricting the almost uncontrollable richness of the lexical stock of modern literature which had to be represented in the lexicon: the 'living usage' at the cultural level of an undergraduate has been adopted as a criterion in deciding what to include in the lexicon. Despite some problems that may occur in practical application of the latter criterion in a linguistic environment marked by diglossia, a good deal of 'literary' archaisms has successfully been eliminated from the lexicon. Even if not intended to, the present lexicon has become a fairly efficient normative tool in defining the linguistic scope of MWA.

From the present reviewer's point of view, the general arrangement of the lexicon leaves nothing (or almost nothing) to be desired. The size of the lexicon made it possible to include, for the convenience of the user, a reasonable amount of synonyms on both sides, as well as the time-saving repetitions of the type Ohrring (p. 884) /Ring (Ohrring) (p. 961). In skilful selection and arrangement of idiomatic units the lexicon surpasses anything hitherto published in this field.

Despite certain restrictions in the presentation of verbal nouns, deliberately introduced by the author (see p. III), the treatment of *maşḍars* is thoroughly acceptable and, in general, it tends to avoid misleading omissions of nearly synonymous *maşḍar* forms in cases quoted. In the case of German "Bildung", for instance, both *takwīn* and *takawwun* *maşḍars* are quoted (p. 215), in contradistinction to the current lexicographical practice, clearly observable in MWA lexicons of a non-Arabic—Arabic arrangement, to relate both *fa^{cc}ala* and *tafa^{cc}ala* verbs to a unique *maşḍar* form, mostly *tafīl* (similar misrepresentations may, of course, occur with other sets of *maşḍar* forms as well), as in Krahl, G.: *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch*. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1964, p. 84: "Bildung" *takwīn*, *taşkil*, or in *The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage*, edited by N. S. Doniach. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1972, p. 465: "formation" *taşkil*, *takwīn*, *ta'lif*, etc. It must be recognized, however, that there is a considerable degree of functional mingling observable between several sets of the MWA *maşḍar* forms, mostly

between Form II (viz., transitivity, causativity) and Form V (viz., intransitivity, reflexivity), by which the derivational domain of verbal nouns radically differs from the underlying verbal forms which consistently maintain the primitive stem meaning oppositions. The phenomenon under question may be illustrated by cases like *takwīn al-ʿiẓām* “osteogenesis” (Bannūna, M. A., et al.: *ʿIlm al-ḥayāh*. Cairo 1960, p. 10) and *takawwun al-ʿiẓām* in: *takawwun al-ʿiẓām an-nāqīṣ* “osteogenesis imperfecta” (*Majmūʿat al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-ʿilmiyya wal-fanniyya llatī ʿaqarraḥā l-majmaʿ*. Cairo, Academy of Arabic Language 1960, Vol. 2, p. 111), etc. In both cases, denoting a spontaneous externally unconditioned process of bone formation, the corresponding verbal form is that of *tafaʿʿala*.

Nevertheless, a good deal of restrictive selectiveness may be found even here, as in “Entwicklung” *taṭawwur* (intr., refl.) (p. 350) with no *taṭwīr* (tr.) counterpart quoted. The gap is partly filled by the nearly synonymous transitive *tanmiya* or *ʿinmāʾ*. At any rate, the reader may draw the missing derivative from the corresponding verbal form, as after all, advised by the author (p. III).

The lexicographical treatment of nouns belonging to the derivational system of collective nouns (CN) and unit nouns (UN), in relation to an exclusive inflectional classification in terms of number classes, does not seem to be quite satisfactory. Presenting *lawza* “Mandel (Anat.)” (p. 801) as a UN, at the same classificatory level as *lawza* “Mandel (Bot.)”, which does belong to the CN—UN system, is to a considerable extent misleading. As obvious, the ‘anatomical’ *lawza* “tonsil”, unrelatable to a CN *lawz*, cannot be recognized as belonging to the CN—UN system and, accordingly, has to be exclusively treated in inflectional terms (here in terms of a singular—dual relationship). The treatment of *ʿadasa* “Linse (Opt., Phot.)” (‘lens’) in terms of a UN (p. 778) has to be rejected as well. Since we have *ʿadas* (CN) “Linse (Bot.)” (‘lentil(s)’) — *ʿadasa* (UN; in the lexicon a periphrastic *ḥabbat ʿadas* is plausibly used instead), with a possible plural *ʿadasāt*, satellitic to the CN—UN system, as against an exclusive inflectional relationship *ʿadasa* (singular) — *ʿadasāt* (plural) “Linse (Opt., Phot.)”. Similar misinterpretations are relatively numerous.

On the other hand, a clear-cut distinction is made between the CN—UN *karm* — *karma*, with a satellitic plural *kurūm*, “Wein (Agr.)” (‘grapes, grapevines’) (p. 1373, the plural *kurūm* is not quoted in the lexicon) and an exclusive singular—plural *karm* — *kurūm* “Weinberg” (‘vineyard’).

Further, we do not find the treatment of “Atom” *ḍarra* (p. 63) satisfactory, either. Since the basic problem of systemic membership (viz., CN—UN system or an exclusive classification in terms of the inflectional system of number classes) is to a considerable extent ambiguous in this particular case, one would have expected to find here more explicit data. Wehr’s ‘atom’ *ḍarra* seems to display a twofold systemic membership: (1) CN—UN: *ḍarr* (CN) — *ḍarra* (UN), with a satellitic plural *ḍarrāt*, “tiny particle(s), atom(s), speck(s), mote(s)”, as against (2) an exclusive singu-

lar—plural (in the case of ‘atom’, at the very least): *ḍarra* (singular) — *ḍarrāt* (plural), “atom; tiny particle; speck, mote” (Wehr, 308; *ḍarra* being even here misleadingly treated in terms of UN).

In accordance with the linguistic evidence available to the present reviewer, the ‘nontechnical’ atom, identifiable with a ‘small’ or even an ‘extremely small part of matter’, may be classified in terms of a CN—UN membership, as against a ‘technical’ atom, as defined in physics and chemistry, which has to be classified in terms of an exclusive singular—plural relationship (the dual being, of course, implicitly included therein). With some other authors, only the latter membership of *ḍarra* “atom” is indicated (see e.g. Baranov, Kh., K.: *Arabsko-russkii slovar* (Arabic-Russian Dictionary). Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo inostrannykh i natsionalnykh slovarei 1957, p. 345—346: *ḍarra* (singular) — *ḍarrāt* (plural) “tiny particle; mote, dust particle; atom”, as against a CN—UN *ḍarr* — *ḍarra*, no plural stated, “ant(s)”.

Schregle’s “Atom” is quite simply related to *ḍarra*, with no plural indicated, either. The reader may, of course, find the omitted form with some other items of this entry, e.g. “atomisieren” *ḥallalahu ‘ilā ḍarrātīn* (ibid.).

On the other hand, the distinction between the CN—UN and the exclusive singular—plural membership is made in the case of “Welle” (“wave”), when used nontechnically (viz., “Welle” *mawj* (CN)—*mawja* (UN), satellite plural *‘amwāj*), and a physical, esp. radio wave (viz., *mawja* (singular) — *mawjāt* (plural) (p. 1377). It should be noted, however, that the plural *‘amwāj* may be used, even if rather atypically, in the technical sense as well, as in *‘amwāj mutawassīṭat at-ṭūl* “medium waves” (Al-Khatib, Ahmed Sh.: *A New Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Terms. English-Arabic*. Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1971, p. 373), *‘amwāj (kahramāgnatīsiyya) ṭawīla* “long waves” (radio) (ibid., p. 354). In the latter sense even the singular *mawj* may be used, as far as Wehr’s evidence can be trusted, viz. *mawj ṭawīl, qaṣīr, mutawassīṭ* “long, short, medium wave”; for the plural *‘amwāj*, see also the Wehr-quoted *‘amwāj muwajjaha* “directional beams” (radio) (Wehr, 930—931).

In handling Arabic borrowings, i.e. items backed up by the word-formational procedure usually called *ta‘rīb*, the author shows a fine knowledge of the recent trends of the MWA lexicon-making. Nevertheless, the inclusion of borrowed items seems to be somewhat fortuitous and, moreover, its extent rather moderate even if it cannot be said to mirror purist tendencies of some Arab lexicographers. If we find, on the one hand, such borrowings as e.g. *saykūlūjiyya/saykūlūjiyā* “Psychologie” (“psychology”), co-occurring side by side with the home-made loan translation *‘ilm an-nafs, saykūlūjī* “psychologisch” (“psychological”) (p. 924), etc., we find it rather strange to meet only loan translations in some other cases where the borrowed terms equally occur, as in “Biologie” (“biology”) *‘ilm al-‘aḥyā*, “biologisch” (“biological”) *‘aḥyā’ī* (p. 217), etc. In this case, the English-based borrowings *bayūlūjiyā, bayūlūjī* are currently used, as well (cf., Doniach, 121; Krahle, 85, etc.). Of course,

our remark should not be related to cases where the loan translation is the only one in use, as in "Mineralogie" ("mineralogy") *ilm al-ma'ādīn* (p. 828), and the like.

In a number of cases, borrowings co-occur with various neologisms which have failed, as a rule, to pass into everyday usage, such as *rādiyō* — *miḍyā* "radio (set)", *girāmafūn* — *hākī* "gramophone", *sīgāra* — *lifāfa* (*min at-tabḡ*) "cigarette", etc. The quotation of similar pairs is to a considerable extent arbitrary, as well. The Arabic equivalent of "Fernsehapparat, Fernsehempfänger", for instance, is said to be *jihāz tilifizyūn*, while quoted under "Fern-" (p. 393), in contradistinction to *tilifizyūn*, quoted side by side with the newly-coined *ar-rā'ī*, while quoted under "Apparat" (p. 54). Similarly, "telephone" is related to *tilifūn* as well as to the neologism *hātif*, while quoted under "Telephon" (p. 1188) and under "Fernsprecher" (p. 393), in contrast to *tilifūn*, quite simply, while quoted under "Apparat" (p. 54, viz. "Telephonapparat"), as against *'alat (jihāz) at-tilifūn*, "Telephon" (Apparat), while quoted under "Telephon" (p. 1188).

In view of the considerable gaps still observable in technical terminology even at not too highly specialized levels of communication, borrowings frequently co-occur with or are supplanted by various definitions and periphrases instead of true loan-translations (calques), as in "Diapositive" ("transparency, slide") *šariḥa zujājiyya muṣawwara*, *silāyid* (from the English "slide") (p. 285). Similar definitions are rarely fully adequate to bits of extra-linguistic reality to be designed. In the present example, neither of the two attributes is quite suitable, since a 'transparency', technically speaking, need not be made of glass (*zujājiyya*) nor obtained in a photographic way (*muṣawwara*). The latter type of periphrases, quite current in the lexicographical practice, vary from one lexicon to another. For the latter example, see e.g. ("transparency") *šūra fūtūḡrāfiyya maṭbū'a 'alā mādda šaffāfa wa yumkin 'arḍuhā 'alā š-šaša* (Doniach, p. 1287), or ("transparency") *šariḥa muṣawwara šaffāfa* (Al-Khatib, p. 633), ("slide") *šariḥa (zujājiyya) munzaliqa* (ibid., p. 554), ("slide") *šūra mulawwana 'alā zujāj šaffāf lil-fānūs as-siḥrī* (Doniach, p. 1161), etc.

The identification of *muḥarrik* with "Verbrennungsmaschine, Verbrennungsmotor" ("internal combustion engine") (p. 1295) seems to be excessively restrictive since the latter term may denote other types of motors, as well, e.g. *muḥarrik ya'mal bi-tayyār al-mustamirr* "direct current motor" (Elec. Eng.) (Al-Khatib, p. 388), etc. On the other hand, for the "internal combustion engine" the following equivalents have been found: *muḥarrik dāxilī al-'iḥtirāq* (Al-Khatib, quoted under "internal", p. 311), *muḥarrik 'iḥtirāq dāxilī* (Al-Khatib, quoted under "engine", p. 200; for the latter term see also Doniach, p. 241). Another equivalence, that of "motor" — *muḥarrik, mūtūr* (p. 841) somewhat mitigates the undue restrictive impact of the former.

The low degree of lexical (inclusively of terminological) codification, leading to an extremely high rate of variation, is clearly observable in the set of linguistic devices used to convey the connotation of potentiality. The author of the present lexicon

shows once again an experienced hand in selecting the most typical and promising means. So we find:

implicit potentiality:

e.g. "sichtbar" *mar'ī, manzūr*; "Sichtbarkeit" *ru'ya* (p. 1081); "leiterfähig" (El.) *muwaṣṣil* (p. 762); "transportabel" *manqūl, mutanaqqil* (p. 1211), etc.

explicit potentiality:

qābil (-iyya): e.g. "leiterfähig" (El.) *qābil lit-tawṣil* (p. 762); "löslich" (Chem.) *qābil liḍ-ḍawabān* (p. 787); "Leiterfähigkeit" (El.) *qābiliyyat at-tawṣil* (p. 762); etc.

-iyya abstracts in substantives: e.g. "Löslichkeit" (Chem.) *ḍawabāniyya* (p. 787); "Leiterfähigkeit" (El.) *tawṣiliyya* (p. 762); "Zusammendrückbarkeit" *indigāṭiyya* (p. 1450); etc.

lexical means (other than *qābil*/-iyya, *ṣālih*) within syntactic constructions: e.g. "Leiterfähigkeit" (El.) *al-quḍra 'alā t-tawṣil* (p. 762); "zerbrechlich" *sahl al-kasr* (p. 1423); "Zerbrechlichkeit" *suhūlat al-kasr* (ibid.), etc.

independent lexical units: e.g. "zerbrechlich" *haṣṣ*; "Zerbrechlichkeit" *huṣūṣa* (p. 1423), etc.

Apart from these cases, which may illustrate, so to say, a quite commonplace and trivial variation in expressing potentiality, another set of occurrences may be found in the lexicon, notably such cases of undue alternation which could have been easily avoided by using more 'regular' means. E.g.: "veränderlich" ('variable') *mutaqal-lib, mutabaddil, mutaḡayyir* (i.e. implicitly conveyed potentiality) as against "Veränderlichkeit" ('variability') *tabadduliyya* (explicit, even if not specific, in terms of -iyya abstracts), *tagāyur* (implicit) (p. 1289).

Apart from an implicit/explicit variation which is of quite common occurrence in the present-day MWA (although an -iyya abstract could safely have been used with both substantives), we find a truly unnecessary and, moreover, misleading stem alternation paralleling the passage from the adjective (*mutaḡayyir*, Form V) to the substantive (*tagāyur*, Form VI). On the ground of textual and lexicographical evidence available to the present reviewer, an -iyya abstract of Form V (*tagayyuriyya*) could far more consistently have been used instead of *tagāyur*. It must be recognized, however, that occurrences of the latter type are rather exceptional in the lexicon under review (which, unfortunately, cannot be said of the bulk of other MWA lexicons, substantially no matter whether of European or Arab provenance).

Despite a reasonable number of useful colloquialisms, currently occurring at various stylistic levels of MWA and, accordingly, included in the lexicon, in some single instances such items have decisively been rejected exactly because of their colloquial ring. Under "Flugzeug" ('aircraft'), for instance, the user of the lexicon will find *tā'ira* only (p. 408), despite the fact that 'less literary' *ṭayyāra* is frequently used side by side with the latter even in the linguistic domain of MWA and exclusively so in most colloquial varieties of Arabic. Similarly, under "(die)

Menschen" ("men, human beings"), besides strictly 'literary' *al-bašar*, *an-nās* (p. 820), one would have expected to find a 'less literary' *banū 'ādam* the use of which, in MWA, by far exceeds the vocative expression *yā-bna 'ādam!* "Menschenskind!" (p. 821), quoted in the lexicon. It should be said, however, that a 'literary' counterpart of the missing *banū 'ādam*, viz. *'ādamī* "Mensch" ("man") does occur in the lexicon.

No other unspecialized MWA lexicon can offer more (and also more exact) information about recent technical usage. In fact, a great deal of basic terms, pertaining to various fields of science and technology, are quite satisfactorily represented in the lexicon. The Arabic equivalents of German terms are surprisingly adequate: "Fleischfresser" (Zool.) ("carnivore"), for instance, is properly rendered by *'ākil al-laḥm* (p. 405), as against "fleischfressend" (Bot.) ("carnivorous (plant)"), paralleled by *'ākil al-ḥašarāt* (lit. "insectivorous") (ibid.). Similar niceties are mostly unrecorded in current MWA lexicons.

On the other hand, we find a rather needless synthetic/analytic alternation in "fleischfressend" (Bot.) *'ākil al-ḥašarāt* (p. 405) as against "insektfressend" (Bot.) *'ākil lil-ḥašarāt* (p. 615). As obvious, a uniform presentation in either synthetic or analytic featurings would have been preferable. Further, it should be regretted that the author did not indicate plural forms of the substantivally used multicomponential terms of the type *'ākil al-laḥm* (more frequently *'ākil al-luḥūm*) "carnivore, carnivorous animal". The average German user may experience some difficulties in this respect, since the first constituent of the construction may behave either as a substantival or as an adjectival element in relation to an actually unrepresented generic noun (here *al-ḥayawān*), as will be illustrated in what follows:

(1) *'ākil* treated as a substantival element: (external plural in *-āt*): *'ākilāt al-luḥūm* "carnivora" (*Majmū'at al-muṣṭalaḥāt* (see above), Cairo 1957, Vol. 1, p. 491, 493); (external plural in *-ū(n)*): *'ākilū l-luḥūm* (*al-ʿuṣb*) "carnivora" ("herbivora") (Saisse, L. et Chéhata, I.: *Dictionnaire français-arabe*. London—New York—Toronto, 1955); (internal plural of the pattern *faʿala*): *'akalat al-luḥūm* "carnivora" (Baranov, 45; ʿAzmī, S.: *ʿAlā hāmiš aṭ-ṭibb*. Cairo 1961, p. 18; etc.);

(2) *'ākil* treated as an attributive element: *'ākilat al-luḥūm*, viz. a concord-controlled 'plural', formally expressed in terms of a feminine singular in relation to an unrepresented *al-ḥayawānāt* in *al-ḥayawānāt 'ākilat al-luḥūm* (*Majmū'at al-muṣṭalaḥāt*, 1, 506), etc.

Schregle's *Wörterbuch* presents an important step forward in the lexicographical treatment of MWA at a bilingual basis. It will be used with profit both by German-speaking students of Arabic and by Arabs using German as a medium of their study or research.

Ladislav Drozdík

Shoukr, Samir: *Praktyczna nauka języka arabskiego* /Šukr, Samīr: *Taṭbīqāt ʿamaliyya fī l-luġa al-ʿarabiyya* (Practical Instruction of Arabic). Warsaw. Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1975. 317 pp.

The present manual is designed for students of the Warsaw University Oriental Institute, and is intended to be used with the help of a native Arab instructor. The manual includes two parts: Part One (pp. 45—106), providing a short grammatical survey accompanied by copious exercises and drills, and Part Two (pp. 107—226), containing extensive textual material with additional exercises, drills and idiomatic units. The book has further an Introduction (pp. 9—44), dealing with the Arabic script and fundamentals of phonology, a Supplement (pp. 293—314) surveying the declension of the basic trilateral verb, and finally, an Arabic-Polish Glossary (pp. 227—292).

Despite the extremely concise tailoring of the descriptive parts of the book, most linguistic phenomena of some importance are briefly dealt with or, at least, hinted at. Nevertheless, the latter feature is evidently responsible also for a number of shortcomings, oversimplifications and omissions, some of which will be examined in what follows.

The Arabic script is somewhat misleadingly presented as consisting of twenty-eight letters exclusively denoting consonants (p. 9). The latter statement, even if supplemented in other parts of the book, evidently contradicts the tabular survey of the alphabet which does include the long vowel equivalents of *alif*, *wāw* and *yāʾ* (viz. *ā*, *ū*, and *ī* resp.), as well.

The classification of *qāf* as an emphatic counterpart of *kāf* (p. 10) does not seem to coincide with the generally adopted view, either. Both phonemes, in opposition to the true emphatics, have quite different places of articulation: the /q/ being a postvelar, sometimes expressedly classified as an uvular (Cantineau, J.: *Études de ling. arabe*, p. 174), while the /k/ is a postpalatal consonant.

The diphthong *fatha-yāʾ* is rather superfluously rendered by *aj*, as in *ʿajn*, *ghajn* (p. 10), by *ai*, as in *laisa* (p. 43), and finally, by *ay*, as in *min baytihi* (p. 43).

Further, one can hardly agree with the author's classification of *hīna*, *waqta* and *sāʿata* in *hīna d-duḥūli* "while, at the time of entering", *waqta d-darsi* "during the lesson", and *sāʿata l-ʿamali* "during the work", in terms of adverbs. Despite the fact that secondary (nonetymological) adverbs like *hīnan* "for some time, once", *as-sāʿata* "now, by this time; at once", etc. do occur, the above quoted items have to be classified as prepositions. It seems somewhat strange that no mention whatsoever is made of true etymological adverbs like *taḥtu* "below, beneath", *fawqu* "up, above", *qablu* "previously, earlier", *baʿdu* "then, afterwards", etc.

In specifying the concord restrictions in the inflectional domain of gender, as occurring with some adjectival patterns, such as *faʿūl*, *fāʿila*, *faʿāla*, *faʿīl* (p. 66), it would have been worth-while mentioning some other very important cases, mostly

coinciding with various semantic classes of adjectives, which display similar concord restrictions, e.g. the semantic class of zero-featured adjectives, exclusively referring to female entities, the gender concord restrictions of which are motivated by biological factors, as in *'imra'a ḥāmīl* (*ḥā'id, murḍī, mut'im*, etc.) "a pregnant (menstruating, suckling, bearing twins, etc.) woman". As well as some other restrictions involving cultural factors, as in *ṭāliq* "divorced, repudiated (of a woman, from a man's point of view codified by the canonical law of Islam)" in *'anti ṭāliq* "I divorce thee" (lit. "thou be repudiated", divorcing formula prescribed by this law), etc.

The arrangement of the exercises and drills, as well as the selection of texts in Part Two leaves nothing to be desired. The whole Part Two, expertly interlinked with the grammatical survey as given in Part One, is a highly efficient tool of mastering basic linguistic structures of Modern Written Arabic. Owing to the short, but reliable and reasonably complete glossary, the manual is a self-contained teaching (and learning) device.

Recorded misprints:

dafātīrun (correctly: *dafātīru*, p. 31), *ṣan'a* (*ṣana'a*, p. 36), *'ana sanaḍḥabu* (*'anā sanaḍḥabu*, p. 37), *al-ḡadidata* (*al-ḡadīdata*, p. 37), *fayā rafiḡayyā* (*fayā rafiḡayya*, p. 37), *yā Ḥassāna* (*yā Ḥassānu*, p. 42, twice), *Salāḥun* (*Ṣalāḥun*, p. 43), *anaḡaka* (*'anaḡaka*, p. 43), *māḡa* (*māḡā*, p. 43), *ṭawīla* (*ṭawīl*, p. 67), *yaḡrubu* (*yaḡribu*, p. 78), *biyūtiḥim* (*buyūtiḥim*, p. 94), etc.

Further, frequent cases of an inconsistent notation of the glottal stop may be found, as in (unnoted) *madīnatī ismuḥā*, *an-nahru ismuḥu*, as against (noted) *'anā 'ismī* (p. 40).

The present manual is a worthy contribution to the propagation of practical instruction of Arabic in Poland.

Ladislav Drozdík

Cohen, D.: *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*. Tome II. Étude linguistique. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1975. 318 pp.

Le présent volume constitue la seconde partie de la description du parler des Juifs de Tunis dont la première (*Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis. Textes et documents linguistiques et ethnographiques*. Paris—La Haye, Mouton 1964) contient un recueil de textes ethnographiques accompagnés par de nombreux renseignements sur le milieu social et culturel des Juifs de Tunis.

La deuxième partie qui paraît récemment, offre une description linguistique détaillée du parler en termes de l'école de Prague. Elle est, à son tour, subdivisée en deux parties principales: I. Phonologie (9—90) et II. Morphologie et Syntaxe

(91—268). En outre, le lecteur pourra profiter d'une bibliographie (Ouvrages cités, pp. 269—274) de même que d'un index des mots (pp. 275—318) contenant tous les mots étudiés dans le texte qui, avec ses quelques 3500 entrées, pourra bien servir de lexique provisoire (un glossaire étymologique du parler des Juifs de Tunis qui doit constituer la troisième partie de l'ouvrage, doit encore paraître).

Dans son effort de donner l'image la plus fidèle de la phonétique du parler, l'auteur attache une importance relativement grande aux variantes phonétiques. Le nombre des sons notés ne correspond pas strictement à celui des phonèmes (v. Tableau des réalisations consonantiques du parler, p. 11). Toutefois, les variantes phonétiques (mises entre parenthèses) sont tenues à part des véritables unités fonctionnelles.

L'emphase est traitée en termes traditionnels comme le trait distinctif des consonnes. Il nous semble digne de relever que l'importance attachée par l'auteur à la valeur affective de l'emphase (pp. 13—14) ouvre une perspective nouvelle dans l'investigation de ce phénomène. Quand on tient compte des occurrences de certaines consonnes emphatiques en marge du système phonologique de l'arabe classique, comme par exemple *l* in *wallāhi* «par Dieu», on voit aisément que l'interprétation pour ainsi dire 'psychologique' de l'emphase peut bien procurer un point de départ solide pour tracer la genèse même de ce phénomène. La perte successive de la valeur expressive de l'emphase a été, en général, remplacée par une opposition phonologique 'emphatique' — 'non-emphatique', en résultat d'un processus de phonologisation, qui prévaut dans le système linguistique de l'arabe dès l'époque historique. Toutefois, dans un nombre de cas, comme ceux notés par l'auteur (v. certains noms considérés comme tabous, les termes d'affections, certains emprunts, etc.), cette emphase 'expressive' a réussi à survivre sans devenir part du système phonologique au même niveau que les emphatiques dites 'étymologiques'.

Dans la deuxième partie (Morphologie et Syntaxe), la description morphologique joue un rôle de prime importance. La syntaxe est exposée plus ou moins sommairement. Dans la partie consacrée à la morphologie nominale, certaines classes dérivationnelles des substantifs ne sont pas incluses malgré leur importance dans le système linguistique de l'arabe et la fréquence de leur occurrences. C'est le cas des noms d'unité, par exemple, qui forment part d'un système dérivationnel conjointement avec les collectifs (*'asmā' al-jins* des grammairiens arabes). Le fait que le suffixe *-a* (ou ses variantes) est exclu du nombre des suffixes dérivationnels employés dans la formation nominale (v. noms à suffixes, pp. 177—181, où ne sont notés que des suffixes suivants: *-ān*, *-ī*, *-īyya* (*-īya*), *-āni* et *-āwi*, *-ẓi* et *-ūt*), nécessairement signifie que l'opposition *zéro/-a* dans par ex. *lāwż* «amandes» — *lāwżā* «(une) amande» (pp. 144, 150), est interprétée en termes flexionnels, à savoir, en termes d'une opposition masculin—féminin. On doit admettre, il est vrai, que l'opposition *zéro/-a* en tant qu'une opposition dérivationnelle (collectivité — unité), en conséquence d'une coïncidence formelle des morphèmes dérivationnels et flexionnels en

ce cas, peut être interprétée en ces termes, Il n'en est moins vrai, cependant, qu'une distinction classificatoire entre une opposition masculin — féminin de *kālb* «chien» — *kālbā* «chienne» et celle de *lāwż* (collectivité — masculin) — *lāwżā* (unité — féminin) doit être observée pour des raisons vraiment impératives : en premier cas, nous avons une opposition flexionnelle pure, tandis qu'en second, une opposition dérivationnelle qui n'est interprétable en termes flexionnels qu'en résultat d'une coïncidence formelle. L'auteur du présent ouvrage, bien qu'il emploie des termes dérivationnels propres (v. collectifs — noms d'unité, pp. 144, 146 ; 150 etc.), ne marque aucune distinction classificatoire en ce sens tout en traitant les formations dérivationnelles sur le même niveau que les formations flexionnelles (v. par ex. des formations nominales fournies par le schème trilitère à voyelle brève de la lère syllabe et à désinence -a, pp. 147 sqq).

Bien que la présente monographie soit consacrée à la description du parler de Tunis juif, plusieurs parallèles très utiles sont tirées entre celui-ci et le parler de Tunis musulman. Parmi plusieurs cas d'une différenciation «communale» (dans la terminologie de H. Blanc) l'exemple suivant nous paraît être particulièrement représentatif. Les noms de formation intensive de professions ou d'habitudes (*fa^{cc}āl*) ont, en général, tantôt un pluriel en -*īn*, tantôt un pluriel en -*a*. A Tunis musulman, le pluriel -*īn* prédomine tandis qu'à Tunis juif, on observe une nette prédilection pour les pluriels en -*a* (p. 189). En ce qui concerne les pluriels de *fa^{cc}āl*, l'auteur signale une autre distinction entre les deux formes qui est basée sur les propriétés syntaxiques, v. *qaṭṭāla* / *qaṭṭālīn larwāḥ* «assassins» (p. 189).

Dans le cas de *fa^{cc}āl*, il aurait peut-être été utile de relever des cas fréquents d'une fusion formelle des différentes valeurs grammaticales, tout particulièrement le nombre : pluriel, et le genre : féminin, invariablement signalées par le suffixe -*a*. Les exemples qui suivent sont pris du parler tunisien de Takrouna :

ḥaṭṭāb, masculin, «bûcheron ; ramasseur de bois à brûler» — *ḥaṭṭāba*, féminin, «ramasseuse de bois à brûler»,

ḥaṭṭāb, singulier, (v. ci-dessus) — *ḥaṭṭāba*, pluriel,

ḥaṭṭāba, singulier, (v. ci-dessus) — *ḥaṭṭāba*, pluriel (W. Marçais et A. Guïga, *Textes arabes de Takrouna, II. Glossaire*. Fasc. I—VIII. Paris 1958—1961. Fasc. II, p. 855. La notation phonétique très compliquée est ici considérablement simplifiée).

Ou bien :

faṣṣāṣ, masculin, «spectateur» — *faṣṣāṣa*, féminin, «spectatrice»,

faṣṣāṣ, singulier, (v. ci-dessus) — *faṣṣāṣa*, pluriel,

faṣṣāṣa, singulier, (v. ci-dessus) — *faṣṣāṣa*, pluriel. Dans le cadre général de cette fusion formelle on peut observer même des valeurs dérivationnelles, le plus souvent l'instrumentalité, collectivité et autres. En cas de *faṣṣāṣa*, féminin, par exemple, une interprétation «collective» est possible : féminin, singulier, collectif «l'ensemble des femmes qui, dans les noces, sont venues assister à l'exposition de la mariée (ibid., fasc. VI, 2911). Toutefois, on doit signaler que les auteurs donnent, en ce cas-ci, une

interprétation grammaticale en termes de pluriel à la différence de *ḥaffāla*, féminin, singulier (c.-à-d., du schème *fa^{cc}āla* et non de *fa^{cc}āl*), «ensemble des femmes en toilette qui entourent la mariée pendant les fêtes de noces et lui font une garde d'honneur» (ibid., fasc. II, p. 866), où ils préfèrent une interprétation «collective». Les cas d'une instrumentalité qui prolongent la série des formes coïncidentes sont si nombreux qu'il est absolument inutile de les illustrer.

Vu le fait que le parler arabe décrit est en train de disparaître (à Tunis même le parler n'a plus d'existence, seulement quelques groupes de Juifs tunisois arabophones sont encore dispersés en France, principalement dans la région parisienne), le livre de D. Cohen a une valeur documentaire inappréciable. Par son recours à des méthodes linguistiques les plus modernes, l'ouvrage analysé est une contribution importante à la dialectologie arabe nord-africaine.

Ladislav Drozdík

Grand'henry, J.: *Les parlers arabes de la région du Mzāb (Sahara algérien)*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1976. xx + 136 pp.

L'étude des parlers du Sahara arabophone a progressé très lentement pour des raisons évidentes: climat hostile, population dispersée sur des régions immenses, etc. La présente monographie est le résultat d'une enquête sur le terrain, réalisée au Sahara algérien dans la région du Mzāb en 1972. Cette région servit de refuge à la secte des Ibādites au début du XI^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne.

Contrairement à la situation linguistique dans les régions périphériques de la Kabylie, les parlers arabes du Mzāb ne paraissent avoir subi aucune influence notable de la population berbère vivant dans les oasis. La plupart des Arabes nomadisant dans cette région font partie de la tribu des Chaanba qui est répandue dans une grande partie du Sahara algérien.

L'ouvrage est divisé en deux parties principales. La première (Étude grammaticale, pp. 7—96) renferme une description détaillée du système phonologique (avec des renseignements systématiques sur les réalisations phonétiques), morphologique et syntaxique des parlers de la région étudiée. La deuxième partie (Glossaire phraséologique, pp. 97—136) apporte une documentation textuelle des faits exposés dans la partie grammaticale.

Dans la première partie de l'ouvrage l'auteur emploie la transcription phonologique accompagnée, en cas nécessaires, d'une transcription phonétique. Dans la deuxième partie seule la transcription phonétique est employée.

Par l'étendu de son enquête portant sur plusieurs parlers arabes du Sahara algérien ainsi que par la méthode linguistique adoptée, la présente étude est une importante contribution à la description scientifique des parlers arabes maghrébins.

On doit cependant regretter que les faits grammaticaux d'un groupe de parlers à peine connus jusqu'ici soient traités d'une manière très succincte, parfois même allusive. Les renvois à la langue classique comme ceux qu'on peut trouver dans le cas du genre (p. 64), par exemple, sont de peu de valeur instructive.

La présentation de la morphologie nominale en termes strictement flexionnels (v. le nombre, pp. 57 sqq.) est évidemment due à la même raison. Si l'on peut accepter cette classification en cas du duel (p. 61) et des «schèmes du pluriel» (pp. 61 sqq.), elle est bien problématique en tant qu'employée avec les schèmes qui ne sont pas marqués pour le genre grammatical d'une manière explicite (v. les schèmes du singulier, pp. 57 sqq., et les schèmes des collectifs, pp. 60 sq.). Les faits étudiés dans ces deux derniers cas tiennent beaucoup plus du domaine de la formation des mots que de celui de la flexion proprement dite. L'identification des formations flexionnelles «saines» à désinence *-īn* et *-āt* avec les «schèmes du pluriel» semble, à son tour, contrarier la tradition française. Tout cela est, naturellement, une question de peu d'importance. En général, la classification des phénomènes linguistiques analysés est sans reproche et leur présentation est parfaitement adéquate au dessein du livre.

L'idée de présenter les spécimens du lexique sous forme d'un glossaire phraséologique doit être appréciée puisque l'arrangement alphabétique paraît être vraiment plus efficace à servir le lecteur qu'une simple collection des textes.

Le livre sera sans doute accueilli favorablement par les dialectologues, linguistes et les arabisants. On doit espérer que l'initiative de l'auteur ne manquera pas de stimuler des enquêtes linguistiques pareilles aussi dans les autres régions du Sahara algérien.

Ladislav Drozdík

Wise, H.: *A Transformational Grammar of Spoken Egyptian Arabic*. (Publications of the Philological Society, XXVI). Oxford, Basil Blackwell 1975. xxvi + 197 pp.

Wise's Grammar is the first work to describe Colloquial Egyptian Arabic (CEA) in terms of Chomskian linguistics. In general, the present author's procedure may be outlined as follows: first, the respective linguistic data are presented in generally comprehensible linguistic phraseology; then the rules needed to produce structures, described in the above way, are formalized. Furthermore, in some cases, alternative analyses are proposed.

First, some comments on formal presentation of the CEA material. In general, the treatment of emphasis as a distinctive feature of consonants is fully workable. Nevertheless, the stock of emphatic consonants, marked for this feature by the author, is very limited: only such CEA emphatics are recognized which have

Classical Arabic counterparts. At least one exception to this restrictive rule should have been made, notably in the case of the emphatic counterparts of /r/ and /m/ (for the author's hesitant approach to the classification of /r/ and /m/ as phonemes see p. xxiii). Prosodic interpretation of emphasis would have prevented the latter type of classificatory problems.

The cluster-preventing vowel is unrepresented. At any rate, the reader may reconstitute it very easily since its occurrence, depending on the syllabic structure of the utterance, is fully predictable.

The notation of vowel quantity in unstressed syllables as well as in stressed closed syllables in pre-consonant position (viz. $C\bar{V}C + C$) is frustratingly inconsistent. We cannot guess any conclusive reason for a truly misleading notation of vowel quantity in:

(1) unstressed syllables, e.g.: *waafi'na* "we agreed" in *iḥna waafi'na ʿala miḡiyyu maʿaana* "we agreed on his coming with us" (56), instead of the correct *waff'na*. It should be recognized, however, that a culturally conditioned stress variation leading, in turn, to a vowel quantity variation, may take place in some single instances, as in *'ilqāhira/'ilqahira* "Cairo" (the stress being marked here by an acute accent). And, to a still greater extent, in (2) $*C\bar{V}C + C$ syllables (incorrectly noted) which frequently alternate with the actually existing (and so noted) $CVC + C$, as in:

(2.1) $*C\bar{V}C + C$ (incorrect): *fustaanha* "her dress" (p. 4); *iddeetlu* "I gave him" in *iddeetlu mayyaʿaṣaan kaanʿatṣaan ʿawiʿaṣaan makanš širib min yōmeen* "I gave him water because he was very thirsty because he had not drunk for two days" (p. 11). Incidentally, the /t/ in *ʿatṣaan* "thirsty" should have been correctly noted as /t/, similarly in the lexicon (p. 194). Similarly: *goozha* "her husband" (p. 161), etc.

These cases strangely contrast with:

(2.2) $CVC + C$ (correctly noted): *matruḥš!* "don't go!" (p. 8); *makanš* in *makanš širib* "he had not drunk" (in the example quoted above); *tišufha* in *iza kunt tišufha bukra* ... "if you were to see her tomorrow ..." (p. 123); *iddetlu* in *kunt iddetlu filuus* "I would have given him money" (p. 126); *bawwabna* "our door-keeper" (p. 139), etc.

The treatment of vowel elision, despite certain restrictions specified by the author (p. xxiv), cannot be found satisfactory, either. Inconsistencies of the type *fisseef* (p. 12), *lilwiski*, *lirradiu* (p. 79)/*bi issikkiina* (p. 16), *li ilmudiir* (p. 95) are numerous.

The book contains the following sections: Introduction; Phonological and Morphological Preliminaries; I. Phrase Structure of CEA; II. Pronominalisation; III. The Passive; IV. The Causative; V. Noun Phrase Complements; VI. Verbal Nouns; VII. Relative Clauses; VIII. Tense and Sequence of Tenses; IX. Conditional Sentences; X. Prepositional Predicates and Indefinite Subjects; XI. Modifiers of Degree; XII. Coordination; XIII. How Many Major Categories. Appendix (A): Concord; Appendix (B): Neutralisation of Concord Sets; Lexicon, and Bibliography.

In Chapter VI, dealing with verbal nouns, the terminological distinction between 'VN' and 'VN (countable)' (pp. 85—86) does not seem to be quite happy. First, it disregards the current verbal noun (VN)-instance noun (IN) terminology which is extremely well suited to refer to this derivational system as well as to imply the affinity between the latter and that of collective nouns (CN) and unit nouns (UN). In a number of cases, the limits between both these derivational systems are very vague and diffuse, as will be shown on the following MWA examples:

qatr, *qaṭarān* (VN) "dripping, dribbling, dribble, trickling, trickle" (verbal abstracts possibly concretized in various degrees) — *qaṭra* (IN) "one single act thereof" (lexicographically unrecorded at this abstract level because of its predictability in every single case of a VN—IN opposition), co-occurring with:

qaṭr (CN) — *qaṭra* (UN), satellitic plurals: *qīṭār*; *qaṭarāt* resp., "drop(s), dribble(s)" (apart from an exclusive singular—plural relationship statable in this case, viz. *qaṭr* (singular) — *qīṭār* (plural) "rain") (Wehr, 773—4), or:

ḍarb (VN) "beating, striking, hitting, etc." (verbal abstracts);

ḍarba (IN) "one single act of what is referred to in the VN" (lexicographically unrecorded), related to:

ḍarb (CN) "blow(s), knock(s), stroke(s), etc.";

ḍarba (UN) "blow, knock, stroke, etc." (i. e. one single unit of what is referred to in the CN) (cf. Wehr, 539), etc.

Further, the author's statement that "the 'countable' form is simply a VN derived from a verb unmarked for habitual aspect" (p. 85) is, to a considerable extent, misleading as well, since it may imply a derivational link between what the author calls 'countable form of a VN' and the corresponding verbal basis. The basic derivational linkage in what we symbolize as VN—IN system obviously includes the following two relationships: (1) $V \rightarrow VN$, and (2) $VN \rightarrow IN$ (the $V \rightarrow IN$ relationship is missing). Wise's distinction between 'habitual' (VN) and 'single' (IN) cannot be traced back to the verbal basis which, of course, further suggests that the verb cannot be classified in terms of the latter dichotomy.

Some of the examples quoted keep the cultural level of the Cairo Arabic data quoted rather high, markedly higher than that assumed by Mitchell's *Introduction*, for instance (despite the fact that nearly the whole textual part of the latter is designed for oil experts). Constructions like *takkiilha ilfuul lil'awlaad* "her feeding 'fuul' to the children" or *tašyiilna issabat libint* "our making the girl carry the basket" (p. 82) betray an atypically high speech 'register' of Wise's informants when viewed from the angle of an average Cairene. And, what is still more important, the VN constructions of the type quoted above differ in this respect from the underlying verbal constructions *wakkilit ilfuul lil'awlaad* "she fed 'fuul' to the children" etc. which are less artificial and presuppose a considerably lower degree of MWA awareness on the part of the language user. Nearly the whole set of examples collected under "The 'countable' form of the verbal noun" (pp. 85—86) bear witness

to the author's almost exclusive work with informants whose linguistic skill and speech habits are derived from a rather higher 'register' of CEA. Of course, all that actually occurs in Cairene Arabic (or in any other colloquial variety of Arabic) has to be invariably recognized as perfectly acceptable for that given variety of Arabic since no consistent linguistic criteria to distinguish between various cultural levels of CEA are available so far.

In describing constructions with a postposed attributive modifier coinciding with a 'material' noun, such as *ikkaravatta ilhariir* "the silk tie" (p. 95), the author seems to reject *karavattit ilhariir* (as against *karavattit ilmudiir* "the manager's tie"). In fact, both constructions occur in free alternations and both of them are usually treated in terms of constructs (nevertheless, in Classical Arabic grammars a distinction is mostly made between *šajaru z-zaytūni* (construct) and *aš-šajaru z-zaytūnu* (apposition), see e.g. Reckendorf, H.: *Arabische Syntax*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung 1921: *Genitivverhältnis* (p. 139) as opposed to *substantivisches Attribut, Apposition* (pp. 65 ff)). Furthermore, for a lower cultural level than that assumed by the author of the present monograph, some authors quote three types of constructions: *ħittit iddahab* "the piece of gold", *ħitta dahab* "a piece of gold", and besides, a constructional contamination of both preceding types, *ilħittit iddahab* "the piece of gold" (Cf. Willmore, J. S.: *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*. London, David Nutt 1919, p. 230).

Although the present work is mostly concerned only with basic grammatical relations characteristic of the deep structure of the language, some of the topics treated are surprisingly exhaustive. Two Appendixes dealing with concord provide a full-scale and readily available information about the CEA concord rules. Alternations of the type *talatiin mudarris kwayyis/kwayyisiin* or the morphologically conditioned *riggaala kibiira/kubaar* (p. 174) are rarely noted even in systematic grammars.

Chapter X (Prepositional Predicates and Indefinite Subjects) is concerned with one of the basic problems of Arabic syntax: indefinite subject. Of equal importance, although of an opposite polarity, is the status of the definite predicate. One would have expected to find at least some types of the definite predicate noted, especially those involving constructs, e.g. *da šibbaak ittazaakir* (syntactic status depending on the word-order featuring), *sanadii' ilħusta milk ilħukuuma*, etc. (For the examples quoted see Gamal-Eldin, S. M.: *A Syntactic Study of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1967, p. 31).

When disregarding the fact that the linguistic model developed by Chomsky is here applied to the treatment of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic for the first time, the most important theoretical value of the book consists in testing the universality of a number of syntactic phenomena. One such attempt is made in testing the applicability of universal constraints (proposed by Ross in his Ph.D. thesis "Constraints on Variables", MIT 1967), in the syntactic domain of the CEA relative

clauses (pp. 96—100). The finely differentiated results obtained clearly show the usefulness and invaluable theoretical import of this type of work.

Wise's monograph will be of interest to the general linguist and the Arabist.

Ladislav Drozdík

Louis, A.: *Tunisie du Sud. Ksars et villages de crêtes*. Préface de S. E. Habib Bourguiba. Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1975. 370 pp.

L'ouvrage savant d'André Louis, maître de recherche au C.N.R.S., est consacré à une région immense, jusqu'ici peu étudiée, celle du Sud de la Tunisie.

La première partie de l'ouvrage, «Le monde des Ksars», comprend deux sections. La première, qui porte le titre «Çoffs berbères et tribus arabes», s'occupe de la rencontre des populations autochtones berbères avec les tribus arabes de même qu'avec les tribus berbères déjà arabisées. La seconde, intitulée «Ce pays où la montagne est reine», cherche à situer de façon précise les villages pitonniers berbères berbérophones, les îlots berbères arabisés et les autres éléments de la population. L'auteur y décrit la fonction du *ksar*, du grenier-refuge fortifié, qui devient peu à peu un grenier collectif tout simplement.

La seconde partie, «Montagnards et Ksouriens», précise les modes de vie des éléments différents de la population de cette région. Tout particulièrement, elle étudie la vie des montagnards berbères et celle des usagers du *ksar*. Dans la première section de cette partie, «La terre et les hommes», l'auteur étudie des activités agro-pastorales et artisanales. La seconde section, «Au fil des jours», s'occupe de la vie familiale, sociale et religieuse des habitants de cette région.

La région du Sud tunisien, dont l'administration coloniale a fait un territoire militaire isolé, commence à jouer un rôle de plus en plus important dans la vie nationale tunisienne. Les changements radicaux qui ont récemment eu lieu dans la société tunisienne, font disparaître l'image traditionnelle du Sud tunisien. L'ouvrage d'André Louis, grâce à l'érudition savante de l'auteur, est donc un témoignage scientifique de la tradition culturelle locale en train de se changer.

Le livre sera accueilli chaleureusement par les ethnographes, sociologues et historiens.

Ladislav Drozdík

Bosworth, C. E.: *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature. Part One: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Life and Lore. Part*

Two: The Arabic Jargon Texts. The *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyyas* of Abū Dulaf and Ṣafī d-Dīn. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1976. xiv + 1—179 + 11 pp. and 179—366 + 100 pp. resp.

Bosworth's monograph is a truly pioneering work in the little explored field of what the author calls Islamic underworld. The book is presented in two parts.

Part One: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Life and Lore, including Chapters I—VI, deals with the social history of particular underworld classes and examines the general background of the formation and functioning of their jargon. It is provided with its own indices of proper names and technical terms, so that this part may be used independently of Part Two as a volume complete in itself.

Part Two: The Arabic Jargon Texts, comprising Chapters VII—VIII, contains critical texts of the *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyyas* of Abū Dulaf and Ṣafī d-Dīn, English translations of these two jargon poems and facsimiles. The volume further contains a bibliography of the principal sources evaluated and a glossary of some 500 jargon words and other unusual lexical items occurring in the two *qaṣīdas*.

Part One:

Chapter I (Vagabonds and beggars in early Islam) presents a competent historical survey of begging and almsgiving in early Islam. Useful parallels are drawn between the Islamic social and cultural milieu and mediaeval Europe. The author further provides a highly interesting account of literature dealing with various types of beggars and swindlers as well as with their practices and jargons in both Christendom and Islam. The author also attempts to establish the etymology of the term 'Banū Sāsān' which is used to design all types of rogues, beggars and outlaws.

In Chapter Two (Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī, his life and works) the literary activity and personal career of Abū Dulaf is dealt with. Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī, a 4th/10th century globetrotter, physician and writer, is known as the author of two *Risālas* in which he describes his travels, and as the author of the *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya* written for the Vizier Ṣāhib Ibn ʿAbbād.

The metrical and thematic structure of Abū Dulaf's poem is analysed in Chapter Three (Abū Dulaf's *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya*: its form and content).

In Chapter Four (The Banū Sāsān in the period after Abū Dulaf) the author surveys a number of later literary reflexes of the Islamic underworld, especially those linked with the *maqāma* and the Arabic and some other Eastern shadow plays.

In Chapter Five (Ṣafī d-Dīn al-Ḥillī and his *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya*) the life and literary career of Ṣafī d-Dīn al-Ḥillī (677/1278 — 750/1349) is presented and his *qaṣīda* is briefly analysed against the contrastive background provided by the poem of Abū Dulaf.

The jargon content of the two *qaṣīdas*, the extra-linguistic conditions for the formation of jargons, argots and secret languages as well as the most outstanding linguistic features of the development of these special forms of communication are discussed in Chapter Six (The jargon element in the *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyyas*, with some

note of jargons and secret languages in other parts of the Middle Eastern and northern African cultural regions). Since there is no comprehensive work on the formation and functioning of jargons in the linguistic domain of Arabic, the data collected in this chapter are an important contribution to the investigation of special forms of communication in this linguistic area. By this chapter, the first volume of the Bosworth's monograph is most closely connected with the content of Part Two.

Part Two is primarily devoted to the linguistic and, in a somewhat lesser degree, literary aspects of the two jargon poems analysed in Chapters VII (Abū Dulaf) and VIII (Ṣafī d-Dīn). Detailed historical and linguistic notes, accompanying the English translation of both *qaṣīdas*, are of a truly invaluable scientific import and their consultation will prove quite inevitable for anyone seriously interested in the subject. The inclusion of the jargon word-list, contained in this volume (see above), will substantially contribute to its completeness and serviceability.

Bosworth's fine scholarly work will be of interest to Arabicists, linguists and cultural historians, especially to those of them who have something to do with the jargon texts of the mediaeval underworld in the linguistic domain of Arabic.

Ladislav Drozdík

Cantarino, V.: *Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age*. Selection of Texts Accompanied by a Preliminary Study. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1975. VIII + 221 pp.

In the present monograph an attempt is made at surveying most representative Arabic teachings on poetic theory. Owing to the overwhelming importance played by poetry in the Arab cultural milieu, the analysis of various Arab attitudes and approaches to the definition of poetics is of a more general significance than that of any other cultural phenomenon. Being principally different from any special study in Arabic poetry and poetics (e.g. Weil, G.: *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1958; Ullmann, M.: *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1966; Jacobi, R.: *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner 1971, etc.), the present monograph is complementary to all of them in analysing the general background of poetry and poetics from the point of view of mediaeval Arab science.

The book is subdivided into two main parts: Preliminary Study (7—100) and Texts (101—220). It has, further, an Introduction (1—6) and Bibliographical Notes to the Texts (221).

The Preliminary Study deals with the following topics: Poetry and Religion (Chapter I); Poetry: Diwān of the Arabs (Chapter II); Poetry: Lie or Truth (Chapter III); Poetry: The Perfect Speech (Chapter IV); Poetry: Science or Art (Chapter V); Poetry: The Aristotelian Definition (Chapter VI); Poetry: The

Aristotelian Way of Analysis (Chapter VII), and Poetry: Imaginative Creativity (Chapter VIII).

In characterizing the concept of 'arabiyya as referring primarily 'to the Arabic speech form common among the Bedouins from the tribe of Quraish, that is, the Meccan dialect' (p. 11), the author seems to attach much more emphasis to the Meccan origin of 'arabiyya than this hypothesis actually deserves. The latter presentation of facts substantially coincides with that currently adopted by the Arab scholarship. In accordance with this traditional approach, there is an ideal and unaltered form of Arabic opposed to a heterogeneous variety of local vernaculars. These are regarded as a result of corruption and degeneration (*fasād*) of this ideal language. Owing to the religious and intellectual priority of the Meccan centre, its dialect is readily identified with this ideal or pure Arabic. Of course, there is no convincing reason to believe that Hedjazi Arabic would have been free from any dialectal intermingling. The language of the Koran itself reveals a fairly great number of interdialectal and interlingual features. As shown by Vollers, it is rather difficult to assume that the Koran, for all its pan-Arabic aspirations, has been 'revealed' in a local tribal (viz. Quraishi) dialect which was, like any other urban dialect, regarded with contempt and disdain by the surrounding Bedouin tribes. Moreover, it is hardly possible to accept any notion of prestige associated with the Quraishi dialect in the pre-Koranic period. Despite the fact that a Meccanized variety of 'arabiyya cannot totally be rejected, the language of the Koran may substantially be identified with that of pre-Islamic poetry and both, in turn, should be related to an intertribal and interdialectal learned language referred to in Blachère's 'koine (coranico-) poétique'. Of course, it is hardly possible to decide whether pre-sixth century poets, in order to secure an intertribal intelligibility of the orally transmitted poetry, have actually employed a mixed, viz. interdialectal medium, or rather one particular local dialect which has become, as early as in the pre-historic period, the common language used in the poetry.

The textual part of the book presents an expertly selected anthology of texts relevant to poetry and poetics: Al-Mubarrad: *Epistle on Poetry*; Al-Fārābī: *Iḥṣā' l-ʿulūm* (more properly: *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*); Qudāma: *Naqd ash-shʿr*; Al-ʿAskarī: *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣināʿatāin* (correctly *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣināʿatain*); Avicenna, *Kitāb ash-Shʿr*; Ibn Rashīq: *al-ʿUmda*; Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī: *Sirr al-faṣāḥah* (in accordance with the way of presenting feminine nouns, prevailing in the book, expectedly *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*); Al-Jurjānī: *Kitāb Asrār al-Balāgha*; Averroes: *Talkhīṣ Kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī sh — shʿr*; Ibn al-Athīr: *al-Mathal as-sāʿir*; Ibn Abū l-Ḥadīd: *Al-falak al-dāʿir* (more properly, in accordance with the way of writing prevailing in the book, *Al-falak ad-dāʿir*), and Al-Qartajannī: *Minhāj al-bulaghāʾ wa-sirāj al-udabāʾ*.

Cantarino's monograph is a valuable contribution to the study of Arabic poetics as defined by Arab scholars and men of letters.

Ladislav Drozdík

Ebied, R. Y. and Young, M. J. L. (Eds): *The Story of Joseph in Arabic Verse*. The Leeds Arabic Manuscript 347. (Supplement III to the Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society). Leiden, E. J. Brill 1975. iv + 58 pp.

Supplement III to the Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society presents the text and translation of an anonymous Arabic poem which has survived in a unique manuscript preserved in the collection of Leeds University.

The text is taken from a so far uncatalogued Arabic MS which has been provisionally allocated the number Arab. 347. The MS consists of 32 unnumbered folios written in *nasxī* and, in its present state, it amounts to 469 verses. The number of missing verses is at least 90.

The poem is composed in Classical Arabic with a moderate Middle Arabic influence. The MS possibly dates from the 13th or 14th century and, judging from occasional Egyptianisms and several allusions to the 'blessed Nile', it may have originated in Egypt.

After an invocation of God's help, the unknown author of the poem recounts the biblical story of Joseph and his Brethren according to the Muslim version found in the Koran (Sūra XII). One sixth of the 469 surviving verses contain direct quotations or near-quotations of the Koranic text. The episodes which cannot directly be traced back to the Koran are borrowed from a later Muslim legendary material based, in turn, on the Koranic version of the biblical story of Joseph.

The present edition will serve several purposes. First of all, it makes accessible a new, hitherto unknown piece of Classical Arabic literature. From this point of view, the poem will provide further evidence to the study of Muslim parallels to the biblical story of Joseph, as reflected in the Koran, Muslim legendary material and poetry.

From a linguistic point of view, the text will contribute to the study of Middle Arabic which play an important part in any investigation into the linguistic history of Arabic.

The book will be of interest to the Arabists working in the field of Classical Arabic literature, as well as to those of them who are interested in gathering evidence of the linguistic evolution of Arabic.

Ladislav Drozdík

Journal of Maltese Studies (Published under the Auspices of the Chair of Maltese, Faculty of Arts, Royal University of Malta; Professor J. Aquilina, Editor), No. 10. Malta, Msida, The Malta University Press 1975. 140 pp.

The recent No. 10 of JMS, in harmony with the scholarly tradition established by this journal, contains a number of valuable contributions to the study of Maltese language and culture.

In the editorial article *Language and Independence* (pp. 1—3) J. Aquilina briefly characterizes the linguistic heritage of many centuries of colonialism and the part played by the Department of Maltese in laying the foundations of a new national linguistic consciousness.

W. Cowan, *Caxaro's Cantilena: A Checkpoint for Change in Maltese* (pp. 4—10). While in the Indo-European historical linguistics a large amount of chronologically well distributed documentation is available, in the linguistic domain of Arabic there is, in general, no documentary evidence pertaining to the evolutionary stages separating Classical Arabic of ca 600 A.D. from modern Colloquial Arabic. Despite the fact that Maltese is an exception to this state of affairs, the historically-minded linguist has to face even here one extremely serious problem: there are very few texts, especially from the earlier period, which might be of documentary value in establishing the main lines of the linguistic evolution of Maltese. Peter Caxaro's *Cantilena*, discovered by Wettinger and Fsadni in 1966 and subsequently published by them in 1968, is the earliest text of Maltese so far discovered (composed before 1485, the year of Caxaro's death). On the ground of this text, the author of the present study provides documentary evidence for two types of phonetic change in Maltese: phonetic change involving the long vowel /a:/, and that affecting the short pretonic /a/ in an open syllable.

A. Borg in *Maltese Morphophonemics* (pp. 11—28), after a brief statement of phonological preliminaries (phonemic charts of Maltese consonants and vowels, prosodic features and phonotactics), gives a systematic description of phonologically conditioned alternations which are mostly automatic. They include partial and complete assimilation, dissimilation, neutralization of voicing in prejunctural position, loss of segmental length, stress shift, replacement of vowels in unstressed position, epenthesis, metathesis, and vowel—semivowel alternation. Morphemically controlled changes, involving inflected categories of Maltese, will be treated separately in a future article.

The contribution of J. Aquilina, *A Study in Violent Language* (pp. 29—54), is based on the distinction between emotionally neutral and emotionally charged words. A word, in this presentation, 'is emotionally neutral when it conveys the meaning without any involvement of the emotions, and emotionally charged, when the meaning thereof is coloured supersegmentally' (p. 29). The author gives a selective list of sadistic or violent threats in Maltese and locates them in a comparative frame created by the following six languages: Arabic, Italian, English, American (English), German and French. The list of the expressions examined is restricted semantically to expressions containing the following parts of the human body: *ras* "head", *xagħar* "hair", *ghajnejn* "eyes", *widnejn* "ears", *halq* "mouth", *lsien* "tongue", *imnieher* "nose", *snien* "teeth", *wiċċ* "face", *geddum* "chin", *ghonq* "neck", *gerżuma* "throat", *id* "hand", *sider* "chest", *żaqq* "belly", *sieq* "foot", and

fwied "liver". The paper is a valuable contribution to the study of linguistic expressivity and verbal sadism.

In *Comparative Study of Maltese and Egyptian Proverbs* (pp. 55—64), A. Talaat provides a collection of Egyptian proverbs as they are spoken in various parts of Egypt, mostly in the district of Sharqiyya. Only such Egyptian Arabic proverbs which have more or less recognizable Maltese counterparts have been included. Maltese proverbs are quoted from the *Comparative Dictionary of Maltese Proverbs*, compiled by Professor J. Aquilina (The Royal University of Malta, 1972).

Popular Witty Retorts (pp. 65—79), collected by J. Aquilina, complete in some respects the material included in Aquilina's *A Comparative Dictionary of Maltese Proverbs*. As stated by the author, besides proverbs and riddles we may find apparently nonsensical, but often witty remarks dominated by their rhyme or the amusing association of unrelated ideas which carry no evident meaning.

J. M. Brincat in his paper *Alcuni esempi di omonimia risultante dalla convergenza fonetica di voci italiane nel maltese* (pp. 80—88) describes a number of Maltese homonyms resulting from a convergence of Italian sounds in Maltese, as in *pont* (Ital. *ponte, punto*), *ifferma* (Ital. *firmare, fermare*), etc.

D. R. Marshall and R. V. Bonavita in *Four Anonymous Old Maltese Poems* (pp. 89—127) are publishing four Maltese poems from the manuscript collection of the Bonavita family, since 1968 in the custody of the library of the Royal University of Malta. Most of them form part of the large oral stock. The poems are presented in their original orthography and are paralleled by a version in standard Maltese orthography and with an English translation. The dates of their origin are unknown. Although the poems are of little literary merit, they will be of interest to the linguist since they contain a number of words and expressions which are by now obsolete in modern Maltese.

Il Pellegrinagg (pp. 128—133) is a Maltese version of the Koranic *Sūrat al-ḥajj*, translated by D. Agius.

Ladislav Drozdík

Sivan, Emmanuel: *Communisme et nationalisme en Algérie 1920—1962*. Paris, Fondation nationale des sciences politiques 1976. 262 pp.

Dans la lutte anti-impérialiste, des Fronts nationaux se sont constitués dans plusieurs pays coloniaux avec une participation très marquée des communistes ou sous leur direction. Néanmoins, il y avait des cas où un tel organe, composé des forces principales anti-impérialistes, ne pouvait pas être créé et la direction du mouvement de résistance est restée dans les mains d'individuels inspirés uniquement d'une

idéologie de nationalisme sous diverses formes, éventuellement de conceptions religieuses ou racistes. Cependant les communistes, même dans une telle situation, offraient d'ordinaire l'alliance aux autres groupes politiques ou une coopération d'action dans la lutte contre le colonialisme et pour l'indépendance nationale.

En Algérie, par exemple, ils accédèrent graduellement à une telle politique lors même que les conditions de coopération posées en principe par des noncommunistes ne leur offraient aucun avantage et ne leur permettaient pas de participer aux décisions touchant sa stratégie et son programme. Les communistes pouvaient joindre les unités armées luttant contre le colonialisme français, individuellement seulement. On n'arriva pas à atteindre une unité idéologique. Le mouvement anti-colonial en Algérie s'appuyait d'un côté sur le nationalisme algérien arabe, de l'autre sur le communisme représenté par un parti groupant les éléments plus progressifs parmi les colons français, et ce n'est que graduellement que les Arabes algériens s'y joignaient. La tension croissante entre les colonisateurs et les colonisés contribuait à ce que le nationalisme intervint dans certaines phases de la lutte entre les deux composants ethniques principaux du parti communiste algérien et les divisait. C'est en effet sur ce fond peu typique du territoire colonial, avec une minorité relativement considérable des blancs, surtout d'extraction française, que s'est cristallisé cet exemple tout particulier de la relation entre le nationalisme et le communisme. Dans son livre Emmanuel Sivan l'examine dans le segment temporaire à partir de l'origine du Parti communiste français qui, au début, avait été actif aussi sur le territoire algérien, à travers la fondation du Parti communiste algérien, jusqu'à la proclamation de la République algérienne.

Dans six chapitres il suit les étapes de développement les plus importantes dans le mouvement communiste en Algérie. Il n'en présente pas une revue historique systématique, mais concentre son attention sur la question de sa relation vers le colonialisme français, le Parti communiste français et partiellement aussi vers les mouvements nationalistes et les partis politiques algériens. Le travail vise particulièrement les points faibles qui y avaient apparu et qui avaient été occasionnés en une grande mesure par le fait qu'au commencement, la direction du parti algérien dépendait à tous les égards du PCF et pour long les communistes de nationalité française y avaient le mot décisif; beaucoup d'entre eux ne sont pas parvenus à se débarrasser entièrement des préjugés nationalistes et racistes. Lors même que le Parti communiste algérien parvint graduellement, sous l'influence du développement de la situation et de l'autocritique, à avoir raison de ces moments, à les redresser, et à s'arabiser dans ses cadres de base, néanmoins, les forces nationalistes anti-colonialistes se mirent entretemps à la tête du mouvement algérien de résistance contre les Français. Ils établirent le Front de la libération nationale (FNL) et atteignirent même une reconnaissance internationale non seulement de la part des pays arabes, mais aussi de celle des pays socialistes et autres.

L'auteur prend appui sur le choix abondant des matériaux documentaires qu'il cite à maintes reprises. Alors même qu'évidemment, cela ne soit pas le but du travail présent, sous l'aspect des événements subséquents ces matériaux montrent que les points de vue de principe et les analyses de l'Exécutif de l'Internationale communiste portant sur la question algérienne depuis les années de 1920, correspondaient mieux aux perspectives du développement révolutionnaire en Algérie que les résolutions prises par certains organes locaux du Parti communiste algérien, résolutions qui déviaient partiellement de ces points de vue et analyses et qui reflétaient souvent l'optique d'un euroéo-centrisme. La pratique donna un démenti aussi à la thèse irréaliste — et subséquemment révoquée — du PCF concernant la formation de la nouvelle nation algérienne composée d'une population française, arabe et minoritaire. Le PCA divisait son attention entre les intérêts de ses membres français touchant les revendications sociales, plus tard la participation dans la lutte antifasciste mondiale et en tant que possible, un maintien de liens étroits entre l'Algérie et la France et les intérêts des membres arabes qui mettaient en premier rang l'indépendance. Dans la politique de compromis et d'accommodements entre ses intérêts différents, l'auteur cherche la cause principale du fait que le parti communiste ne parvint pas à jouer le rôle principal dans la politique algérienne.

Cependant, la fonction positive des communistes en matière de l'indépendance de l'Algérie se manifestait en beaucoup d'autres formes que l'auteur n'a pas mises suffisamment en valeur. Par exemple, il n'a pas apprécié à leur juste valeur l'écho puissant et l'influence qu'exerçait dans la presse française coloniale et étrangère, comme aussi au milieu du public algérien et français, le fait que non seulement les communistes arabes, mais aussi plusieurs communistes français ont joint le mouvement de la résistance. Certains sont tombés, plusieurs étaient exécutés ou bien soumis à la torture par la soldatesque coloniale — tel le fameux journaliste Henri Alleg. Son livre *La Question* avec ses expériences de prison, contribua aussi à un changement d'opinion publique dans la France elle-même. De plus, Sivan ne prête assez d'attention au fait qu'en maints points de vue, le mouvement nationaliste algérien s'inspirait des expériences des communistes et en particulier que l'atmosphère générale des succès emportés par le mouvement communiste international et la lutte anti-coloniale a sensiblement contribué à sa victoire sur la France. Et finalement, il y manque un trait général, une esquisse de l'idéologie pour laquelle l'auteur emploie l'expression traditionnelle de nationalisme algérien sans examiner la question si et de quelle manière son contenu politique se développait.

L'auteur poursuit le sujet du nationalisme algérien avec une quantité de détails essentiellement moindre. Il ne consacre que peu de place — rien que les 30 dernières pages — à la période importante depuis le début de la guerre de libération en 1954. Page 24 porte une date erronée pour l'Appel de l'Internationale communiste pour la libération de l'Algérie et la Tunisie, qui n'était pas lancé en 1920, mais en 1922.

Le travail n'a pas été conçu comme une comparaison et explication de l'idéologie et la pratique nationaliste et communiste dans le mouvement de libération algérien, mais plutôt comme un coup d'œil sur la politique et les problèmes du Parti communiste algérien.

Ivan Doležal

Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960. Vol. 4. The Economics of Colonialism. Edited by Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann. Cambridge—London—New York—Melbourne, Cambridge University Press 1975. xviii + 719 pp.

This fourth volume is the last instalment in the five-volume *Colonialism in Africa* series dealing with colonial era in sub-Saharan Africa. The first two volumes of the series, sponsored by the Hoover Institution of Stanford University in California, which appeared in 1969 and 1970 respectively, surveyed the history and politics of Europe's imperial record in Africa. The first one covered the period of the opening years of colonial rule, the scramble and its aftermath, from about 1870 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Volume II took the story of colonial rule from 1914 up to 1960 and decolonization. The third volume edited by Victor Turner and entitled *Profiles of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule* examined the societal problems created by the impact of complex alien social, political, economic and religious forces and their consequences for modern Africa. Volume V provided *A Bibliographical Guide to Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa*, a valuable bibliographical tool for all students of colonialism in Africa south of the Sahara Desert.

The present volume on the *Economics of Colonialism* is, in the words of the general editors, designed "to furnish an analysis, as well as a convenient summary, of major economic trends and developments during the colonial period" (Preface). Like the previous volumes, it is a collaborative work based on the interdisciplinary approach and its covers provided a platform on which economists, economic historians, historians and sociologists discussed the economic effects of colonialism.

The book opens with a thirty-page long introductory essay in which the two editors attempted to provide an outline for the economic history of the sub-Saharan Africa during the colonial period. In Part One that follows and is entitled Early Patterns, the same authors offer an overview of the pre-colonial economies of sub-Saharan Africa and Professor Charles Wilson discussed the economic role and mainsprings of imperialism.

Five essays on National Styles then examine different administrative styles of British, German, French, Belgian and Portuguese colonizers. The main economic activities such as cash farming, mining, manufacturing and trade are surveyed in Part Three: Economic Mainstays.

The rest of the book is devoted to some social implications of economic development under colonial overrule, including labour migrations, the rise of new indigenous élites, the economic role of non-indigenous ethnic minorities in colonial Africa, ending with the editors' assessment of economic achievement of the colonizers.

The book is given a predominant and distinctive ideological slant by Dr Gann and Dr Duignan's interpretation of Europe's imperial record in Africa and its impact on African economies with which the majority of studies are in accord, though the editors disclaim to have made any attempt to impose their own views on their contributors. What, however, they do, they do make their own bias clear. "We do not share the widely-held assumption that equates colonialism with exploitation", they had declared in the introduction to the first volume and throughout the whole series they remain consistent with such an explanation of colonialism. For those acquainted with Dr Gann and Dr Duignan's earlier writings their bias, which is made even clearer in a volume dealing with economic issues, probably occasion little surprise.¹ Their evaluation of the colonial period in sub-Saharan Africa is not only at variance with the interpretation advanced by Marxist critics of colonialism but also with contemporary controversies over the origins of Africa's underdevelopment and recent Western attempts at reassessment, such as e.g. Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.² All this is argued forcefully and with great skill and eloquence bringing a great mass of evidence to support their own arguments and interpretations of the economic development in sub-Saharan Africa during the colonial period, including Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto* and his treatise on *The future results of British rule in India*. Skilful argumentation, of course, accords with the editors and authors' ideological commitments and indicate where their interests and sympathies lie.

Much of what has been told about the preceding volumes could be repeated here.³ The previous volumes were criticized for being rather reticent on the "lower colonialism" and the grass-root changes that colonial rule wrought in African societies. The same is true about the present volume. Apart from one or two essays in

¹ See e.g. Gann, Lewis H.—Duignan, Peter: *Burden of Empire: An Appraisal of Western Colonialism in Africa South of the Sahara*. New York, published for the Hoover Institution by Praeger 1967, reprinted in paperback 1971; Gann, L. H.—Duignan, Peter: *White Settlers in Tropical Africa*. Penguin Books 1962; Gann, L. H.: *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953*. London, Chatto and Windus 1964 and *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934*. London, Chatto and Windus 1965.

² Rodney, Walter: *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London 1972. Also Alpers, E. A.: *Re-thinking African Economic History: A contribution to the discussion of the roots of underdevelopment*. In: *Ufahamu*, Vol. III, No. 3, 1973, pp. 97—129.

³ See my reviews of *Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960* in *Asian and African Studies*, of Volumes 1 and 2 in *AAS*, VII, 1971, Vol. 3 in *AAS*, X, 1974 and Vol. 5 in *AAS*, XII, 1976.

the last section on social implications of colonialism, dealing with the evolution of new African élites or the modern labour migrations, there was little attempt to break really new ground by delineating what was happening in these momentous decades within African societies. Most essays which describe separate national styles of five colonial powers or particular economic activities of the colonizers as they can be traced in the wealth of documents, are rather disappointing in how little they tell us about the African side of the story.

Colonialism in Africa series is in some ways more a contribution to the history of the European presence and activities in Africa during colonial rule than of Africans themselves. Though the series stopped short of being a comprehensive and definitive survey of colonialism in sub-Saharan Africa and did not succeed in blazing a new trail in the long-standing discussions and arguments about the value of European colonialism in Africa, it is not unrewarding. It is a useful and informative survey and an array of some contemporary views and ideas on economic, social and political development of sub-Saharan Africa during the colonial period, an up-to-date statement in a distinctive ideological frame.

Viera Pawliková

Leadership in 19th Century Africa. Essays from Tarikh. Edited by Obaro Ikime with a Foreword by J. F. Ade Ajayi and a Preface by J. B. Webster. London, Published for the Historical Society of Nigeria by Longman and in the United States by Humanities Press 1974. 179 pp.

Some ten years ago the Historical Society of Nigeria started to produce a bi-annual journal of African history for schools and colleges, undergraduates as well as school teachers, Tarikh. This magazine, Tarikh, appeared as a complement to the Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria. Whereas the latter has been directed to professional historians and scholars, Tarikh has been intended primarily to the wider African readership and for the African market, to meet the new syllabuses in African history that have developed in Africa since the mid-1960s, by presenting some results of the most recent historical research in a readable and easily understood form.

Leadership in 19th Century Africa is a collection of fourteen biographical essays first published in various issues of Tarikh and dealing with African leaders of stature whose characters, inner qualities and activities have most significantly influenced the history of nineteenth-century Africa. These African leaders who have ranked among Africa's greatest, were at the same time unfortunate to have to face and deal with the European conquest.

The essays are grouped in themes, following the pattern of each issue of Tarikh,

with a readable introduction by Professor Ikime summing up shortly the prevailing understanding and interpretation in Western historiography, i.e. non-Marxist historiography, of the phenomenon of state-building and state formation or of African response and reactions to colonial penetration and occupation. There is also a Foreword by Professor Ajayi, President of the Historical Society of Nigeria and a Preface by Professor Webster.

The categorization of this collection is rather arbitrary and should not be looked upon as absolute. Thus there are state and empire builders including Shaka, Moshesh, Kimweri, Maba Diakhou Ba and Samori Toure, reformers and modernizers with Muhammad Ali, Emperor Menelik II and Kabarega and a variety of resisters and collaborators such as Moshesh, Apolo Kaggwa, Abdel Kader, Lobengula, Koko and Oba Ovonramwen. This strict categorization made evidently for the sake of convenience does not seem altogether a happy one, based as it is on deliberate picking up of what seemed to be each leader's most characteristic qualities. As a matter of fact, and Professor Ikime is not unaware of this, any of the African leaders present in this sample displayed amazing capacities when dealing not only with domestic political situation but also and particularly with the paramount problem of all African leaders of the time, the European penetration and conquest of African societies. Thus Samori Toure classed among state and empire builders or Kabarega of Uganda and Menelik, identified as reformers and modernizers, could have been well presented in any of the three categories as they share the qualities of all, and there are many others, though only Moshesh appears in two.

It is, however, a useful volume to which contributors provided sufficiently rounded essays in as full a perspective as possible, without, fortunately, sticking to the interpretative apparatus of the current research of protest and resistance and without meditating with Professor Webster (in his Preface) on which of the leaders discussed can be considered conservative pragmatist and which rather radical idealists, whether European armies marched into the heart of Africa at the invitation of the progressives or rather over the resistance of the innovators, or what was amiss with European diplomacy that it failed to secure collaborative alliances with such conservative pragmatists predisposed to collaboration and "reluctant resisters" as, say, Menelik or Lobengula.

Altogether the essays form a very stimulating volume and thanks are due to all concerned for providing an African dimension to the discussion of the colonial scramble and partition of Africa.

Viera Pawliková

Márton, Imre: *La pensée politique du Président Ahmed Sékou Touré*. Revue du Parti — Etat de Guinée, No 90, septembre 1975. Conakry. 178 pp.

L'auteur du livre, Prof. Dr. Imre Márton, l'africaniste hongrois connu, qui a séjourné quelques temps en Guinée, connaît bien les œuvres du secrétaire général du Parti Démocratique de Guinée (PDG) et du Président de la République de Guinée Ahmed Sékou Touré.

Le savant hongrois présente dans son livre une description et une analyse de la richesse des idées de Sékou Touré. Il le fait à partir des positions qui sont la plate-forme idéologique et scientifique du professeur Márton. Dans l'introduction de sa monographie l'auteur fait connaître au lecteur la biographie du président guinéen.

Le livre a six chapitres. Dans le premier chapitre Dr. Márton caractérise les fondements théoriques de la stratégie du PDG dans la lutte pour l'indépendance nationale. Le deuxième chapitre est consacré aux conceptions du PDG sur le caractère universel de la lutte des classes et ses aspects spécifiques en Guinée. En ce qui concerne le troisième chapitre, celui-ci s'occupe des superstructures politiques et institutionnelles aussi bien que de la nature du PDG. L'objet de l'attention soignée du Professeur Márton dans ce chapitre sont tantôt les liaisons entre les structures économique-sociales et superstructures politiques, tantôt le rôle de l'armée et du Parti dans les structures du pouvoir.

Dans le quatrième chapitre l'auteur réfléchit sur les problèmes de la voie non-capitaliste de développement, du socialisme et des questions de développement. Le cinquième chapitre s'occupe de la question nationale dans les formations pluri-structurelles et pluri-ethniques. Naturellement, cette question joue un rôle très important et constitue un problème très difficile dans les conditions de l'Afrique Noire. Le sixième chapitre, final, traite de l'apport du PDG à la Révolution mondiale.

Dr. Márton trace ici les traits généraux de la singularité de la révolution guinéenne. Il fait la comparaison des trois variantes de forme de transition vers le socialisme (Viet-Nam, Cuba et Guinée) et écrit: «La classification des variantes des voies anti-impérialistes, anti-néo-colonialistes et non-capitalistes doit prêter une attention particulière à trois entreprises révolutionnaires privilégiées. Dans le monde actuel, en Amérique Latine, en Asie et en Afrique, nous trouvons trois modalités de rupture, trois variantes de *forme de transition vers le socialisme*. ...sont des plaques tournantes des avant-postes de Révolutions mûrissant à l'échelle continentale. Ce sont encore aujourd'hui des îlots de cristallisation des nouvelles possibilités historiques qui, demain, s'élargiront en réalités continentales. Le Viet-Nam, Cuba et la Guinée incarnent cet isocèle de situations singulières, ce triangle de modalités de rupture révolutionnaire, ce triangle de *variantes de transition vers le socialisme* à partir de la lutte de libération nationale. C'est précisément pour cette raison qu'ils

sont la triple cible de l'impérialisme contre les postes avancés du front mondial de la Révolution sur les continents asiatique, américain et africain. ... Cuba, Viet-Nam, Guinée représentent des entreprises privilégiées enrichissant la théorie marxiste sur la Révolution socialiste, sur la progression de la Révolution mondiale et *sur les modalités de liaison entre Révolution démocratique, nationale et Révolution socialiste*» (pp. 122—123).

Et l'auteur continue : «La Révolution guinéenne mérite une attention particulière comme entreprise vers le socialisme à partir de la résistance à l'impérialisme et au néocolonialisme, après la conquête de l'indépendance nationale, comme préfiguration des mutations économiques, sociales et politiques à l'échelle du continent africain, comme volonté consciente et résolue d'édification certaine du socialisme» (p. 123).

Le livre de l'auteur hongrois, édité en République de Guinée, est une contribution importante et fondamentale pour l'éclairage marxiste de théories politiques de l'homme d'État guinéen, du combattant conséquent contre l'impérialisme, le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme — Ahmed Sékou Touré. La monographie du Professeur Márton apporte une série de regards intéressants sur les problèmes politiques et idéologiques de Guinée qui ne sont pas toujours bien connus au grand public de l'Europe Centrale. Le travail du Prof. Márton représente une action scientifique très méritoire, qui revêt encore plus l'importance dans les circonstances mentionnées ci-avant. Il faut dire que l'auteur esquisse à grands traits aussi la périodisation de l'histoire guinéenne la plus récente.

Le contenu de la période allant de 1947 à 1958 a été, d'après Márton, la prise de conscience que le fait colonial était le fait dominant et que la lutte politique pour être radicale et puissante, doit nécessairement favoriser le front uni de toutes les couches contre l'ennemi commun : le régime colonial, l'impérialisme. Professeur Márton résume ainsi les phases du processus de transformation du PDG pendant cette période : «— De 1947 à 1952 le PDG n'était ni un mouvement cohérent, ni un Parti politique avec un programme précis. Il était une espèce de front hétéroclite et hétérogène. — De 1952 à 1958 il évolua pour devenir un mouvement politique fondé sur des principes démocratiques» (p. 126).

Et en ce qui concerne la période suivante — après l'obtention de l'indépendance en 1958 — allant de 1958 à 1964, Márton écrit : «— De 1958 à 1964 il se transforma en Parti politique progressiste, en Parti de démocratie nationale groupant tout le peuple laborieux sans distinction de race ni de sexe. — À partir de 1964 il se transforma en Parti politique, en un véritable Parti révolutionnaire d'avant-garde.» Le professeur hongrois s'identifie pleinement avec cette citation de Sékou Touré.

L'auteur continue la périodisation de l'histoire guinéenne la plus récente en précisant les différentes phases de la radicalisation de la Révolution de 1964 jusqu'à nos jours ainsi :

«Nous pouvions distinguer les phases suivantes :

- de la Loi-Cadre jusqu'au 8ème Congrès du Parti Démocratique de Guinée ;
- du 8ème Congrès au coup d'État au Mali (novembre 1968) ;
- du novembre 1968 à l'agression du 22 novembre 1970 ;
- le démantèlement de la 5ème colonne, l'épuration de l'appareil du Parti et de l'État (décembre 1970—octobre 1971) ;
- phase de consolidation, de rénovation en tirant les leçons du passé et en fixant les tâches nouvelles (octobre 1971 — 9ème Congrès du Parti Démocratique de Guinée)» (p. 136).

L'article du poète célèbre dans le monde entier, Aimé Césaire, est une partie intégrante du livre qui fait l'objet de notre compte-rendu. L'auteur y écrit sur les idées politiques du Président Ahmed Sékou Touré (pp. 161—174). La fin du livre est consacrée aux mots d'admiration du Docteur Jean Price-Mars (pp. 175—176), un ami de Sékou Touré et de Guinée.

L'édition de la monographie scientifique du professeur marxiste hongrois à Conakry est très importante et non moins nécessaire pour faire connaître l'idéologie et la politique révolutionnaire démocrate de Guinée.

Josef Poláček

Ingham, Kenneth: *The Kingdom of Toro in Uganda* (Studies in African History 10). London, Methuen and Co., Ltd. 1975. 186 pp.

The publication of a full length history of the Toro kingdom by Professor Ingham may well have raised the expectations of many scholars of lacustrine East African history. First of all, it is the first history of Toro to be published despite the fact that histories of the neighbouring kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro and Ankole in both English and vernacular languages have been available for many years. Ingham's work then could be expected to fill an important gap in the historiography of Uganda's Kingdoms. Secondly, Toro, unique among the lacustrine kingdoms of Uganda, has a short history of autonomy. Thus, its past lies well within the period for which oral traditional materials would be of considerable value. Professor Ingham with long experience in Uganda as Professor of History at Makerere University might well be expected to have exploited this unique and important aspect of Toro's past. Such expectations, despite the very fine workmanlike history which Professor Ingham has offered us, are unfortunately disappointed.

The Kingdom of Toro in Uganda is a thoroughly competent, highly readable and for students of African history very useful account of the political history of an African kingdom from about 1830 to the 1960s. In this lies both the strength and weaknesses of the book. In an introduction and six chapters, Professor Ingham takes the story of the Toro monarchy from its imperial origins as part of the Kitara empire

through its destruction by a resurgent Kitaran kingdom of Bunyoro led by Kabarega, its resurrection by Kasagama and his British imperial supporters, its firm establishment during the colonial era as a district and kingdom within the Uganda Protectorate and its ultimate destruction by the shock waves of independence and nationalist politics in the past decade. Throughout this account the monarchy and its institutions have remained at the center of attention (the word 'kingdom' appears in every chapter title). This results, as the author explains, from both the nature of the sources consulted: "the normal tools of the historian — documents, reports, memoirs and other written source material" (viii); and from the conscious interpretive choices of the author. According to Ingham: "The history of Toro is... the story of the struggle for sovereignty, and... constitutional conflict and political manoeuvre must remain at the heart of the narrative" (p. 1). The result, as the author clearly tells us, is that the "book is not so much the story of a people as the history of a state" (p. 1). As the history of the Toro state, the book is a significant success. Do we have a right in 1975 to have expected more?

In an age when oral traditional history has found acceptance and, indeed, a central place in the writing of African history, Professor Ingham's reliance on 'the normal tools of the historian' has become a bit old-fashioned, not to say, abnormal. Since Professor Ingham left the chair at Makerere, a vast amount of oral data collection, evaluation and publication has gone on in Uganda under the Chairmanships of Professors J. B. Webster and M.S.M. Kiwanuka. This has included very extensive work on the pre-colonial history of the Toro area by Makerere post-graduate students, including Mr. James Wilson and Mr. Ephraim Kamuhangire. One short paper by the latter appears in Professor Ingham's citations; nothing whatsoever, by the former has been referred to in the text, notes or bibliography. And while Professor Ingham makes mention of "oral evidence... from a wide range of sources" (viii), he fails to cite a single interview or name a single source of oral data which has gone into the narrative he presents. The result in terms of the book's treatment of pre-colonial history has been a thin dynastic rendition of succession disputes and royal character from strictly dynastic sources. Even there the important vernacular history collected by the late Mukama George Rukidi and available at Makerere in the Rutoro original and an English translation appears to have evaded the author's grasp. The history of the state, as a result, lacks both depth and an understanding of those qualities that make it an *African* kingdom in the 19th century rather than, for instance, an Anglo-Saxon kingdom of the 10th century. The role of clanship, of traditional social structure, of religion and kinship concepts, of the political ideas of the pastoral ruling class and of the everyday life of the populace are never described or considered. No ethnography or anthropology of traditional Toro society has found its way into Professor Ingham's short bibliography, nor, it appears, into his consciousness of Toro's past. It remains a narrative, however accurate and complete, of kings and battles, of "constitutional conflict and political manoeuvre".

Passing from the pre-colonial history to the era of colonial intrusion and administration, Professor Ingham has found firmer and more familiar ground. Here, where official and documentary sources are adequate and essential to the reconstruction of Toro history, we find the best that is new and useful in the book. With British colonial officialdom, Professor Ingham seems quite at home. The book retains its focus on the monarchy, on Kasagama and his successor Rudidi, who through their interactions with the colonial overlords provide the elements of conflict and manoeuvre which make for a compelling narrative of colonial rule. I need hardly say that once again the mundane affairs of the common man and the economic and social development of the colonially reinforced class system of Toro are passed over very lightly. Even the drama of colonial penetration becomes largely a question of the struggles between wilful personalities like Kasagama and Captain Lugard (seen almost exclusively from Lugard's perspective as recorded in his diaries), placed in a neutral social context. The popular insurrections within Toro, aroused by the ethnic exclusiveness of the monarchy, which erupted in 1919 and again in the Ruwenzuru movement of the 1960s, remain episodes which defy explanation in terms of the author's constitutional and political viewpoint. Thus, they remain unmentioned in the case of the 1919 events and effectively unexplained for the crucial period of the Ruwenzuru outbreak. Could it simply be that the 'normal tools of the historian' are inadequate to discern and explain those profound movements which operate beneath or outside the narrow circle of official and dynastic concerns at the level of popular consciousness? Or could it be that Professor Ingham's stated concern for the political history of the Toro state has really blinded him to the subterranean movements of the Toro people? Whatever the cause, the three chapters on the colonial era are thorough in their treatment of the politics of court and administration but totally lacking in their description of the regional, class and ethnic differences which make Toro a living society and not just a political abstraction.

Had this book been written a decade or more before it was, it could be gratefully accepted as a contribution to our knowledge of a little-known Uganda kingdom. Coming as it does after over a decade of intensive work by oral historians, anthropologists and political scientists and ignoring so much of their vital contributions to the development of a new African historical perspective and concern, the book appears at best a mildly old-fashioned, semi-official colonial history. At worst, it seems a sad exercise in the severe limits of the Western historiographic tradition in illuminating the substance and vitality of the African past.

Edward I. Steinhart

Rusch, Walter: *Klassen und Staat in Buganda vor der Kolonialzeit* (Classes and State in Buganda in Pre-Colonial Times). Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Heft 25. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1975. 485 pp.

This massive book begun as a Ph.D. thesis for Humboldt Universität in Berlin, deals with the economy, social structure and religion of pre-colonial Buganda and also includes fairly lengthy discussions on the nature of power and authority. Being based exclusively on published standard sources, it can lay claim to originality mainly on the ground that it offers an interpretation and an overall analysis of Buganda's economic and social development into a class society as it existed at the end of the 19th century. This becomes an analytic book for the study of social and economic stage of development and the state in Buganda on the eve of colonial rule from the Marxist point of view. Though various forces leading to the state formation are examined, with inevitable refuting of the much discredited Hamitic theory, the greatest attention is paid to the process of social and economic differentiation and the incipient formation of classes in the kingdom of Buganda.

"The country's violent conquest by the British colonialists abruptly interrupted a centuries old and independent historic process," argues Dr. Rusch. "On the eve of this occurrence, there had developed on the territory of Buganda a pre-capitalist class society headed by an absolute sovereign. He ruled a state which was an effective instrument of the ruling class for the control not only of their own population, but also of the peoples of the surrounding countries. This state had reached a much higher stage of development than the majority of African countries before the colonial period, and we hope sincerely Buganda will receive in African history books the place and attention it deserves."¹ This last wish sounds a bit odd to the present reviewer considering that Buganda belongs to the best documented African countries which historical and social anthropological research has covered in greatest detail. Undoubtedly, we possess a clearer and more detailed picture of the structure and the working of the Buganda kingdom than perhaps of any other kingdom in tropical Africa, certainly better than of any of the other states of the East African Lacustrine area. This is in part a reflection of the wealth of evidence available for Buganda, which includes a considerable amount of Luganda manuscript and published material, as well as European sources and oral traditions. Thus, this reviewer would have liked Dr. Rusch pay some attention to more autochthonous sources. True, he refers to Kaggwa's important work on the *Customs of the Baganda*, but he ignores all others, such as Kaggwa's famous *Basekabaka be Buganda, Ebika Bya Baganda*, not to mention other Luganda written sources, both published and unpublished,² with the exception of some articles published in the *Uganda Journal*.³

¹ Rusch, Walter: *Klassen und Staat in Buganda vor der Kolonialzeit*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1975, p. 390.

² See Bibliography of Luganda Written Sources attached to Rowe, J. A.: *Myth, Memoir and Moral*

Nonetheless, this is an interesting study in its own right. Dr. Rusch has certainly provided a lucid and thoughtful survey of the gradually developing pre-capitalist class society in Buganda. According to the author's own plan, as set out in his Preface, the book comprises four parts. The first part provides a general description of social organization, with particular stress on the standard of development of the forces of production in the middle of the 19th century as illustrated by the example of the production of foodstuffs, handicraft production, in the division of labour, and the barter trade.

The second part examines the development of the relations of production up to the end of the 19th century. The development in the relations of possession up to 1850. The relationship between the classes by the end of the 19th century. Ways and methods of the exploitation of the bakopi and the slaves and other sources of enrichment of the nobility.

The third part of this work analyses the formation of a state in Buganda, its structure and especially its character and functions in the 19th century. The fourth and the last part of the book studies the role of religion in the state; remnants of totemism, ancestor worship, the gradual development into national gods and the connection between the Kabaka and the religious system. The book is moreover equipped with two Appendices: Die Verteilung der bedeutendsten butaka einiger Clans innerhalb Bugandas Mitte des 19. Jh. (The distribution of the most important butaka of some clans within the mid-19th cent. Buganda) and Genealogy and Chronology of the Kings of Buganda, with the clans of Queen-mothers and reigning dates of recent Kings, adopted from Fallers' *The King's Men*.⁴ To this the date of the death of Kabaka Mutesa II, the last king of Buganda could have well been added. The information provided in the first Appendix has already appeared in Roscoe's *The Baganda*.⁵ Invaluable is an 18 pages long English summary, especially for those unfamiliar with the German language, and a fairly comprehensive bibliography of source material. However, one surprisingly misses any reference to M.S.M. Semakula Kiwanuka's works, such as his *History of Buganda. From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*,⁶ or Kiwanuka's annotated translation of the famous *Basekabaka be Buganda*, both of which appeared in 1971.

Admonition: *Luganda Historical Writing, 1893—1969*. In: *Uganda Journal*, 33, 1969, No. 1, pp. 17—40.

³ See Rusch, W.: *Klassen...*, Literaturverzeichnis, pp. 391—401, such as e.g. articles by Kulubya, Kabuga, Mukasa or Nsimbi.

⁴ Fallers, L. A. (Ed.): *The King's Men. Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*. London, Oxford University Press on behalf of the East African Institute of Social Research 1964, p. 395.

⁵ Roscoe, John: *The Baganda. An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs*. London, Macmillan 1911.

⁶ *The Kings of Buganda* by Sir Apolo Kaggwa. Translated and edited by M.S.M. Kiwanuka. Historical Texts of Eastern and Central Africa. Nairobi—Dar es Salaam—Kampala, East African Publishing House

Within these limits, however, it is a scholarly study based on a thorough and careful scrutiny of a sufficiently wide range of material. Dr. Rusch was not in a position to bring in new evidence, but he has applied his scholarly expertise to pursue the reappraisal of the evidence and its interpretation set in motion by other scholars. Thus, the works of Roscoe, Mair, Fallers, Richards, Meek and others are rather modified than replaced but what is important, is that the prevailing interpretations stressing the non-existence of class differences in the 19th century Buganda are reassessed and revalued.

Of interest is also Dr. Rusch's contribution to the literature on pre-capitalist economies. He refrains from adopting either the term feudal (European) or Marx Asiatic mode of production as not fully consistent with pre-colonial Buganda and presents his own model of a pre-capitalist economy: *vorkapitalistische Klassenverhältnisse* (a pre-capitalist class society) as an analytic tool for the study of the Kiganda society. This model is firmly grounded in a Marxist interpretation of economic relationships, with particular stress on exploitative mechanisms. Taxation of people, payments both in kind and *corvée* labour, adjudication, state raiding, predation and trading are seen as dominant exploitative elements of the economy. The exploited were not only the king's own subjects — *bakopi*, serfs and slaves, but also the neighbouring countries. All this the author argues out convincingly and contrary to the majority of previous opinions.⁷ Still, the value of the book under review would have been even greater, had Dr. Rusch been able to refer to some other Marxist models of pre-capitalist economies in Africa and relate his own interpretation to the ongoing discussion of pre-capitalist economic formations.

Viera Pawliková

1971; Kiwanuka, M.S.M. Semakula: *A History of Buganda. From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*. London, Longman Group Ltd. 1971; see also Kiwanuka, M.S.M.: *The Traditional History of the Buganda Kingdom*. With special reference to the historical writings of Sir Apolo Kaggwa. University of London, Ph.D. Thesis, 1965 (unpublished) and his article based on it, Kiwanuka, M.S.M.: *Sir Apolo Kaggwa and the Pre-Colonial History of Buganda*. *Uganda Journal*, 30, 1966, No. 2, pp. 137—152.

⁷ This author upheld a similar view in her unpublished thesis *The Influence of the Agreement of 1900 on the Social and Economic Development of Buganda*, submitted to Charles University, Prague in 1966 (in Slovak) and an article *Buganda and the Agreement of 1900*. *Asian and African Studies*, IV, Bratislava 1968, pp. 93—112.

"The origin of the "feudal" state emerging on the clan and lineage structure also meant the origin of a new production system. However, the changes carried out in the economic system as a result of the origin of the new production system and the "feudal" state — the property accumulation by the superstructure of the ruling bureaucracy and exploitation of the production classes — and the process of the social class stratification were under way while the development of the production forces was still at a relatively low level, in the society having sufficient subsistence agriculture but underdeveloped indigenous economies and trade, in the society with survivals of the traditional kinship organization where the functions of the descent groups and kinship relations infiltrated and interlarded with the political and legal structure of the stabilizing "feudal" state." Op. cit., p. 101.

Okhotina, N. V.: *Yazykovaya situatsiya v stranakh Afriki* (Language Situation in African Countries). Moscow, Nauka 1975. 267 pp.

The present volume of sociolinguistic papers on the language situation in African countries introduces a series of monographs prepared by the African Languages Department of the Institute of Linguistics, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in Moscow. This series intends to deal with such problems as sociolinguistic descriptions of language situations in various African countries and geographical areas, analysis of social functions of language in sub-Saharan Africa and language policies of the states in this region, study on the influence of social changes upon the language systems of these respective areas, descriptions of vehicular languages of Africa (*lingue franche*), micro- and macro-sociolinguistic research in Africa, study of the role of the IE languages in Africa, attempts towards typologies of language situations in Africa etc. In brief, a very ambitious and effective long-term programme of sociolinguistic research of Africa south of the Sahara.

In fact, such a programme (and the volume under review represents its first concrete step) fits perfectly well into the scholarly context of both disciplinary (linguistic) and interdisciplinary (sociolinguistic) research of sub-Saharan Africa operated nowadays by most classical and new centres of Africanist sciences throughout the world. Moreover, the present programme of the Moscow linguistic centre (and its first realized volume) is to be seen as a logical continuation of the best of the Russian traditional and modern linguistic thinking, often duly referred to in the present volume (Polivanov et al.).

This becomes particularly clear when one reads the general introduction to the present volume which is some sort of a theoretical and methodical platform-presentation and a valuable analysis of basic notions and terms. Written by V. A. Vinogradov, A. N. Zhurinskii and N. V. Okhotina, this introduction consists of a general, partly historical outline of the language situation in Africa (pp. 5—28), and an analysis of the basic theoretical and methodical frame of reference of sociolinguistics, as applied to African conditions. Based upon reliable data supplied by research carried out in the African field by such authors as E. C. Polomé (Zaire, Tanzania), Siegmund Brauner and Karsten Legère (Mali, Tanzania), David Parkin (Kenya) et al. and — last but not least — upon the basis of the general methodology of contemporary linguistics and sociolinguistics, the authors of the introduction have presented a very creative incentive for further development of research in this area. Moreover, they have already prepared the field for a return influence of the areal experience from Africa and the regional generalizations based upon the general (or perhaps universal) foundations of our discipline. This is particularly noticeable in such theoretical fields as that of the study of the relationship between language and dialect, spoken and written forms of languages, linguistic and ethnical labels etc. One might agree or disagree with particular sections: thus, the effects of urbanization

appear to the present reviewer to have been over-estimated. One might like or dislike particular details: thus, while welcoming data from Northern Nigeria, based as they are in their majority upon reliable Kirk-Green's material, the present reviewer would, nevertheless, still disagree with their identification with Nigeria as a whole, as it happened — in spite of the caveat on p. 17 — in surveys on p. 18, etc. On the whole, however, this is a very sound symbiosis of general and areal postulates. It would be worth considering a re-publication of such a synthetic introductory paper in English or French, so as to make it accessible to other specialists in this field.

After such a theoretical introduction, two geographical sections follow, one on Eastern, Equatorial and Southern Africa (pp. 47—154), the other on West Africa (pp. 155—236). A certain geographical imbalance of these two sections finds its repercussions even within their own internal structures. The basic principle is, however, sound: each geographical section is constructed from territorially oriented chapters (covering states or broader areas) and linguistically oriented chapters (covering major languages). Thus, the respective section on Eastern, Equatorial and Southern Areas of Africa consists of a chapter on language situation in Eastern and Equatorial Africa (I. S. Ryabova), and a chapter on language situation in Uganda (prepared by B. V. Zhurkovskii); a chapter on language situation in Congo-Brazza (V. P. Khabirov) is also included into this section. These territorial chapters are complemented by the following language-oriented chapters: Swahili Varieties and Dialects (I. S. Ryabova), Zulu and Fanagalo (A. D. Lutskov). Similarly, the West African section consists also of two territorially oriented chapters: Language Situation in Northern Nigeria (V. Ya. Porkhomovskii), and Language Situation in Cameroon (V. A. Vinogradov). These chapters are complemented by a chapter on the role of Krio in Sierra Leone (M. V. Dyachkov) and by another one on the communication role of Fula in West African countries (A. I. Koval). An exhaustive bibliography prepared by B. V. Zhurkovskii concludes the whole volume.

It is clear that a certain thematical asymmetry, appearing between the territorial and language chapters is probably due to the fact that the choice of topics was — as it often happens — limited by practical reasons. Every reviewer is probably aware of such problems from his own experience. Nevertheless, one regrets that at least the basic Swahili—Hausa parallelism has not been reflected in the present volume, as the territorially oriented chapter on Northern Nigeria could not deal with such problems as a sociolinguistic analysis of Hausa's usage outside Nigeria (and especially in Niger), the questions of Hausa secondary dialects etc. This gap is particularly noticeable owing to the fact that in the case of Swahili all these parallel problems are dealt with fairly exhaustively and well. While the territorial chapters offer lots of data for sociolinguistic comparison, the otherwise excellent chapter on Fula (which would deserve a sort of English or French translation, too) can hardly be compared with that on Swahili, as the sociolinguistic position of the two languages in West and East Africa is simply uncomparable.

The present reviewer appreciates the stress put by the authors and editors of the present volume on analysing the 'lingue franche' in Africa and on the process of pidginization and creolization, both in its theoretical aspect (Introduction) and in its concrete fields (Kituba in Congo, as analysed by Khaburov, Swahili used as a second language, as analysed by Okhotina and Ryabova etc.). One must certainly agree with many interesting and non-traditional conclusions, formulated by Dyachkov on Krio in Sierra Leone and on general features of the creolization process.

This is certainly a highly valuable reference monograph to be recommended not only to linguists working in the African field, but also to all those interested in general problems of communication.

Petr Zima

Ebert, Karen S.: *Sprache und Tradition der Kera (Tschad)*. Teil I.: Texte (Language and Tradition of the Kera People (Chad). Part I.: Texts). Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde. Herausgeber H. J. Greschat, W. Haenisch, H. Jungraithmayr. Berlin, Verlag Dietrich Reimer 1975. 351 pp.

This is a book interesting both by its subject-matter and its method of presentation.

The Chadic language of the Kera People belongs to one of the less known language group of the Chadic family, the scholarly research and description of which has been started relatively late. The only descriptive data known thus far on Kera were two limited word-lists, published by the pioneer of Chadic research, Prof. Joh. Lukas, in the 1930s. Only the recent progress in Chadic research has focused the attention of scholars also to this language community of ca 15,000 speakers in Southern Chad. The joint research scheme, operated in recent years by the Marburg Centre (Prof. H. Jungraithmayr) and the Chadic research base (J. P. Caprile) has broadened the linguistic horizons also in this area. Thus, the data on Kera, collected, transcribed and edited in a scholarly manner represent a very valuable contribution and a highly welcome material. One can only hope that a more systematic linguistic analysis based upon material so well presented, will appear in further volumes of this same edition.

A few words must be said, however, about the method of presentation and edition of the texts. Apart from a more or less consistent German-French bilingualism of the book (which makes it a remarkable exception in the field of editions of African texts, and reflects a sensitive respect for the needs of reading community in the Chad Republic) there is another exceptional feature: the author takes much care to make his effort valuable to other, non-linguistic disciplines of research which might be possibly interested in the interpretation of these texts. It should be noted, however, that Ebert is well aware of both the necessities and the limits of any interdisciplinary

usage of such language texts. After having attempted to present two types of translation in a simultaneous way (and the first text served the purposes of such an experiment), he has concluded that such a presentation of two translations (one precise, word by word, or morpheme by morpheme, the other more 'elegant' stylistically) is clearly impossible for the whole corpus, the translations being already too long owing to the consistent German-French bilingualism. Hence, the author has finally opted for one 'compromise' translation in German and French, supplemented, however, by more detailed explanations of those sections of each text which present constructions of some linguistic interest or which might have been difficult to understand.

In brief, this is an edition of texts to be read and consulted not only by those interested in the Kera language and culture, but also by anybody considering an edition of language texts from Africa.

Petr Zima

Whiteley, W. H. (Ed.): *Language in Kenya*. Nairobi, Oxford University Press 1974. 590 pp.

People who knew Prof. W. H. Whiteley realize — when reading this book so rich in ideas and field data — the great loss caused by the premature death of this extraordinary man and great scholar. In fact, all his vital energy, knowledge and keen understanding of Africa and its languages are reflected in this volume the edition of which constitutes a monument to his own work.

As most other volumes in the series *Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa* which already covers Uganda and Ethiopia (the respective volumes on Tanzania and Zambia are expected to appear soon), the book under review is focused on three major sociolinguistic fields: the language situation, the language use and the place of language in the educational system. Three major sections of the book correspond roughly to these three main fields. Methodically, however, one may also contemplate a different segmentation. One can distinguish papers corresponding most clearly to various sorts of survey (synchronically or diachronically oriented) from those analysing bilingualism and multilingualism, with special interest paid (and rightly so) to their symmetries and asymmetries. A third group of subjects concerns problems of language shift or maintenance and language switching. However, as such a methodical cleavage runs right across individual papers, it may be easily understood why the editor refrained from using it.

Whiteley's own introductory paper on classification and distribution of the African languages in Kenya (or at least its parts A and B) falls within such a first, survey-like group. An important parallel paper was prepared by B. W. Andrzejewski (presented

as an appendix on Somali and Galla in Kenya) and by Barbara Neale (presented as an independent chapter on Kenya's Asian Languages). On the other hand, there is T. P. Gorman's useful and reliable survey of the development of language policy in Kenya (Chapter 14) and the two particular surveys of language use in primary and secondary schools (prepared as Chapters 15, 16 by R. J. Hemphill and T. P. Gorman respectively). A most instructive case-study of the general and particular features of a concrete case of language standardization in Africa — the Luluyia case — is presented by P. A. N. Itebete as Chapter 3. Its importance exceeds the limits of the purely Kenyan context. When consulting it, a specialist from other African regions must realize how many sociolinguistically common or at least comparable features appear if such a Kenyan case of standardization is contrasted to or compared with other cases from, say, Western Africa. (See e.g. the cases of standardization in that region, as analysed by the present reviewer in *Black Africa: Literature and Language*, Prague 1976, p. 140 f.)

The analysis of language contacts and those of bilingualism and multilingualism penetrate, however, often into these descriptive surveys as well. Basic data of such key-patterns of the present sociolinguistic situation of most African countries are analysed for Kenya by Whiteley himself in part C of his introductory paper. He had his university students to perform a sort of micro-sociolinguistic survey in their home areas. During their vacations they were expected to make a 100 per cent sample of households within a 2—5 mile radius of their homes. In all 20 samples were thus collected from what the author calls the 'core' language areas, and 3 samples were collected from 'border' areas. All the major Bantu languages of Kenya were sampled, plus the Nilotic Luo and the Paraniotic Kipsigas. Each interview comprised two parts. First, each person was requested to answer a questionnaire dealing not only with personal data and data concerning the language use of his (her) relatives, but primarily with data concerning the language use and his judgement on his own competence in particular languages. Similarly, his judgements on the frequency of usage of these languages in daily language behaviour were requested from him. Both the language competence and the frequency of daily usage of the particular languages were rated via a five-point subjective scale.

The results of such a research appear to display (or often merely to confirm) many basic tendencies of the dynamism of bilingualism and multilingualism in Kenya. Thus, monolingualism appears to be limited to the older generations of women in more remote and hence, less developed areas. The frequency of the pattern of bilingualism *Swahili plus Native Tongue* is relatively high, especially in areas with strong ties with the (Swahili-speaking) coast. It is confined, however, predominantly to informants belonging to age-groups over 30. The bilingual pattern *English plus Native Tongue* is, however, relatively rare. The trilingual pattern *Swahili plus English plus Native Tongue* appears as most characteristic for rather broad areas of

Kenya. Thus, six languages report its occurrence up to 50 per cent or above, three Kikuyu samples up to 80 per cent.

Without minimizing the results of such surveys which supply us, in fact, with the best sociolinguistic statistics available so far, we have to bear in mind, however, also the limits of their interpretation. Most such results are based upon the informant's subjective judgement and evaluation of his own language competence and frequency of language usage. True, we can carefully check the statistical methods of data presentation. As far as the data themselves, however, we are still at the mercy of the informant's self-criticism, restraint, honesty, objectivity, subjective pride and even personal mood at the moment of the collection of data and filling in the questionnaire. Whiteley recognizes this handicap when writing that "... It may be that one learns more about attitudes than about aptitudes, but it seems worth making an attempt ..." (p. 36). We fully agree, and the results confirm that it was worth making the attempt. Even more, they justify making similar or comparable attempts as it is being done in other areas (the Segou Survey in Mali, the Madina Survey in Ghana etc.). In the case of the Kenya Survey such and comparable methods were applied not only in the introductory survey, but also in the paper on the usage of Swahili in rural areas (Chapter 12 — also prepared by W. H. Whiteley). This approach to broad areas was combined, moreover, with detailed studies of limited communities: D. J. Parkin has chosen one ethnically homogeneous Nairobi estate (Bahati — Chapter 6), and contrasted the results obtained with those from research in an ethnically heterogeneous estate of this same city (Kaloleni — Chapter 7). Further on, Janet Bujra based the survey of a relatively 'old' Muslim estate of Nairobi (Pumwani — dealt with in Chapter 9) less on statistical data and more on direct research resulting in a presentation of texts, samples of the actual varieties of language usage. Thus, an excellent and highly readable description of language usage and its full social context was obtained. Such a verification of subjective judgements of the informants via presenting the actual text-realizations of claimed or real language competence seems to indicate one of the possible ways of getting out of a certain methodical cul-de-sac into which any over-estimation of statistics might lead sociolinguistic surveys. A similar approach was attempted — though on a more reduced scale — in David Aoko's paper on language of the African Independent Churches in Nairobi (Chapter 10).

David Parkin's analysis of language switching in Nairobi market conversations (presented as Chapter 8 of the book) represents, perhaps, the peak of such efforts aimed at finding new ways of sociolinguistic analysis. The recorded dialogues (though quantitatively and qualitatively limited as they are) are analysed in terms of both spheres of communication and sociolinguistic, or perhaps even psycholinguistic roles of the speakers. When attempting to analyse such language switching in dialogues in terms of a game, the author may go perhaps too far (this appears more as a content-analysis), but his results may be further improved and nobody can forsee

what goals will be achieved, if the inventory of dialogical texts will be extended and their recording becomes less schematic (as it may easily happen now, with more sophisticated 'hidden' tape recorders and microphones available and already used even by classical dialectologists).

In brief, we have to appreciate the Kenya Language Survey not only for its extensive material and field data collected and published, but especially for having shown new ways to solve the methodical limitations of classical sociolinguistic surveys by:

- (a) complementing the subjective judgement of informants with actual text-realizations;
- (b) extending the analysis of texts from monologues (inherited by sociolinguistics from classical dialectology) toward dialogues;
- (c) including certain elements of content-analysis (and psycholinguistic analysis) as a possible factor influencing language switching.

Petr Zima

African Culture and Integration. Collected papers by Vladimír Klíma, Karsten Legère, Petr Zima. Dissertationes Orientales 36. Published by the Oriental Institute in Academia. Prague, Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences 1976. 172 pp.

Recent joint productive output of the two researchers from the Prague Oriental Institute, Dr. Klíma and Dr. Zima is quite an achievement. In one year they produced two substantial works dealing with African literatures, ideologies and languages. The first one, *Black Africa: Literature and Language*. Prague, Academia 1976, written in collaboration with the late Dr K. F. Růžička and examining the developing literacies and literatures of sub-Saharan Africa in connection with the simultaneous, complementary process of literary language development and of the standardization of languages for literary and other purposes, and with regard to ideological conflicts, is a successful attempt at blending the contributions of the linguist and the literary historian into the main structure of the book.¹ A number of themes that had emerged when an interdisciplinary approach was adopted to the study of African creative writing and were only briefly touched upon here, are discussed in greater detail in the recently published collection of studies by the two authors and Dr. Karsten Legère, who lectures at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig.

The focus of the four studies brought together under the title *African Culture and*

¹ See my review in *Asian and African Studies*, XIII, 1977, Bratislava, Veda, pp. 306—308.

Integration has switched to methodological questions of some specific integration problems in the sphere of African languages, literatures and cultures. The intention of the authors' team is to see African writing and languages in the general context of their cultural and social situation and in close connection with the development of ideological life.

The book opens with a short introduction written by Dr. Klíma in which he sets out the aims of this volume. Of the four studies included in the present collection, two are by him on the *African Personality* and on *Politics and Poetry — the Subjects of Senghor*. In the former the author produced an interesting viewpoint on the concept of the African Personality. Clearly, the Marxist approach, derived from historical materialism and applying dialectical method is best suited to examine all elements present in the concept of African Personality on all levels, political, economic, social and cultural. Quite naturally, however, stress is laid here primarily on the political and social aspects of the African Personality because precisely these aspects have gained in importance since the origin of the concept.

The following essay competently examines the mutual dependence of Senghor's political and artistic evolution suggesting how Senghor's thought, as revealed in politics and poetry, developed in response to French assimilation politics and the political, cultural and social changes in the post-war development of Black Africa. As the author himself spelled out: "No complex evaluation of Senghor's activities is possible if only one aspect (political or artistic) is taken into consideration. The two spheres have not been separated; on the contrary, any detailed analysis of the post-war literary and artistic development in Black Africa must pay attention to the profound political and socio-economic changes which have taken place there" (p. 78).

Then Dr. Zima has brought his wide fieldwork experience and qualifications to write a thoughtful succinct theoretical account of general and particular features of language integration in sub-Saharan Africa, of "the reaction of a language or dialect to particular integrationist or disintegrationist tendencies occurring in a society which uses the language or dialect in question for communicative purposes (whether it is a tribe, a nationality or a nation)" (p. 146), drawing the data on the integration of dialects and languages but also on language splits and divisions, from various languages of sub-Saharan Africa, primarily from Hausa and Songhay and marginally also from Ewe, Joruba, Swahili and other languages.

For this reviewer it is, however, the last paper in the volume, *Integration in Eastern Africa and the Language Factor* by Dr. Karsten Legère, that is of especial interest and significance, since this is the area of her specialization and main competence. As the title suggests, it deals with the language situation in East Africa which is dominated by Swahili as the most widespread language. After briefly reviewing the present East African language scene which is characterized by the continuous spreading and promotion of Swahili in all spheres of social life, particularly in

Tanzania and to a lesser degree in Kenya, Dr. Legère convincingly describes how the orientation towards Swahili, its implementation in the education system and the overall expansion of its social functions make Swahili an important integrating factor and an aid to nation-building. Thus due to concerted language policy of the Tanzanian government, Swahili has become "Tanzania's basic instrument of national identification and culture" (p. 159) and as Tanzanian national language "is making an active contribution to the process of integration on the national, as well as international levels" (p. 167). What the development of Swahili in Kenya will be and how its government will use it as a means of promoting national integration, remains to be seen.

It seems to the present reviewer to be worth working one's way through this collection of essays embodying some thought provoking statements and a mass of interesting data.

Viera Pawliková

Mair, Lucy: *African Societies*. London, Cambridge University Press 1974. 251 pp., bibl., maps.

This useful book by a well-known British Africanist and social anthropologist draws on the great experience of its author and her knowledge of the diverse theoretical interests which have emerged from social anthropological research in Africa. Professor Mair starts with a succinct theoretical chapter, defining her terms and assumptions, and continues with a series of eighteen chapters, each directed at a different aspect of society and illustrated by a description of a specific African society. Together they illustrate from different African societies among which British anthropologists have worked, and from a structural-functional point of view "what a British anthropologist sees as the most important aspects of a social system".

In the first and introductory part of the book, which students of social anthropology are sure to appreciate, Professor Mair offers a survey of the main theoretical concepts used in African social anthropology as interpreted and discussed in the spirit of the structural-functional tradition. Each of the following chapters summarizes an ethnographic account of a specific African society by different British social anthropologists "to show how ethnographic work illustrates theoretical positions".

Thus there is a lucid account of food-gatherers based on Colin Turnbull's work among the Mbuti Pygmies, an example of a pastoral mode of life based on Dyson-Hudson's description of the Karimojong or an illustration of an African agricultural society drawn upon the work of Elisabeth Colson and Thayer Scudder

on the Gwembe Tonga of Zambia. M. Fortes's Tallensi were taken to exemplify agnatic descent, M. Douglas's Lele of the Kasai and E. Colson's Plateau Tonga matrilineal descent and C. D. Forde's Yakö is a good example of double unilineal descent. There are also good concise accounts of Ndendeuli cognation based on Gulliver's work, of Nuer acephalous political system or of the age-organized societies, such as the Arusha. Specific aspects of religion, cosmology, politics, witchcraft and morals are well exemplified and illustrated by versions of R. C. Lienhart on Dinka religion, R. Horton on Kalabari cosmology, E. E. Evans-Pritchard on Azande witchcraft and oracles and Monica Wilson, Godfrey Wilson and Simon Charsley on Nyakusa witchcraft and morals.

Professor Mair avoids any generalizations. This is particularly clear from reading the accounts of the Benin kingdom and the Interlacustrine Bantu kingdoms. Rather she contends herself with confronting various arguments of different analysts on certain problems, such as e.g. feudalism in Africa, without expressing her own opinion.

Professor Mair is an experienced author of text-books on social anthropology.¹ Her book is easy to read and provides us with a good brief survey of the main theoretical approaches and analytical concepts of British social anthropological research towards African societies within the structural-functional framework, but also with a cross-section of a wide variety of social and cultural forms in sub-Saharan Africa. This book is especially useful to students of ethnography and social anthropology who need a quick and easy access to a large body of information that it provides.

Viera Pawliková

¹ Mair, Lucy: *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1965; Mair, Lucy: *Primitive Government*. Penguin Books 1962 or *The New Africa*. London, C. A. Watts and Co. Ltd. 1967, to mention but a few of Professor Mair's books.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Akira, Iriye (Ed.): *Mutual Images. Essays in American-Japanese Relations*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press 1975. 304 pp.
- Alpers, Edward A.: *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa. Changing Patterns of International Trade to the Later Nineteenth Century*. London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 1975. 296 pp.
- And, Metin: *Karagöz. Turkish Shadow Theatre*. Ankara, Dost Yayınları 1975. 80 + xvi pp.
- Andrews, Walter G., Jr.: *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry*. Minneapolis—Chicago, Bibliotheca Islamica 1976. 195 pp.
- Baumer, Van Rachel M. (Ed.): *Aspects of Bengali History and Society*. Asian Studies at Hawaii, No. 12. Honolulu, University of Hawaii 1975. 246 pp.
- Birken, Andreas: *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*. Wiesbaden, Dr. L. Reichert Verlag 1976. xiv + 322 pp., 6 maps. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 13.
- Bosworth, Clifford Edmund: *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*. Part One: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Life and Lore. Part Two: The Arabic Jargon Texts. The Qaṣīda Sāsāniyyas of Abū Dulaf and Ṣafī d-Dīn. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1976. xiv + 1—179 + 11 pp. and 179—368 + 100 pp., respectively.
- Dathorne, O. R.: *The Black Mind. A History of African Literature*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press and in the United Kingdom and India by Oxford University Press 1974. xi + 527 pp.
- Der Drachen im Baum*. Herausgegeben und aus dem Türkischen übersetzt von Yüksel Pazarkaya. München, Jugend und Volk Verlag 1976. 252 pp.
- Eckmann, János: *Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1976. 358 pp.
- Fekete, Lajos: *Einführung in die persische Paläographie. 101 persische Dokumente*. Aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers hrsg. von G. Hazai. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1977. 594 pp. and 242 tables.
- Frankel, Hans H.: *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady*. London, Yale University Press 1976. 276 pp.
- Garlick, J. P.—Keay, R. W. J.: *Human Ecology in the Tropics*. London, Taylor and Francis Ltd 1977. x + 200 pp.
- Grand'hénry, J.: *Les parlers arabes de la région du Mzāb (Sahara algérien)*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1976. xx + 136 pp.
- History of the Mongolian People's Republic*. Translation of the original work edited by Bagaryn Shirendyb et al. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1976. 915 pp.
- Josephs, Lewis S. with the assistance of Masa-aki Emesiochel, Masaharu Tmodrang, Helen Wilson: *Palauan Reference Grammar*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1975. xviii + 556 pp.
- Jost, François: *Introduction to Comparative Literature*. Indianapolis—New York, Pegasus: A Division of the Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc. 1974. 349 pp.
- Kalupahana, David J.: *Buddhist Philosophy. A Historical Analysis*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1976. 189 pp.
- Kalupahana, David J.: *Causality: The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1975. 265 pp.
- Kreiser, Klaus: *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyâ Çelebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*. Freiburg, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1975. xxxiii + 289 pp. Türkischer Text 148b—169a.
- Laqueur, Walter: *Guerilla. A Historical and Critical Study*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1977. 462 pp.
- Leadership in 19th Century Africa*. Essays from Tarikh. Edited by Obaro Ikime with a Foreword by J. F. Ade Ajayi and a Preface by J. B. Webster. London, Published for the Historical Society of Nigeria by Longman and in the United States by Humanities Press 1974. 179 pp.

- Lewin, Bruno—Kim, Tschong Dae: *Einführung in die koreanische Sprache*. Heilbronn, Verlag Vorspann-Werbung Dr. Gustav Scherer 1976. 2nd edition. 328 pp.
- Lewis, Bernard: *History. Remembered, Recovered, Invented*. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1976. vii + 111 pp.
- Liebert, Gösta: *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions. Hinduism — Buddhism — Jainism*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1976. 377 pp.
- Linguistics. An International Review*. 110. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1973, 128 pp.
- Llamzon, Teodoro A.: *Modern Tagalog: A Functional-Structural Description*. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1976. 148 pp.
- Modern Turkish Drama. An Anthology of Plays in Translation*. Edited with an Introduction by Talat Sait Halman. Minneapolis—Chicago, Bibliotheca Islamica 1976. 415 pp.
- Mukherjee, Sudhansu Bhusan: *The Age Distribution of the Indian Population*. Honolulu, East-West Center, East-West Population Institute 1976. 257 pp.
- The Muslim East. Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus*. Ed. by Gy. Káldy-Nagy. Budapest, L. Eötvös University 1974. 264 pp., XIII ill.
- Nida, Eugene A.: *Componential Analysis of Meaning*. The Hague, Mouton 1975. 272 pp.
- Özdemir, Hasan: *Die altosmanischen Chroniken als Quelle zur türkischen Volkskunde*. Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1975. 460 pp. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 32.
- Robb, P. G.: *The Government of India and Reform*. Oxford, University Press 1976. 379 pp.
- Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan*. Ed. by R. D. Stevens—Hamza Alavi—Peter J. Bertocci. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1976. 399 pp.
- Schregle, Götz: *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch*. Lieferungen 1—15. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1963—1974. viii + 1472 pp.
- Singer, Hans W.—Ansari, Javed A.: *Rich and Poor Countries*. London, George Allen and Unwin 1977. 228 pp.
- Sivan, Emmanuel: *Communisme et nationalisme en Algérie 1920—1962*. Paris, Fondation nationale des sciences politiques 1976. 262 pp.
- Stein, Burton (Ed.): *Essays on South India*. Asian Studies at Hawaii, No. 15. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1975. 213 pp.
- Studia Turco-Hungarica I—II*. Edited by Gy. Káldy-Nagy. Budapest, L. Eötvös University 1974—75. 77 and 74 pp.
- Svelmoe, Gordon and Thelma: *Notes on Mansaka Grammar*. Language Data. Asian-Pacific Series No. 6. Huntington Beach, California, Summer Institute of Linguistics 1974. 138 pp.
- Tatlow, Antony: *Brechts chinesische Gedichte*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1973. 163 pp.
- Thompson, Leonard: *Survival in Two Worlds. Moshoeshoe of Lesotho 1786—1870*. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press 1975. xx + 389 pp., maps, plates.
- Topping, Donald M.—Ogo, Pedro M.—Dungca, Bernadita C.: *Chamorro-English Dictionary*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1975. xxix + 336 pp.
- War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*. Ed. by V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp. London, Oxford University Press 1975. viii + 448 pp.
- Wares, Alan C.: *Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics 1935—1972*. Huntington Beach, California, Summer Institute of Linguistics 1974. 275 pp.
- Wolfenden, Elmer: *A Description of Hiligaynon Syntax*. Norman, A Publication of the Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma 1975. xvi + 170 pp.

ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES XIV

Prebal a väzbu navrhol *Ján Meisner*

Redaktorky publikácie *Klára Moravcová a Eva Zikmundová*

Technický redaktor *Jozef Szabó*

1197/I-1973

71 - 161 - 78

509/58 12/12

Kčs 40,— I