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## ARTICLES



## NOUN CLASSES. A TYPOLOGICAL COMPARISON

VIKTOR KRUPA, Bratislava

This paper is an attempt to sketch a typological framework for a content and form analysis of overtly marked noun classes in various languages. The noun classes are characterized as displaying features of both lexical and grammatical categories.

In various parts of the world there occur languages in which the nouns are subclassified into several classes indicated by overt markers. These affixal classifiers are obligatory not only with the nouns but also with those words that combine with them in the quality of their syntactic modifiers. Here we have to do with the grammatical agreement that is one of the means of marking syntactic interrelations of words within the sentence. Some linguists tended to interpret the noun classes as a feature of the primitive grammatical structure, especially in those languages where the number of noun classes was fairly high, ignoring the fact that the so-called genders in many Indo-European languages are very much of the same nature. Here one ought to stress that the existence of affixal classifiers, far from being an attribute of primitiveness, is the result of a complex abstracting activity that has resulted in an originally conceptual subclassification of nouns. At the same time, affixal classifiers are, no doubt, genetically more recent than lexical classifiers. The latter represent something like an embryonal phase in the development of the category under scrutiny (cf. Japanese, Indonesian as well as some other languages of that area); here the noun classes are indicated via markers that may occur not only as classifiers but (at least to a considerable extent) also as autosemantic lexemes. Affixal classifiers have ultimately developed from autosemantic lexemes, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that, e.g., in Australia two neighbouring languages use practically the same set of bond morphemes which are prefixes in one language and suffixes in another (Capell, 1962, p. 9).

Although the affixal phase of marking the noun classes has inevitably been preceded by a lexical phase, this does not mean that all affixal classifiers can immediately be derived from autosemantic lexemes. It seems that likewise derivative affixes play a certain part in the constitution of the category of noun classes (cf. Klingenberg, 1958).

Overt noun classes are known to occur in linguistic areas among which the amount of interference equals zero. That is why their existence may be regarded as

a manifestation of certain universal tendencies. Thus, the noun classes in an advanced phase of development are reported, e.g., from some Australian, Caucasian, and African languages; the category of gender in many Indo-European as well as Semitic languages is of the same type.

The nature of noun classes cannot be adequately understood without a comparison of their formal and content aspects in various languages. Neither would it be found out in which phase of the evolutionary cycle a particular language is, as far as its system of noun classes is concerned. Therefore, we shall make an attempt to confront the noun classes in the different areas as well as to ascertain what is universal, on the one hand, and what is specific for a particular language, on the other hand.

Australian languages are today regarded as genetically related and from the typological point of view are divided into two main groups termed conveniently prefixal and suffixal languages. The prefixal languages prevail in the Arnhem Land, on the adjacent southwestern coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and in the Kimberley area in northeastern Western Australia as far west as the western border of Dampier Land (Wurm, 1971, pp. 732—733). In this area, multiple noun classes (more than two) are reported from the Wororan, Daly, Larakian, Kakadju, Mangerian, Bureran, Nunggubuyan, Andilyaugwan and Yanyulan families, Nungali of the Djamindjung family, Maung of the Iwaidjan family, and members of the Gunwingguan family. With the suffixal languages, noun classes occur in three widely separated regions, i.e., southeast of the Arnhem Land (Tjingili-Wambayan family and Wakaya-Warluwaric group), in the northeastern coastal Queensland (some languages of the Yara subgroup), and in the northeastern New South Wales (languages of the Bandjalangic group). Besides, there are languages displaying only binary noun classifications (Wurm, 1971, pp. 734—735).

The number of noun classes varies with the language, and sometimes even dialects of one and the same Australian language differ considerably in this respect. This indicates that the system of noun classes is not very stable, which may result from a fairly high number of the noun classes or from an overlapping accompanied by a fusion of the classificatory criteria and a decay of some oppositions. Here we arrive at the question whether the noun classes have a semantic or a formal nature. Some linguists maintain that the classificatory principle is essentially semantic (Wurm, 1971, p. 734). This seems to be corroborated by the fact that various Australian languages class semantically cognate words in a very similar manner. On the other hand, E. Kähler-Meyer believes that the noun classes represent a petrified grammatical system, the content nature of which cannot possibly be defined (Kähler-Meyer, 1953). The author has arrived at this conclusion probably because most, if not all classes comprise a certain amount of such words the membership of which cannot be explained by means of semantic criteria. In such a case one is driven to an attempt at reconstructing the original motivation with the aid of the comparative method. We are of the opinion that the question of a semantic or formal nature of the noun classes

cannot be answered in general terms, since various languages may display various phases of grammaticalization in this respect. However, it ought to be observed that — in view of the cyclic nature of the evolution of grammatical phenomena — various phases of the grammaticalization may in no way be correlated with various “phases” of thought. Thus Kähler-Meyer extracts his conclusions from African data and there is no reason to apply them to Australian, or Caucasian, or any other languages, since the degree of grammaticalization of the noun classes in these languages may differ.

A comparison of the noun classes in Australian, Caucasian and African languages indicates that the basis of the classification is semantic.

Maung has been selected as a representative of the Australian class languages. A. Capell and H. E. Hinch (1970, pp. 48–52) distinguish six classes in Maung. Strictly speaking, there are only five of them since class III represents the plural forms of nouns referring to human beings whether male (class I), or female (class II). The class markers in Maung are prefixal (see Table 1).

Table 1. Class markers in Maung

|          | I         | II    | IV        | V   | VI  |
|----------|-----------|-------|-----------|-----|-----|
| Singular | (j)i-     | ninj- |           |     |     |
| Plural   | wi-(=III) |       | (w)u(ng)- | ma- | aw- |

Class I comprises nouns referring to persons of the male sex, e.g., *arargbi* man, *bunji* father, *gaju* elder brother, *marijun* boy, *gjugan* chief. Likewise, some nouns referring to animals belong here, e.g., *luludj* dog, *wundarug* opossum, *ajang* kangaroo, *mulaŋ* mouse, *aŋugin* snake. Some names of birds, fish, sea creatures and insects are included, e.g., *guŋagag* crow, *jimidjig* feather, wing, *gjab* fish, *mawunga* a small mangrove crab, *molg* fly, *widu* worm, *minang* louse. Besides, a few names of objects connected with the human body and names of some body parts are included in class I, e.g., *manburwa* cloth, *umbunuri* eyebrow, *umbuluni* eyelash, *-jigi* tooth, *nagaɖam* cheek, *madjar* neck, *molirg* shoulder. As far as other semantic domains are concerned, *gurana* moon is classed here ; in Australian mythology moon is always personified as a male being (and sun as a female). Such nouns as *mijarud* fog, *innig* dew, *walmad* rain are also probably personified as a life-giving, active male principle ; *mararawg* lightning and *duŋuj* thunder may be interpreted as manifestations of spirits. However, it remains unclear why, e.g., *gudjun* clay and *jurwiri* ashes, are included in this class.

Class II comprises, first of all, nouns referring to persons of the female sex, e.g., *waramungbig* woman, *laŋa* sister, *ngawinj* daughter, *gamarijuwun* widow. Anatomic terms, however, do not occur here. Nouns *muwan* sun and *wilamurg* star are included because they are personified as feminine beings. Class II includes names of birds (with the exceptions listed under class I), e. g., *mununur* dove, *mawariju* duck, *manimunag*

goose. Besides, a few names of animals are included here, e.g., *mularig* frog, *munjgan* wasp.

As mentioned above, class III consists of plural forms of nouns referring to male or female persons that are classed in singular as I or II.

Class IV comprises many nouns referring to objects related to the ground, e.g., *gunag* land, camp, *murju* hill, *wubadj* water, *wumawur* river (also Milky Way), *ngulurubi* bay, *wariad* stone, *adjud* sand, *ungumbuli* cape. A special subgroup is formed by temporal expressions like *nguridj* day, *ngamuri* dry season, *ngulamngulam* morning, *wuburg* night. Some body parts are likewise classed here, e.g., *ngařalg* tongue, *walmugbug* brain, *wari* elbow. Finally, there are also abstract nouns, e.g., *da jaliwjud* what is good, *da nungmurundi* danger.

The semantic core of class V consists of nouns referring to trees and objects made of wood, e.g., *walg* tree, *merg* leaf, *mawirijag* root, *mamawur* branch, *windjila* spear, *gubunj* canoe, *wirjala* boomerang, *mawngu* shed. It is easy to understand why nouns as *junggu* fire, *wunganj* smoke, *ma-ngařalg* flame are included in this class. However, the reason for including some body parts is not clear (e.g., *larigalg* ear, *wun* eye, *mulu* nose, *mangalngař* throat, *gorag* belly, *maningul* blood).

Class VI comprises many nouns referring to edible plants and food, e.g., *walidj* food, *maw anj* lily root, *mijuba* a sort of yam. The motivation of other nouns is not clear, e.g., *mařu* wind, *gojinu* cloud, *-djalg* human body. This class contains less items than any other class.

The class markers in Maung are obligatory with all nouns. The noun classes may be characterized as a selective lexico-grammatical category. The class markers are likewise obligatory with all words (with the exception of particles) that modify the nouns in the sentence, i.e., with adjectives, verbs, pronouns and even with articles. This category is modulative with the modifiers since the agreement requires it. Class markers are prefixal in Maung. The category of class has reached its height in Maung, having overcome a rather long distance from the initial phase in which the class markers have had the status of autosemantic lexemes. No wonder that the extralinguistic motivation is not always clear, although Maung is still fairly transparent when compared with other Australian languages. The categorization of nouns seems to be based upon a distinction among male beings, female beings, earth, trees, and plants. This is complicated by other motivational layers and thus it is hard to explain why, e.g., body parts are found in several classes. Despite some illogicalities, the content basis of the nominal categorization is undeniable. It reflects the *Weltanschauung* and practical needs of a certain society. The world of objects is divided here into three spheres. The first sphere comprises living beings (sex is distinguished only in the singular). These are opposed by the sphere of plants (and trees) and, finally, by the sphere of objects related in some way or another to the earth.

It is to be observed that the opposition of animals and human beings is not

formalized in Maung, which is, after all, not so surprising with totemism prevailing.

As mentioned above, the classifiers are very close to derivation since they specify and modify the lexical meaning; in such a case meaning of the derivative basis may seem to be diffuse and indefinite. E.g., *-mimi* without a classifier refers only to something long and hard. When the classifier I is applied to this basis, it denotes the male spine (*jinimi*); as class II it refers to the female spine (*ninjimi*), as class V to the tree trunk (*manimi*) and as class VI to the main tuber of a potato or yam (*adimi*). Another example is the basis *-mawur*. As a member of class I it refers to a boy's hand (*imawur*), as class II to a woman's hand (*ninjmawur*), as class V to the "hand" of a tree, i.e., branch (*umawur*) and, finally, as class VI to the main shoot of a vine (*abawur*).

The category of noun class is widespread among African languages. There are three groups of such languages in Subsaharan Africa. The numerous Bantu languages in Central and Southern Africa have prefixal classifiers; their best known representative is Swahili. Another group includes some languages in western Sudan. And, finally, there are class languages in Kordofan (both prefixal and suffixal classifiers occur here). The data from African languages indicate that the classifiers have developed from autosemantic lexemes and, besides, are related to derivation.

In Swahili, the classifiers are fused with the number markers. Ten classes are distinguished traditionally (cf. Růžicka, 1968, p. 5). However, we can do with the first six classes for our comparative purposes since class VII represents deverbative nouns, while classes VIII to X comprise locatives. The class markers of Swahili are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Class markers in Swahili

|          | I            | II           | III          | IV         | V           | VI          |
|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Singular | <i>m(u)-</i> | <i>m(u)-</i> | <i>ji-~∅</i> | <i>ki-</i> | <i>n-~∅</i> | <i>n-~∅</i> |
| Plural   | <i>wa-</i>   | <i>mi-</i>   | <i>ma-</i>   | <i>vi-</i> |             | <i>ma-</i>  |

A preliminary content analysis of the six Swahili classes gives us the following picture.

Class I includes names of human beings, e.g., *mtu* man, *mwenzi* friend, *mtoto* child, *mke* wife, *mjinga* madman, *mchungu* shepherd, *mwamuzi* judge and, strangely enough, nouns like *mnyama* animal, *mdudu* insect.

Class II comprises nouns referring to trees, plants, instruments and other products from them, e.g., *mti* tree, *mlima* mountain, *mkunde* beans, *mchele* rice, *muhogo* manioc, *mshale* arrow, *mkate* bread, *moshi* smoke. Besides, some abstract nouns, body parts and toponyms are included here, e.g., *mwanzo* beginning, *mwaka* year, *mkono* hand.

Class III includes names of pair organs of the body, fruits, liquids, large objects, and loanwords, e.g., *jicho* eye, *nanasi* pineapple, *maziwa* milk, *maji* water, *damu* blood, *mvua* rain, *nguzo* pillar, *ngazi* ladder.

Class IV comprises names of objects, customs, languages as well as some nouns referring to persons, animals and, finally, diminutives and loanwords, e.g., *kitanda* bed, *chuo* book, *kipande* piece, *chunga* pot, *kisu* knife, *kikapu* basket, *kibarua* worker.

Class V contains names referring to persons, animals as well as to concrete objects and abstract ideas and, besides, most loanwords, e.g., *shahidi* witness, *ndege* bird, *kosa* mistake, *shauri* advice, *penzi* love, *jua* sun, *kazi* work, *mboga* vegetables.

Class VI includes the so-called extracta (one of many), names of countries and abstract nouns (deverbatives, deadjectives, desubstantives), e.g., *unywele* a hair, *ua* flower, *utoto* childhood, *uree* old age, *uzuri* beauty, *Ufaransa* France, *wanja* yard, *upande* country, region, *waqati* time, *usingizi* sleep, *upepo* wind, *umeme* lightning.

In Swahili, the syntactic modifiers of nouns likewise take class markers, in agreement with the words they determine. However, unlike Maung, it is the semantic of the noun that is relevant to the choice of the class marker in the modifier, and not its formal class membership. Here we refer to those instances when the meaning of a noun clashes with its formal class membership. Thus, e.g., the Swahili names of persons and animals that are members of the class V, despite the fact that they contain markers of class V, require markers of class I with their syntactic modifiers. Likewise, the nouns *mtume* apostle, *mungu* god and *mzimu* ghost (class II) require markers of class I with their modifiers. This change in agreement indicates that Swahili takes up a higher phase in the formalization of this category than Maung does. By the way, analogous instances may be quoted from Slavic languages. Slovak nouns of the type *sluha* servant, *radca* counsellor contain the feminine marker -a, but despite this, they behave as masculine nouns in speech and their attributes take masculine suffixes.

C. Meinhof is of the opinion that the noun classification in the Bantu languages is not based upon a single principle, but that there are several mutually overlapping systems. First, there is the objective criterion that distinguishes human beings, ghosts (trees, mountains, rivers, etc.), liquids, instruments, animals, places, actions, and states. Second, the mutual relations of objects in space play a part — e.g., whether an object is located within another object, close to it, or away from it. Third, an account is taken of mutual relations of objects as to their size and importance (diminutives, exaggeratives, pejoratives). And, fourth, quantitative relations are reflected here as well — whether it is one object of two or many, or a collective (Meinhof, 1931). This may certainly be true but now we should survey the situation in some of the Caucasian languages, especially in the Daghestan group and in Abkhaze. It is worth mentioning that the nouns in these languages contain class markers only as relics from the past. The class markers are obligatory only with those words that modify the

nouns in the sentence (i.e., with verbs, adjectives, numerals, etc.). The relic markers with the nouns seem to indicate that the Caucasian languages have overcome the phase of the greatest distribution of the category of noun classes. Some Caucasian languages display more relic markers than others. The number of classes in the plural is usually smaller than in the singular, and the grammatical status of the markers is varied; prefixal, suffixal and infixal class markers coexist even within one and the same language.

An historical and comparative investigation indicates that the number and semantic content of the noun classes in the Caucasian languages has been changing. I. D. Desheriev has reconstructed four classes for the Nakh languages; these classes, however, were subject to later changes (Desheriev, 1967, p. 187). When compared with the Bantu and Australian languages, the Caucasian languages display a later phase of the grammaticalization cycle, as manifested by the loss of class markers with the nouns, by the reduction in the number of classes (e.g., in Abkhaze there are only two classes, the class of human beings and that of all other nouns), as well as by the loss of semantic transparency (which varies according to the particular class). To be sure, this "loss of classificatory criteria" results in a reduction of the classes as well as in the application of new classificatory criteria.

Despite all these changes, the noun classes in the Caucasian languages may be characterized at least in the most general features. The quaternary subdivision of nouns occurs in most of these languages. Class I includes names of human beings of the male sex, class II those of the female sex, class III names of animals, class IV objects, abstracts, etc. If there are only three classes, class III comprises all nouns except nouns referring to human beings. However, deviations from this pattern occur in some languages, e.g. in Archin, Lak, Khvarshin, etc. In Andian with its six classes (see Table 3), the semantic background of classes IV and V is not obvious, while class VI comprises chiefly insects.

Table 3. Class markers in Andian

|          | I        | II       | III      | IV       | V        | VI       |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Singular | <i>v</i> | <i>j</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>r</i> | <i>r</i> |
| Plural   |          |          | <i>j</i> |          |          | <i>j</i> |

The category of gender is sometimes regarded as different from that of class, although the former represents simply a subtype of the latter; only the number of classes is smaller and their semantic motivation perhaps less transparent. In his study quoted above, Meinhof considers the noun classes to be "more logical" than the three grammatical genders known from the Indo-European languages. This betrays a lack of historical perspective with Meinhof. It is not merely a question of

overlapping systems. Coexisting systems have resulted from an historical evolution ; new criteria have been superimposed upon earlier ones without annihilating them completely. "More logical" here means only a more transparent motivation. To be sure, the motivation is not given once for all. Viewed diachronically, it is a sequence of motivations. The external stimuli enter the lexico-grammatical sphere incessantly. At the same time, the new stimulus usually does not annul the old one, at least not completely. The replacement is partial and this is how the so-called illogicalities appear and various ways of solving the tension between form and content evolve. The change of agreement in Swahili has been quoted as an example of this process.

Here we have arrived at the question of the so-called illogicality of grammatical and lexico-grammatical categories. This illogicality results, first, from the fact that the grammatical categories are obligatory, second, from their autonomous status as far as the extralinguistic reality is concerned and, third, from their functioning as factors of the internal consistency of language. Reality is so complex that, due to a restricted number of the noun classes, there are inevitably instances in which the inclusion of a particular noun in a particular class is forced and arbitrary. It is the existence of such nouns that makes the application of new classificatory criteria possible leading in the long run to a restructuration of the formal framework. Changes in the system of noun classes may be enhanced by the existence of overlaps among particular classes as well as by a relatively high number of the classes ; in the latter instance, the classificatory base may break down due to its awkwardness so that the particular classes cease to be a psychological reality.

If a classificatory criterion is no more felt as productive, this need not result in a decline of the category of class ; a new criterion may come to the word so that the category is revived even if upon a different basis. Thus the category of gender has been revived in the Slavic languages through the opposition of animate versus inanimate nouns. In Standard Slovak this opposition is relevant only with the masculine nouns in the singular. In the plural, however, the animate nouns include only words referring to human beings while the words denoting animals are classed as inanimate (with a few exceptions). In some dialects (e.g., in western Slovakia), this opposition has been extended so as to include both singular and plural of the masculine nouns. A more advanced phase of its generalization is found in Russian where all nouns are distinguished as either animate or inanimate.

The differences between genders and classes turn out to be merely terminological. S. D. Katsnelson does not distinguish between the two categories (Katsnelson, 1972, pp. 22–27), pointing out that the semantic basis of the classification is not always clear, although he does not reject it.

Noun classes (and also genders) represent a lexico-grammatical phenomenon. They may be characterized as lexical because only very few lexemes have their pendants in all (or even in several) classes and, in those rare instances when this is possible, we have to do with derivation. On the other hand, the noun classes are



relevant for the grammatical structure since they differ as to their role in syntax. Thus, e.g. nouns belonging to the class of living beings occur significantly more frequently as sentence subjects than other nouns.

A mention has been made of the cyclical nature of the evolution of grammatical phenomena. As far as the noun classes are concerned, there are several phases of the evolutionary cycle. In the first phase, the classificatory function is marked by a separate lexeme that occurs only in certain environments; this is the case of Indonesian and other Southeast Asian languages where the classifier cooccurs with numerals. The extralinguistic motivation is the most transparent in this phase. In the next phase, the distribution of the classifier is being extended; e.g., in Vietnamese it does not depend upon the numerals. Subsequently, the classifiers turn into affixes that are obligatory both with the nouns and with their syntactic modifiers (e.g., Maung and Swahili with their complicated system of agreement). Finally, the Caucasian languages seem to display an even more advanced (and recessive) phase of the cycle, which is marked by a disappearance of the classificatory affixes with the nouns.

The attribute cyclical means that the particular phases of the evolution of a grammatical category cannot be mechanically correlated with the evolution of thought. By the way, an evolutionary cycle may be interrupted in any phase and, besides, after the cycle has closed down, a new cycle may start even if upon a background different from that of the previous cycle.

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## LEXICAL INNOVATION THROUGH BORROWING AS PRESENTED BY ARAB SCHOLARS

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The aim of the present paper is to survey a number of approaches to the definition and classification of lexical borrowing as a word-formational procedure in Arabic which might be found representative of the recent stage of methodology and linguistic awareness in Arab scholarship.

1. The great concern of Arab scholars, various institutions and sophisticated language users in adjusting the contemporary lexicon of Arabic to the needs of modern society has started a wide discussion about the adequacy and suitability of lexical borrowing and its place in the set of the word-formational procedures of Arabic. The urgent demand for a huge scientific and technical lexicon, with no sufficient time available for a fully deliberate terminological *Selbstentwicklung*, is no doubt one of the most powerful factors stimulating the process of lexical borrowing. When speaking in this context, about lexical borrowing, it should be emphasized at the very beginning that Arabic, even if happening to be the most deeply affected by foreign influences from all Semitic languages,<sup>1</sup> has at no period of its history absorbed such substantial amounts of foreign lexical elements which would impair the Semitic character of the lexical stock of the language to any considerable degree. So far the general trend. Some minor exceptions represented by very interesting, to be sure, but when viewed from the general angle of the linguistic development of Arabic, rather insignificant phenomena of language contact as those associated with Maltese or Cyprus Arabic,<sup>2</sup> for instance, are here of course disregarded.

2. Before embarking on details, some preliminary remarks on the terminology used by native authors seem to be of order. The technical term usually associated with lexical borrowing is *taʿrīb* (literally, Arabization, translation into Arabic).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Belkin, V. M.: *Arabskaya leksikologiya* (Arabic Lexicology). Moscow, Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1974, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> In Maltese, the lexical stock of Arabic, together with some substratum elements of Semitic provenance, is substantially reshaped as a result of a far-reaching process of Romanization. In Cyprus Arabic, rapidly disappearing under the linguistic impact of Greek, we have to do with an all-pervading process of Hellenization. For Maltese, see e.g. Aquilina, J.: *The Structure of Maltese. A Study in Mixed Grammar and Vocabulary*. The Royal University of Malta 1959. Or: Aquilina, J.: *Papers in Maltese Linguistics*. The Royal University of Malta 1961. For Cyprus Arabic, see. e.g. Tsiapera, M.: *A Descriptive Analysis of Cypriot Maronite Arabic*. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1969.

Nevertheless, the relation between the process of lexical borrowing and what is actually covered by the term *taʿrīb* is not quite specific. While, substantially,<sup>3</sup> every case of lexical borrowing is invariably described in terms of *taʿrīb*, the opposite does not hold true. For the latter term, in the use of Arab scholars, tends to denote, besides lexical borrowing understood in its narrow technical sense, any type of 'Arabization' ranging from various minor and fairly specialized processes of undergoing foreign influences in any particular field of communication (viz., stylistic, idiomatic, grammatical, etc.), up to the global and all-pervading process of introducing or reintroducing the Arabic language into spheres of communication — whatever their hierarchical rank and cultural importance might be — from which it has been earlier excluded. When trying to survey some of the most typical features of this inconveniently polysemous term, the following three applications of the latter may be presented in a rather arbitrary arrangement based on the increasing generality range associated with them:

(1) *taʿrīb* (i): lexical innovation through borrowing;

(2) *taʿrīb* (ii): lexical innovation in general, possibly involving the whole set of word-formational procedures of Arabic, the foreign stimuli are, for the most, only tacitly assumed;<sup>4</sup>

(3) *taʿrīb* (iii): introduction of Arabic into a sphere of communication heretofore secured by a foreign language or its reintroduction therein after a certain period of disuse; or, even more generally, establishment (or re-establishment) of Arabic as a true national literary idiom and official language supplanting, in this position, some other languages imposed by a foreign rule (Turkish, English, French, etc.),<sup>5</sup> etc.

In what follows, we shall be concerned chiefly with phenomena related to *taʿrīb* (i) and, marginally, with those covered by *taʿrīb* (ii) on condition, however, that they have, in one sense or another, something in common with the lexical innovation through borrowing, irrespective of whether they happen to be described in different terms, as a matter of alternative solution, or not. As will become obvious from what

<sup>3</sup> For an almost exclusive identification of *taʿrīb*, when understood in its narrow technical sense of word-formational procedure, with the adoption of loanforms, see later on. Various semantic (loanshifts, loan translations) and derivational procedures, applied to the existing resources of the language under foreign influence, are usually classified under different headings. The process of assigning new senses to the existing lexical units, even in cases displaying clear foreign influence, is usually treated under *majāz* or *tajawwuz* (metaphor), quite independently of *taʿrīb*, while the derivational coinages, even if bearing marks of foreign stimuli, are treated under *istiḳāq* (derivation).

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Fahmī, Ḥasan Ḥusayn: *al-Marjīʿ fī taʿrīb al-muṣṭalahāt al-ʿilmiyya wal-fanniyya wal-handasiyya* — 'awṣā bi-našrihi majmaʿ al-luġa al-ʿarabiyya (Arabization of scientific and technical terms (Sponsored by the Academy of the Arabic Language)). Cairo, Maktabat an-nahḍa al-miṣriyya (The Egyptian Renaissance Library) 1958. Fahmī's *xuṭṭat at-taʿrīb wa xuṭuwātuhu* (the project of Arabization and its progressive implementation) (pp. 42—43) makes substantially no difference between coinages made under foreign influence and quite independent and spontaneous ones which are due to the Egyptian terminologists and lexicon makers.



follows, the latter category of phenomena will include all types of loanshifts and loan translations alternatively described either in semantic terms (*majāz*, *tajawwuz* 'metaphor') or in morphological terms mostly derived from the type of word-formational procedure actually applied to them: since the word-formational procedure most widely used in Arabic is derivation, the native term *istiḳāq* will most frequently be met with as a challenger of semantic terms. Besides these alternatives, to the latter category of the *taʿrīb* (ii)-related phenomena are sometimes applied hybrid terms simultaneously derived from various morphological and semantic aspects, such as *istiḳāq maʿnawī* 'semantic derivation', *istiḳāq bi-t-tarjama* 'derivation through translation',<sup>6</sup> and the like.

3. Lexical innovation through borrowing, as an autonomous word-formational procedure in the presentation of Arab authors, mostly coincides with what we symbolize as *taʿrīb* (i). In this sense, it is almost exclusively identified with the class of loanforms, viz. borrowings exhibiting phonemic transfer from the donor language to the recipient language, regardless of the degree of their adaptation to the phonemic stock of the recipient language, e.g. *bank*, pl. *bunūk* 'bank'; *film*, pl. *'aflām* 'film'; *'utubīs*, pl. *'utubīsāt* 'bus'; *benisilīn* 'penicillin', etc.

In this somewhat narrow delimitation, the place of lexical borrowing among the rest of word-formational procedures of Arabic may markedly differ from one author to another. In some systems, lexical borrowing is classified as a genuine word-formational procedure, in some others, it is treated under different headings which are not specifically related to the set of word-formational procedures of Arabic, at all. But even in systems in which lexical borrowing is treated as a fully-fledged word-formational procedure, considerable divergencies may be found as to the place and hierarchical rank accorded to it therein.

Even if we disregard here the historical background of these discrepancies, it is worthwhile noting that most of them are merely a continuation of earlier differences of opinion developed around the admissibility of lexical borrowing, its limits and extent. Nearly the whole scale of the very varied modern attitudes towards *taʿrīb* may be traced back to the early grammarians and lexicographers. Sībawayhi's (died 180/796) somewhat liberal approach to the problem, characterized by the admission

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. al-Xālidī, Suhayl 'Umar: *at-Taʿrīb fī l-jazā'ir wa 'abʿāduhu s-siyāsiyya wal-ijtimāʿiyya* (Revival of the Arabic Language in Algeria and its Political and Social Dimensions). al-'Aqlām (a monthly cultural journal issued by the Iraqi Ministry of Information in Baghdad), 12. 24—30 (1976), No. 3: "The term *taʿrīb* is not understood here in the sense of that definition, given in encyclopaedias, which refers to the transfer of lexical units and *termini technici* from a foreign language into Arabic. This process is the object of interest of the Arab League and scientific academies, and those institutions do develop, in fact, praiseworthy activities in this field. 'Arabization' (in Algeria) exclusively means returning of a whole Arabic people to its language, culture and civilization."

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Stetkevych, J.: *The Modern Arabic Literary Language. Lexical and Stylistic Developments*. Chicago—London, The University of Chicago Press 1970, p. 34.

of foreign words irrespective of whether they are adapted to the linguistic patterns of Arabic or not,<sup>7</sup> is clearly opposed to the more restrictive criteria postulated by al-Jawharī (died 393/1002) and al-Ḥarīrī (died 516/1143).<sup>8</sup>

The feature of compatibility of borrowings with the linguistic patterns of Arabic ('awzān, 'aqyisa, qawālib, etc.) as well as the postulate of 'necessity' (ḍarūra) are among the most frequently discussed problems and constitute the most general criteria applied to this word-formational procedure by recent scholars.

ʿAdb al-Qādir al-Mağribī, even if substantially approving of Sībawayhi's point of view in not regarding the assimilation of a foreign word according to the linguistic patterns and moulds of Arabic as a condition for its Arabization, recognizes the necessity of setting some limits of this procedure.<sup>9</sup>

Al-'Amīr Muṣṭafā aš-Šihābī, the president of the Arab Academy of Damascus (1956—), in discussing the problem of limits and extent of the admissibility of *taʿrīb* in coining *termini technici* for modern sciences (*qaḍīyyat ḥudūd at-taʿrīb wa madāhu fī waḍ al-muṣṭalahāt al-ʿilmiyya lil-ʿulūm al-ḥadītha*), criticized, at the opening session of the Congress of the Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo (1955), the following resolution of the Academy relatively to *taʿrīb*: "The Academy admits the use of some foreign words, in case of necessity, on condition that the methods of *taʿrīb*, as followed by the (ancient) Arabs, will be adhered to."<sup>10</sup> Aš-Šihābī further suggested that the most problematic point of this resolution is exactly the restrictive postulate of 'necessity', since it may be — as in fact it frequently is — very liberally interpreted by some lexicon makers, in consequence of which the flow of borrowings may easily exceed its sound limits. According to others, lexical borrowing is, on the contrary, a very difficult and challenging process deserving to be applied with extreme caution.<sup>11</sup>

The criterion of 'necessity' has been more constructively criticized by Muṣṭafā Naẓīf (1948): "The Academy has confirmed the admissibility of *taʿrīb* but imposed upon it the restrictive condition of 'necessity' (ḍarūra). In my opinion, it is an

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 59: "They (the Arabs) change those foreign words which are absolutely incongruous with their own, sometimes assimilating them into the structure of their words, and sometimes not. . . .", see Sībawayhi (*Le livre de Sībawaihi, traité de grammaire arabe par Sībūya, dit Sībawaihi. Texte arabe publié d'après les manuscrits du Caire, de l'Escurial, d'Oxford, de Paris, de St. Pétersbourg et de Vienne par H. Derenbourg*. Tome 1, Paris 1881. Tome 2, Paris 1889), t. 2, p. 375 (requoted after Stetkevych).

<sup>8</sup> For particulars, see *ibid.*, pp. 60—61.

<sup>9</sup> ʿAdb al-Qādir al-Mağribī: *Kitāb al-ištiqāq wa-taʿrīb* (The book on derivation and lexical borrowing). Cairo 1908 (2nd ed. 1947), pp. 43—44 (cf. Stetkevych, p. 62).

<sup>10</sup> See aš-Šihābī, al-'Amīr Muṣṭafā: *Mulāḥazāt ʿalā waḍʿ al-muṣṭalahāt al-ʿilmiyya* (Some comment on coining *termini technici*). In: *Majallat majmaʿ al-luġa al-ʿarabiyya* (MMLA, in what follows), 12. 31—33 (1960): *yujiz al-majmaʿ ʿan yustaʿmal baʿḍ al-ʿalfāz al-ʿajamiyya — ʿinda ḍ-ḍarūra — ʿalā ṭariqat al-ʿarab fī taʿrībhim*. By al-ʿarab, "ancient, genuine, model language, of noble origin, etc. Arabs" should be understood (viz. *al-ʿarab al-fuṣṣḥāʾ*, *al-ʿarab al-uṣalāʾ*, *al-ʿarab al-ʿāriba*, etc.).

<sup>11</sup> See *ibid.*

inoperative and unworkable condition since it is extremely easy to raise doubts about its suitability. It suffices to come across an Arabic word pointing to the meaning wanted from close up or from afar, by mediation or immediately, with a deal of artificiality or without it, no matter whether applied properly of metaphorically — to see that this condition has not been satisfied as a result of which the *taʿrīb* is inadmissible. That is why I am of the opinion that we must be practical and substitute the condition of ‘modernity’ (*ḥadāṭa*) for that of ‘necessity’, i.e. the concept (*maʿnan*) in which the adoption of a foreign term will be found licit should exclusively be associated with neologisms (*mustaḥḍatāt*) related to modern sciences and the semantic import (*maḍlūl*) of the term should coincide with (some of their recent) discoveries.”<sup>12</sup>

Muḥammad Ṣawqī ʿAmīn’s criticism of these basic criteria, postulated by the Academy, is one of the best founded. In commenting on the resolution of the Academy concerning *taʿrīb* (see above), ʿAmīn writes: “Are we not authorized to ask from the Academy, which is in these days responsible for the study of *termini technici* in all scientific and technical fields as it is, in fact, adopting many foreign words through borrowing — a new supplement to this antiquated resolution, permitting the use of foreign words only in case of necessity, which would grant full freedom to all competent lexicographers and translators (*muʿarribūn*) to adopt loanwords even when being at variance with the genuine linguistic patterns and structures of Arabic (*wa ʿin xālafat fī ʿabniyatihā wa ʿawzānihā mā lil-ʿarab fī kalāmihim al-faṣīḥ min ʿabniya wa ʿawzān*).”<sup>13</sup>

The criterion of ‘necessity’, as postulated by the Academy, is substantially rejected by Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, too (1955). “For the procedure of lexical borrowing (*taʿrīb*), I do not intend to set it loose with no restriction whatsoever imposed upon it. Nevertheless, I do not want it to be admitted but in case of extreme necessity (*darūra quṣwā*), either. I want only to make clear that this procedure should be adhered to in the case of every scientific term coined on the basis of the (European) classical languages — to point to some prominent personalities, or to some special ideas, or to an element of some complex classificatory systems the constituents of which cannot be properly stated but in a very special way. As for the scientific terms derived from the everyday language, as e.g. *manāʿa* ‘immunity’, they are, no doubt, the result of translation.”<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, the point of view of the Academy is reflected, at least verbally, in the attitudes of some other scholars. That of ʿIsmāʿīl Maẓhar is one of the most

<sup>12</sup> Naẓīf, Muṣṭafā: *Naql al-ʿulūm ilā l-luġa al-ʿarabiyya* (Translating sciences into Arabic; a lecture given in 1948). *MMLʿA* 7. 242—253 (1952).

<sup>13</sup> ʿAmīn, Muḥammad Ṣawqī: *Jawāz at-taʿrīb ʿalā ġayr ʿawzān al-ʿarab* (The admissibility of *taʿrīb* even when being incongruous with the linguistic patterns of Arabic). *MMLʿA* 11. 199—207 (1959).

<sup>14</sup> Ḥusayn, Muḥammad Kāmil: *al-Luġa wal-ʿulūm* (The Language and Science; a lecture given in 1955). *MMLʿA* 12. 17—29 (1960).

representative. "Briefly stated," Maḏhar writes, "we have need of *taʿrīb*. Nevertheless, its purpose and extent should be clearly defined and we should be bound by some rules. First of all, the loanword should follow one of the linguistic patterns of Arabic, no matter whether fully productive (*ʿawzān qiyāsiyya*) or not (*ʿawzān samāʿiyya*) — to maintain the ring of the Arabic words so that the Arabs should have neither an aversion to it, nor find that it is incongruous with those forms of their noble mother tongue with which they are familiar. Furthermore, it is worthwhile noting that *taʿrīb* is allowed but in the case of urgent need (*ḍarūra quṣwā*) when all other attempts at arriving at another solution through exploration, investigation or any closer examination of the linguistic resources of Arabic have failed."<sup>15</sup>

4. As stated above, the classification of *taʿrīb* (mostly coinciding with what we have symbolized as *taʿrīb* (i)), shows considerable divergences as to the place of the latter among the rest of word-formational procedures, or even, basically, as to the crucial question of recognizing or unrecognizing *taʿrīb* as a genuine word-formational procedure with a subsequent inclusion or noninclusion of the latter in the respective system. From this point of view, systems of word-formational procedures in the presentation of native authors may be subdivided into (1) systems treating lexical borrowing as a genuine word-formational procedure, and (2) those according to lexical borrowing a classificatory rank different from that of true word-formational procedures and treating it independently of them.

4.1 The former approach to the classification of lexical borrowing clearly prevails over the latter and may rightly be found representative of the recent Arab scholarship.

Aš-Šihābī, in commenting on a number of word-formational aspects of the scientific terminology, quotes the following procedures: (1) derivation (*wasāʾil al-iṣṭiqāq* 'means of derivation'); (2) metaphor (*majāz*); (3) compounding (*naḥt*), and (4) lexical borrowing (*taʿrīb*). The latter is said to be admissible only after the first three word-formational procedures have failed to produce the term wanted.

"All those concerned with coining the Arabic *termini technici*," aš-Šihābī writes, "should observe general principles of translation (*naql*) observed today by this honourable Academy, just as they have been adhered to in the past, by the ancient Arab translators and authors. These principles may be summarized as follows: (1) to see that any Arabic term renders the meaning of the (corresponding) foreign term. To attain this, the translator (*nāqil*) should be thoroughly acquainted with *termini technici* scattered all over the ancient Arabic lexicons and scientific works; (2) when the foreign term is related to a new scientific concept which has no equivalent in Arabic, it should be translated by its signification (*turjima bi-maʿnāhu*), whenever

<sup>15</sup> Maḏhar, 'Ismāʿīl: *Tajdīd al-ʿarabiyya bi-ḥaytu tuṣbiḥ wāfiyatan bi-maṭālib al-ʿulūm wal-funūn* (Modernization of Arabic to make it adequate to the needs of science and technology). Cairo, Maktabat an-naḥḍa al-miṣriyya (not dated), pp. 9—10.



translatable, or alternatively, a convenient Arabic term is produced by means of derivation (*wasā'il al-ištiqāq*), metaphor (*majāz*) or compounding (*naḥt*); (3) when a qualified translator finds it impossible to coin an Arabic term by making use of the afore-mentioned means, he should resort to lexical borrowing (*ta'rīb*) observing, as far as possible, the underlying principles."<sup>16</sup>

On the basis of documentary evidence, gathered by Rachad Hamzaoui, a slightly different system of word-formational procedures may be found in the orbit of the Damascus Academy: (1) resurgence<sup>17</sup> (*al-istinbāt*); (2) derivation (*al-ištiqāq*); (3) compounding (*an-naḥt*), and (4) lexical borrowing (*ta'rīb*).

The first of them, *al-istinbāt*, should be in this context associated with exploring ancient Arabic lexicons and masterpieces of the Arabic literature to find terms for new scientific concepts by way of revitalization of these classical words (*'ihyā' faṣīḥ al-luġa*), with the rehabilitation of the Arabic terms deformed by the European languages, such as 'amalgam' *al-mulġam*, 'admiral' *'amīr al-baḥr*, etc., as well as with semantic evolution consisting in assigning new senses to existing words (*al-majāz*), e.g.: *barq* 'lightning' — 'telegraph'; *dabbāba* 'war machine' — 'tank, armored car'; *darra* 'speck, mote; ant' <sup>18</sup> — 'atom', etc.

The derivation (*al-ištiqāq*), involving various intra- and extra-root processes formally visualized in what is known as derivational patterns of Arabic (*'awzān*), is the main resource of the Arabic lexicon to supply the want of neologisms.

When disregarding the inconveniently liberal delimitation of compounding (*an-naḥt*), as given by Hamzaoui, the latter word-formational procedure is of a secondary importance for Arabic.<sup>19</sup>

The last of these procedures, lexical borrowing (*at-ta'rīb*), is advised to be resorted to, in accordance with the most currently accepted points of view (see above), only after the three preceding procedures have failed in generating the term wanted.<sup>20</sup>

According to 'Ismā'īl Maẓhar, there are five word-formational procedures as follows: (1) lexical borrowing (*ta'rīb*), (2) compounding (*naḥt*), (3) derivation (*ištiqāq*), (4) affixation (*ziyāda*), and (5) analogy (*iqtiyās*).<sup>21</sup> The last of these procedures, presented on the same level as borrowing, compounding and derivation,

<sup>16</sup> See aš-Šihābī, *MMLA* 12. 31—33 (1960), p. 33.

<sup>17</sup> Hamzaoui's term "la résurgence", as will become obvious from what follows, should be understood in the sense of rediscovery and reuse of some of the existing lexical means of the classical language and, eventually, their semantic revaluation.

<sup>18</sup> Hamzaoui gives only the Koranic meaning 'ant'.

<sup>19</sup> In treating Arabic compounds, Hamzaoui follows the main classificatory lines of V. Monteil, especially in qualifying an excessively great number of syntactic constructions as compounds, such as *al-'amrād az-zuhariyya* 'venereal diseases', *fā'iliyyat al-'aš'ra* 'radioactivity', and the like.

<sup>20</sup> See Hamzaoui, R.: *L'Académie arabe de Damas et le problème de la modernisation de la langue arabe*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1965, pp. 27—36.

<sup>21</sup> Maẓhar, op. cit., p. 4.



is based on a slightly reconsidered interpretation of productiveness (*qiyāsiyya*). As far as the relation between productiveness and unproductiveness (*samāʿiyya*) is concerned, Maẓhar rejects the statistical distinction between what is productive (*qiyāsi*) and what is not (*samāʿi*),<sup>22</sup> and proposes a purely chronological criterion instead: all lexical features characteristic of the linguistic behaviour of what Maẓhar calls 'pure Arabs' (*al-ʿarab al-ʿuṣalāʾ*), that is, chronologically, up to the beginning of the fourth century A. D., should be recognized as productive irrespective of the quantitative background of the problem.<sup>23</sup> Since the Maẓharian innovation through analogy (*iqtiyās*) does not involve any specific word-formational procedure, it should be, in this context, identified with nonspecific processes possibly related to several word-formational procedures. The nonspecific character of what Maẓhar calls affixation (*ziyāda*) is likewise quite obvious.

At first glance, the system proposed by Muṣṭafā Nazīf (1948) is less involved. Nevertheless, the nonspecific features it contains considerably lower the degree of its linguistic consistency (viz. esp. item (1) as quoted below). While commenting on some problems associated with the translation of scientific texts into Arabic,<sup>24</sup> Nazīf writes: "In my opinion, three ways are quite indispensable to this purpose (viz. *ʾixrāj al-ʿulūm ʾilā l-luġa al-ʿarabiyya* 'introducing modern sciences into Arabic') and none of them can do without the other: (1) the first of them resides in the utilization of the (lexical) resources of our predecessors (*al-istifāda bimā istaṭāʾahu l-mutaqaddimūn*); . . . (2) the second way coincides with lexical borrowing (*taʿrīb*) and the use of foreign words (*istʾmāl al-lafẓ al-ʾajnabī*);<sup>25</sup> . . . (3) the third way is, in my opinion, the most difficult of all, and it has several ramifications. One of them is used to convey complex ideas and composite meanings (*al-maʿānī al-muʿallafa ʾaw al-madlūlāt al-murakkaba*). When you (try to) find Arabic equivalents for their elements or constituents, or lexical borrowings coined according to the respective rules (*ʾalfāẓ muʿarraba bi-qawāʿid*), you have to rely on the compounding (*naḥt*), irrespective of whether it consists of two or more words. Or it may be a *tarkīb*-fashioned compound (*lafẓ murakkab*).<sup>26</sup> In both cases, free access is given to the derivation from the *naḥt*- and *tarkīb*-featured compounds, to the formation of the *nisba*-derivatives from them as well as from their plurals, and the like."

4.2 The system proposed by Aḥmad Ḥasan az-Zayyāt (1949) will be quoted here to illustrate another way of classifying lexical borrowing. In fact, az-Zayyāt's system markedly differs in this point from all other systems so far quoted, notably in according to lexical borrowing a hierarchical level quite different from all other word-formational procedures included therein. The latter system consists of: (1)

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>24</sup> Nazīf, Muṣṭafā, in *MML* 7. 242—253 (1953); see pp. 251—252.

<sup>25</sup> For particulars, see Note 3.

<sup>26</sup> For the latter type of compounds, see e.g. Maẓhar, op. cit., p. 73.

invention (*irtijāl*); (2) derivation (*ištiqāq*), and (3) metaphor (*tajawwuz*), as what it would be possible to identify as genuine word-formational procedures in the presentation of az-Zayyāt, even if the first of them, possibly coinciding with any word-formational procedure available, cannot be recognized as a specific one. Az-Zayyāt's item (2), *muwallad*, is in this context, interpreted as a state rather than a product of a specific word-formational procedure, notably as a post-classical innovation through any of the afore-mentioned procedures (it should be noted, however, that in some other contexts, *muwallad* is mostly identified with the post-classical innovation through borrowing). Az-Zayyāt's items (3) and (4), viz. *qiyās* and *samāʿ* respectively, have, in being relatable to any word-formational procedure out of the set, a nonspecific connotation or the adaptability (in the case of *qiyās*) or nonadaptability (in the case of *samāʿ*) of a given lexical unit to the linguistic patterns of Arabic with no specific reference to any word-formational procedure upon which it happens to be based.

In view of the rather exceptional featuring of az-Zayyāt's system as regards the nonspecific treatment of lexical borrowing, a full account of the latter will be given in what follows:

(1) "in the lexical innovation (*waḍʿ*), to make a wide use of all known word-formational procedures, i.e. invention (*irtijāl*), derivation (*ištiqāq*), semantic innovation (*tajawwuz*, properly 'metaphor');

(2) rehabilitation of the post-classical contributions to the Arabic lexicon (*muwallad*) to promote them to the rank of the classical words (*al-kalimāt al-qadīma*);

(3) setting loose the principle of analogy (*qiyās*) in the whole linguistic domain of Classical Arabic (*al-fuṣṣḥā*) in order to make it inclusive of what the (ancient) Arabs have treated as productive and what they have not (*li-yašmula mā qāsahu l-ʿarab wa mā lam yaqīsūhu*). For the deprivation of analogy (*qiyās*) of what is not productive (in the sense of *qiyās*, i.e. of what is merely sanctioned by the common usage — *samāʿ*), makes it quite useless;

(4) setting free the criterion of common usage (*samāʿ*) from all spatio-temporal bounds, to make it inclusive of what can be heard in our days from particular social groups, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, masons and other representatives of particular trades."<sup>27</sup>

As evident from the text quoted, lexical borrowing is deprived, in this presentation, of its status of an autonomous word-formational procedure, being disguised in several nonspecific procedures, quite particularly in what az-Zayyāt calls rehabilitation of the post-classical contributions to the Arabic lexicon (*radd al-ʿtibār ilā l-muwallad*).

<sup>27</sup> az-Zayyāt, 'Aḥmad Ḥasan: *al-Waḍʿ al-luḡawī wa ḥal lil-muḥdiṭīn ḥaqq fihi* (Lexical innovation and the question whether the modernists have any right to it). *MML*<sup>c</sup>A 8. 110—116 (1955; a public lecture given in 1949). See p. 116.

## EARLY POEMS AND ESSAYS OF HO CH'I-FANG

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This is a study analysing some of the more important aspects of Ho Ch'i-fang's literary output between 1931 and 1937 using a comparative approach. It traces the road followed by a young Chinese symbolist poet and his gradual shifting over to positions of the *littérature engagée*. An item likely to be of importance to experts and readers is probably the impact of European symbolism on Ho Ch'i-fang's creative endeavours.

1

To Bonnie S. McDougall belongs the credit of having uncovered to the literary world the work of the poet and essayist Ho Ch'i-fang [1] (1912—1977) in her book of translations *Paths in Dreams* with the Chinese subtitle *Meng chung tao-lu* [2].<sup>1</sup> The latter is in fact a translation of the English title and comes from one of Ho Ch'i-fang's poems which will be analysed presently:

Now I begin to feel the loneliness of adults,  
Only to love still more the indistinctness of paths in dreams.<sup>2</sup>

Paths in dreams is a symbol. Chinese symbolist movement was a reality in Chinese literature of the 1920s and 1930s.

*Paths in Dreams* is also the title of an essay which embodies a concise outline of Ho's poetic development and also his creed. It is in a way a peculiar essay and in places as symbolist as had been his initial work which makes up the subject of this study.<sup>3</sup>

Ho Ch'i-fang sees one of the break-throughs of his own poetic work in an image represented by *pai-lin* [4] cypress grove in his poem of the same name. Cypress grove to Ho Ch'i-fang signifies a kingdom of his childhood. It is certain that a real grove was involved that symbolized, or at least allegorized the melancholy of his young spirit. That is to say the cypress in question is the *Juniperus chinensis* which is used in China

<sup>1</sup> St. Lucia, Queensland, University of Queensland Press 1976, 244 pp. Henceforth only McDougall. The translations in this study are often taken (sometimes with slight revisions) from this book.

<sup>2</sup> McDougall, p. 40. Chinese text see in Ho Ch'i-fang: *Yü-yen* [3] The Oracle. Shanghai 1957, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> McDougall, pp. 54—59.

during times of mourning and allegorizes the feeling of human sorrow for the deceased.

To Ho Ch'i-fang, however, this grove of Chinese cypresses meant something more: his spleen accumulated during the years of his studies away from his native country (*ku-hsiang*) [5]. His *Cypress Grove* was not only his experience, but also his poetic creation.

Ho Ch'i-fang spent his early childhood "in the mountainous countryside around Wanhsien, the first commercial port on the Szechwan side of the Yangtze River gorges".<sup>4</sup> He was born in the town of Wanhsien itself. This town entered the history of modern China through the so-called Wan-hsien ts'an-an (Wanhsien Incident) in August and September of 1926, when the local warlord Yang Sen [6] (ca 1887—) stood up against British warships controlling the Yangtze River. An eminent man of letters, an adherent of the *littérature engagée*, Shen Yen-ping [7] (later known as Mao Tun) [8] (1896—) then wrote a critical article *Wan-hsien ts'an-an chou* [9] On the Wansien Incident, published in No. 245—246 of *Wen-hsüeh chuo-pao* [10] Literary Weekly.<sup>5</sup> Ho was then too young to react in any way to the events taking place in this town, but he never reacted to anything similar even later during the subsequent very troubled decade in China.

He came on the idea of writing *The Cypress Grove* on his return from Peking for vacation to his native Wanhsien in 1933. In this poem he speaks of himself and his shadow, of overcoming the "great circle", i.e. his studies away from his *ku-hsiang*. Together with his shadow he returns to his own beginning:

Here with my shadow as a racing partner,  
Completing a great circle I return,  
Suddenly conscious that time has come to a stop.<sup>6</sup>

Not quite at the start of his creative road, but at the beginning to which he returned, Ho Ch'i-fang thinks of himself as of the poet of Chinese South, of the Ch'u [11] country, with its philosophico-aesthetic specificities. Let us cast a glance at the image of that shadow. The shadow, whether in the form of *yin* [12] (Mathews, 7444) or *ying* [13] (Mathews, 7484) plays an important role in Chinese philosophy or aesthetics of a Taoist or a Buddhist orientation.<sup>7</sup> The shadow accompanying Ho as a poet is not a dark figure projected by his body, but recalls philosophico-aesthetic

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> 10th October 1926, pp. 626—628.

<sup>6</sup> McDougall, p. 40, Ho Ch'i-fang: *The Oracle*, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Zavadskaia, E. V.: *Filosofsko-esteticheskoe osoznanie teni v klassicheskoi kulture Kitaya* (Philosophical and Aesthetic Notion of Shadow in Classical Culture of China). In: *Iz istorii kul'tury srednykh vekov i Vozrozhdeniya* (From the History of Culture of Middle Ages and Renaissance). Moscow, Nauka 1976, pp. 92—105.

charge from Chuang-tzu [14] (3rd cent. B.C.), likewise a native from Ch'u, and intimates something similar to what Chuang-tzu intended to convey in the second chapter of the book named after him. There, the penumbra converses with its own shadow:

"The Penumbra asked the Shadow, saying, 'At one moment, you move; at another, you are at rest. At one moment, you sit down; at another you stand up. Why this instability of purpose?'

'Do I have to depend upon something else,' replied the Shadow 'in order to be what I am'? Does that something upon which I depend still have to depend upon something else in order to be what it is?'"<sup>8</sup>

This brief conversation is commented by the most prominent and the most noteworthy Chinese philosopher of our times Fung Yu-lan as follows:

"This shows that everything is spontaneously what it is. One needs only to follow one's nature, and not to ask why one is so and not otherwise."<sup>9</sup>

Essentially, this reflects faith in the equality of things and opinions, one of the fundamental premises of Chuang-tzu's teaching in the realm of epistemology and ontology.

When Ho Ch'i-fang mentioned his shadow in *The Cypress Grove*, and also others that will be spoken of later, he had no need to identify himself with the apprehension of Chuang-tzu — this is implied in his work and his inner conviction. Nevertheless, he wished thus to manifest in an aesthetic way his *Weltanschauung* and to underline through the shadow (as an aesthetic category) his understanding of reality.

When following up Ho's life and works during the years set up here like milestones of our observations and otherwise representing moments of such importance for China (the ever threatening and progressing Japanese aggression), we note that the spirit of a very clear *Gleichgültigkeit* was proper to him insofar as socio-political reality was concerned.

Speaking of shadow, it might not be out of place to recall the low-flying Japanese planes over Peking. During his stay in the city, Ho Ch'i-fang probably saw them many a time. Bonnie McDougall mentions that on 20th May 1933, "Japanese troops were only thirteen miles outside Peking".<sup>10</sup> It might be of interest to researchers in the field of modern Chinese literature to observe that Hu Shih [16] (1891—1962), otherwise a member of the Crescent Moon Society (Hsin-yüeh she) [17], to which Ho Ch'i-fang was fairly close at the time, took note of the shadow of one of these planes doing reconnaissance work over Peking streets, gardens and houses. This shadow reminded Hu Shih, as a philosopher and writer, of the

<sup>8</sup> Fung Yu-lan: *Chuang Tzu. A New Selected Translation with an Exposition of the Philosophy of Kuo Hsiang*. Shanghai 1933, pp. 63—64. For Chinese text see *Chuang-tzu yin-te* [15] A Concordance to Chuang Tzu. Peking 1947, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Fung Yu-lan: *Chuang Tzu*, p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> McDougall, pp. 5—6.

well-known paradox of the ancient Chinese philosopher Kung-sun Lung [18] (4th—3rd cent. B.C.): “The flying bird’s shadow never moves.”<sup>11</sup>

In the light of the then prevailing Chinese situation, the threat of Japanese aggression, its imminent approach, and even its presence on a considerable part of Chinese territory, was truly nevermoving shadow. Hu Shih identified himself with Kung-sun Lung’s statement as a journalist and poet, for this sketched the then existing reality in a very original way. But he could not identify himself with it from the philosophical aspect where this sentence was to him a logical paradox.<sup>12</sup>

Ho Ch’i-fang acted partly in a like manner, partly differently. He did make use of the semiotic possibility of this aesthetic category, but the socio-political reality as such failed to interest him. The presence or otherwise of Japanese metallic birds in Chinese skies and their shadows on his native country, reduced to misery, was to him either indifferent or insufficiently poetical. He did write of at least one shadow in this connection as will be shown presently, but this shadow did not show his concern. It was merely a manifestation of his efforts at self-expression, as an artistic objectification of his own moods and dreams, an illustration of a Taoist faith in the spontaneity of things, and hence also in their ontologico-epistemological equivalence.

Following the signing of the Shanghai Armistice Agreement in May of 1932, in January 1933 the Japanese forces broke through the Shanghai Pass and launched their attacks on Jehol and Chahar provinces. After occupying all passes on the Great Wall they invaded the Peking and Tientsin areas. After the so-called Tangku Truce (31st May 1933) between the Chinese and Japanese, students were notified to leave Peking.

Having left Peking, Ho Ch’i-fang stayed at a small inn somewhere at the foot of the Western Hills (Hsi-shan) [19] and depicted his impressions in the essay or poem in prose called *Huang-hun* [20] *Dusk*. It begins with these words:

“The sound of horses’ hooves, lonely and melancholy, draws near and scatters on the pitch-black road like tiny flower buds. I stand still. A black, old-fashioned carriage, without a soul on board, slowly passes by. I suspect it carries dusk, casting its dark shadow along the road; and then it draws away and disappears.”<sup>13</sup>

Let us try to penetrate into that mental climate and *l’etat d’âme* of the poet. Of all the preparations being made for an eventual defence of Peking (allegedly the Chinese armies stationed in the Peking-Tientsin area outnumbered tenfold the numerical strength of the enemy!), Ho Ch’i-fang noted solely a “black, old-fashioned carriage, without a soul on board”. In this essay, too, a shadow is mentioned, but it is the shadow of that black, old-fashioned carriage drawing away and disappearing in the

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<sup>11</sup> Grieder, J. B.: *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1970, pp. 246—247.

<sup>12</sup> Hu Shih: *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*. Shanghai 1922, pp. 119—121.

<sup>13</sup> McDougall, p. 65.

streets of the ancient city. This is certainly a shadow different from the one to which the sophist Kung-sun Lung had drawn the attention of the philosophers, or the one that had reminded Hu Shih of the spectre of Japanese aggression. From the ancient wise man of his native Ch'u, Ho Ch'i-fang took over the image of "horses' hooves". This was the title of a chapter in the book *Chuang-tzu* which became known throughout the world after the end of World War I and in the 1920s thanks to Russell's book *Proposed Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism*.<sup>14</sup> But there is also a difference. Chuang-tzu, as a philosopher of ancient China, spoke to his listeners in parables and myths. As a symbolist of the modern age, Ho Ch'i-fang believed in *correspondances* in the Swedenborgian and Baudelairean sense, "in the converting of all known objects into symbols" which are "regarded as a legitimate means of individualistic expression . . ."<sup>15</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang as a modern poet spoke to his rather small number of readers in the language of symbolism. He was concerned with a personal confession, the delineating of his own dreams. The synaesthetic image implied in the "sound of horses' hooves" scattering "tiny white flower buds" on the black road with an old-fashioned carriage, without a soul on board "casting its dark shadow along the road", was nothing but a background to his efforts at his own artistic realization. And truly, only a background, for the point of the essay lies in the following sentences:

"In the far-off, distant past, when I still had beside me a beloved, quiet companion (boy or girl friend, M.G.), we wandered at the foot of this mountain peak, and on a sudden impulse, we made a vow that one fine morning we could climb this mountain. But afterwards, also on an impulse, we abandoned the idea. This pitch-black street, since those soft footsteps are no more, every day seems more desolate, and I, now disappointed and despondent, let the pavilion hoard forever those untasted joys. I dare not climb alone the path which my imagination clothed with such delight."<sup>16</sup>

Mr. Ho dared not "climb alone the path" of his dream in Peking. The reason was that it would have required an effort and a practical action. In conformity with M. Maeterlinck, he felt convinced that what makes a literary work great or beautiful are not the described deeds, but the language of the work, for example, the dialogues or monologues.<sup>17</sup> His love for the "indistinctness of paths in dreams" spoken of in the first quotation of this study, was to have been primarily a love toward a beautiful, charming form of phenomena in the ambient world and his own inner self insofar as they had to find their expression in fragile literary works. In the interval between

<sup>14</sup> Russell, B.: *Proposed Roads to Freedom. Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism*. New York, Henry Holt and Co. 1919, pp. 33—35.

<sup>15</sup> Shipley, J. T. (Ed.): *Dictionary of World Literature*. Totowa, Littlefield, Adams and Co. 1972, p. 409.

<sup>16</sup> McDougall, p. 65.

<sup>17</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang: *K'o-i chi* [21] *Painstaking Work*. 4th ed. Shanghai 1946, p. 102.

September 1931 and May 1935, Ho Ch'i-fang was always enthralled by "colours and patterns" of things and phenomena, he was never "inspired by an idea first";<sup>18</sup> what had moved him in life, was its "appearance".<sup>19</sup> This appearance, however, was not the mere surface of things, "phenomena" without any deeper substance. They were metamorphoses of reality through his dreams. Hardly anyone of the more prominent men of letters in the past resembled more in this respect to Ho Ch'i-fang than Gérard de Nerval, one of his favourite authors. That "appearance" was nothing else than de Nerval's "C'est une image que je poursuis, rien de plus".<sup>20</sup> Gérard de Nerval wanted to arrange his life "as if it were a novel". And it is really "somewhat difficult to disentangle the precise facts of an existence which was never quite conscious where began and where ended that 'overflowing of dreams into real life' "<sup>21</sup> of which he speaks. The essential difference between the two resided in that de Nerval was constantly (insofar as his mental health permitted it) conscious of a sense of antagonism between reality and dream, while Ho Ch'i-fang rather endeavoured to dismiss it and take no notice of it.

Another author, very close in this respect to Ho Ch'i-fang, was Ch. Baudelaire, as will be pointed out in the last section of this study. The form and content of the *Dusk* is also very similar to the poems in prose by Baudelaire.

## 2

*The Theban Book of Dead* from Egypt written about 1250 B.C., speaks of ancient Egyptians who "considered sleep a rehearsal for death and in dream aspects of the self were believed to wander on and out of paradisaal or hellish realms guarded by terrible watchmen — the same realm where the soul, at death, would ultimately have to find its way. Paths through them were mapped according to information based on myth and dreams, and placed at the feet of the dead with instructions reading, 'You must not go this way' or 'This is the way of the living person' ".<sup>22</sup>

Something similar, though far remote from this belief, seems to have been in Ho Ch'i-fang's mind. Only he was not interested in dream as a phenomenon of night. He was absorbed by his own waking dreams, or the literary dreams of others. Paths through them had no other practical goal than to be remarkable and engrossing images or works of art. At the time when Ho painted his dreams, he was reading *The Waste Land* by T.S. Eliot.<sup>23</sup> After having read this remarkable work of English

<sup>18</sup> McDougall, p. 58.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> de Nerval, Gérard: *Sylvie. Souvenirs du Valois*. In: *Le Filles du Feu suivi de Aurélia*. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 1961, p. 123.

<sup>21</sup> Symons, A.: *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*. New York 1958, p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Coxhead, D. and Hiller, S.: *Dreams. Visions of the Night*. London, Thames and Hudson, n.d., pp. 74—75.

<sup>23</sup> McDougall, p. 57.



symbolism, however, Ho Ch'i-fang did not write anything similar, long and unified piece of poetry. The waste land he had before his eyes differed from *The Waste Land* of Master Eliot.

In the first place, it should be noted that Eliot and Ho, differing as they did in their experience, theoretical insights, knowledge, historico-social situation, had different points of departure and goals in view.

*The Waste Land* of Eliot is, for instance, according to H. Gardner, built "upon the myth of the mysterious sickness of the Fisher King in the Grail stories and the plight of infertility which has fallen upon his lands, which can be lifted when the destined Deliverer asks the magic question or performs the magic art".<sup>24</sup> The work of the great English poet and critic is a "series of visions: it has neither plot nor hero".<sup>25</sup> In it the author depicted the terror and horror of his own society and his own world, his vision of the symbolist "abyss" or "void".

Ho Ch'i-fang's paths in dreams, too, as a final literary work, are built upon the "reality = dream myth" as expressed in the second chapter of Master Chuang-tzu:

"How do I know that loving life is not a delusion? How do I know that in hating death I am not like a man who, having left home in his youth, has forgotten the way back? . . . He who dreams of drinking wine may weep when morning comes; he who dreams of weeping may in the morning go off to hunt. While he is dreaming he does not know it is a dream, and in his dream he may even try to interpret a dream. Only after he wakes does he know it was a dream. And some day there will be a great awakening when we know that is all a great dream. Yet the stupid believe they are awake, busily and brightly assuming they understand things calling this man ruler, that one herdsman — how dense! Confucius and you are both dreaming! And when I say you are dreaming, I am dreaming, too."<sup>26</sup>

That which we call a "reality = dream myth" was no myth to Chuang-tzu. It was his deep conviction. He was concerned with expressing equality (an ontologic equality) between reality and semblance, between waking and sleep, their mutual convertibility which is a paradox, but need not be so for everyone. The problem lies in defining reality. The symbolist "abyss" is to be found also in Ho Ch'i-fang's work as will be shown later, and resides in that reality does not equate with dream (at least not entirely) and vice versa. There lies the tension that, among others, makes of Ho Ch'i-fang's works the valuable pieces of art.

During the years 1934 and 1935, hence in the middle of the period analysed here, 9 issues of the journal entitled *Shui-hsing* [22], and edited by Pa Chin [23] (1904—)

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<sup>24</sup> Gardner, Helen: *The Art of T.S. Eliot*. London, Faber and Faber 1949, p. 85.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>26</sup> *The Complete Works of Chung Tzu*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York and London, Columbia University Press 1968, pp. 47—48. Also Concordance to Chuang Tzu, p. 6.

and Pien Chih-lin [24] (1910—), appeared in Peking.<sup>27</sup> A short note inserted in the second issue of November 1934 on the origin or importance of the journal conveys the impression that the title was hit upon in approximately this way: the editors assembled one evening at a certain place (none of the data is specified more concretely), probably “lifted up their heads and saw the stars, lowering them, they saw water”.<sup>28</sup> These words are strongly reminiscent of the two last lines in Li Po’s [31] (701—762) quatrain *Ching yeh ssu* [32] *Night Thoughts*, but it is hardly probable that this would have been the origin of the new name.<sup>29</sup> The editors denied that their journal would have anything in common with *Le Mercure de France*, *London Mercury* or *American Mercury*. According to them, *Shui-hsing* was but a name like any other, only serving as the title to something: just as *Mercury* is the name of a star in the solar system. In our view, however, it seems that this title does indicate something more concrete. The works of the authors and friends Pien Chih-lin, Li Kuang-t’ien [34] (1907—) and particularly of Ho Ch’i-fang would imply that under *Mercury* they had in mind the Greek god *Hermes* who, among his many functions, had that of conducting souls of the dead to the kingdom of *Hades* (similarly as *Charon*), and thus passed by *demios oneiron*, the village of dreams.<sup>30</sup> Dream and death used to be closely related in Greek mythology. *Hermes* like the god *Hypnos* was also believed to touch human eyes with his magic sceptre and set them to sleep.

Ho Ch’i-fang’s contributions to this journal will form important material for our further investigation. Now, however, we shall take up materials that preceded those appeared on the pages of *Hermesian Shui-hsing* and *The Painted Dreams*.



A decisive influence on Ho Ch’i-fang’s initial development was exerted (as is known to us from the published works) by Liang Tsung-tai’s [35] (ca 1900—) article *Pao-lo Wa-lai-li p’ing-chuan* [36] *The Life and Work of Paul Valéry*, published in January of 1929 and written in Paris in the first half of 1928.<sup>31</sup> Among articles of a similar type sporadically appearing in the Chinese press, this belongs among the most emotional (though not sentimental) ones and the truest to literary reality. Valéry gave Liang his own photograph with a dedication.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> This journal was published between October 1934 and May 1935. The most important contributors were: Pa Chin, Cheng Chen-to [25] (1898—1958), Shen Ts’ung-wen [26] (1902—), Tsang K’o-chia [27] (1910—), Chang T’ien-i [28] (1906—), Lao She [29] (1899—1966) and Chou Tso-jen [30] (1885—1966).

<sup>28</sup> *Shui-hsing*, 1, No. 2, November 1934, p. 227.

<sup>29</sup> *Li T’ai-po shih chi* [33] *The Poems of Li Po*. Vol. 1 (chüan 6). SPPY ed., Taipei 1966, p. 10a.

<sup>30</sup> Homer: *Ilias. Odysee*. Berlin und Weimar, Aufbau-Verlag 1965, p. 747.

<sup>31</sup> Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao [37] *The Short Story Magazine*, 20, No. 1, 10th January 1929, pp. 21—30.

<sup>32</sup> Appended to the analysed article in the *Short Story Magazine*.

The last great French symbolist Paul Valéry became for a short period of time Ho Ch'i-fang's idol and a jumping-board for his further study of French, and subsequently English symbolism. Liang Tsung-tai's article, personality and work which he analysed, were to Ho Ch'i-fang a certain *primum mobile* of his poetic work and his literary career.

From Valéry's poetry Liang Tsung-tai greatly appreciated *Le Cimetière marin*, then *La Jeune Parque*, but particularly one of his early poems *Narcisse parle* or *Narcissae placandis manibus*.<sup>33</sup> Liang translated this last poem, written in its last version in alexandrine, and processing in a poetic-philosophical mode a section of the well-known Greek myth about Narcissus, into Chinese and appended the translation as a specimen of Valéry's poetry to the article spoken of here.<sup>34</sup>

*Narcisse parle* is a commonly accessible poem that has been translated into numerous languages.<sup>35</sup> It describes the narcissist theme taken over from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, from the poem about Narcissus and Echo.<sup>36</sup> In contrast to Ovid, Valéry takes no notice at all of the nymph Echo and the poet also processes in quite a different manner from that of his model the episode of Narcissus himself. Narcissus of Valéry lacks the poetic sensuousness and the tender sorrow of Ovid's Narcissus, but possesses a philosophico-poetic melancholy and hopelessness of the *fin de siècle* when this poem was written.

The last quality was due to the peculiar character of Valéry's art, as well as to a certain life experience of which he himself wrote at a later date. As Valéry's confession is of great significance to our further exposition, we shall cite it here in extenso:

"This theme of Narcissus, which I have chosen, is a sort of poetic autobiography which requires a few explanations and indications. There exists in Montpellier (he studied in that town between 1884—1892; *Narcisse parle* was published in 1891, M.G.) a botanical garden where I used to go very often when I was nineteen. In a rather secluded corner of this garden, which formerly was much wilder and more attractive, there is an arch and in that a sort of crevice containing a marble slab, which bears three words: *Placandis Narcissae Manibus* (to placate the spirit of Narcissa). That inscription had brought on reveries in me, and here, in two words, is its story.

In 1820, at this spot, there was discovered a skeleton, and according to certain local traditions, it was thought to be the tomb of the poet Young. This girl, who died in Montpellier toward the end of the eighteenth century, couldn't be buried in the

<sup>33</sup> Liang Tsung-tai: *The Life and Work of Paul Valéry*, p. 29.

<sup>34</sup> *Shui-hsien tz'u* [38] *Narcisse parle*, pp. 31—32.

<sup>35</sup> A list of translations of Valéry's poems can be found in *Œuvres de Paul Valéry*. Vol. 2. Paris, Bibliothèque de Pléiade 1960. We have used *Album de Vers Anciens. La Jeune Parque. Charnes. Calepin d'un Poète*. Paris, Editions de la N.R.F. 1933, pp. 30—32.

<sup>36</sup> *Metamorphoseon. Libri XV*. In: *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera*. Volumen secundum. Vindobonae 1803, pp. 111—121.

cemetery, since she was a Protestant. Her father is supposed to have buried her, on a moonlit night. The dead girl was named Narcissa . . . For me the name Narcissa suggested Narcissus. Then I developed the idea of the myth of this young man, perfectly handsome or who found himself so in his reflection.”<sup>37</sup>

In his first poem known to us, Ho Ch’i-fang, after Valéry’s pattern, also reached out for a mythological theme, but instead of an irrevocably and fast approaching death of the self-enamoured unhappy youth, he took as the subject of his poetic imagination the “Young God” (*nien-ch’ing-ti shen*) [39].

Ho Ch’i-fang did not betray to his readers whom this “Young God” was supposed to symbolize. According to Miss McDougall “the Young God could be a symbol for Love, impatient at being detained (cf. Christina Rossetti’s “*The Prince’s Progress*”), or for Inspiration, as in a prose-poem by Turgenev, “*Stay!*” Alternatively, he could stand for Beauty, as Ho himself suggested in another work the following year, Beauty which is only achieved at the sacrifice of friendship and comfort. The considerable technical skill exercised in the poem itself is derived more probably from French symbolism than from English romanticism, Ho Ch’i-fang had discovered Valéry’s *La Jeune Parque* three years earlier, and his choice of a Young God for his chief symbol is presumably due to Valéry’s example.”<sup>38</sup>

Bonnie McDougall probably comes close to the truth in the last words of this passage. It is not quite certain whether Ho had read *La Jeune Parque* by the end of the twenties,<sup>39</sup> but by then he had certainly read *Narcisse parle*. Who is that “Young God from the oracle” from the poem entitled *Yü-yen (The Oracle)*? Who is that Young God in the imagination of a 19-year-old poet? In contrast to Valéry, Ho does not name his “god”, conscious of the specificity of symbolist expression as he had probably been taught by, among others, Liang Tsung-tai: “One poem sings of several things, one poetic sentence implies several meanings . . .”<sup>40</sup>

Ho Ch’i-fang’s poem likewise speaks of young Narcissus and of the nymph Echo that became unhappily infatuated with him. Echo was a real woman, she could talk unceasingly and in an interesting manner. Other women and goddesses liked to listen to her. Even Hera, and this also and especially at a time when her divine and insatiable consort ran after Echo’s colleagues in the deep forests and made love to them. Pleasant moments had to be paid for also by the gods. Hera paid for hers by the jealousy and wrath over the husband whom she never caught *in flagranti* owing to the babbling Echo. She decided for a fitting punishment. Following her curse, Echo was unable to say a single word of her own; she could merely repeat the words of others, be their echo.

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<sup>37</sup> Quoted from Grubbs, H. A.: *Paul Valéry*. New York, Twayne Publishers, Inc. 1968, pp. 20—21.

<sup>38</sup> McDougall, p. 226.

<sup>39</sup> Ho Ch’i-fang mentioned *La Jeune Parque* for the first time in 1938. Cf. McDougall, p. 132.

<sup>40</sup> Liang Tsung-tai: *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Ho Ch'i-fang also altered the myth about Narcissus and Echo. Valéry did the same when creating his Narcisse. Valéry's Narcisse is primarily an intellectual narcissist. During his work on him, Valéry was interested in the "very act of viewing and reflection" and not in the fact that he discovered "Narcissus in a mirror of water",<sup>41</sup> hence, that Narcissus recognized his own self and thereby fulfilled his own fate in accordance with blind Tiresias' oracle.<sup>42</sup> In creating the image of the Young God, Ho Ch'i-fang, too, was taken up with his own poetic devices, poetic objectification of his own personal vision. Besides Valéry's example, a significant role was played here by interhuman relations in which Ho Ch'i-fang found himself at the beginning of his studies at Peking University in autumn of 1931, and probably also by the impact of other literary works.

His strongly autobiographic one-act play *Hsia yeh* [40] *Summer Night* reveals that at that time he had a girl friend to whom he used to read a story, an extract of a novel, or perhaps, a passage from some play. She also liked to listen to various stories or tales when they lay together in bed and she would slowly fall asleep listening to them. Once he told her Wilde's fairy tale *The Happy Prince*.<sup>43</sup> The young girl liked immensely the charming episode of the Swallow falling in love with the statue of the humanitarian Prince and dying kissing him on the lips. Earlier, this Swallow used to sleep at the Prince's feet. And yet, "Death is the brother of Sleep",<sup>44</sup> Hypnos and Thanatos are close to each other and nobody can resist their strength!<sup>45</sup> Although Ho Ch'i-fang's play certainly contains author's imagination, it is more than probable that he adhered considerably to reality. A young, sensitive poet (of the same age as Valéry when writing *Narcisse parle*) suddenly realized that he was not in love with whom Hypnos (or Hermes) lulled him to sleep. It is quite possible that he was frightened by that kiss on the lips of Death. Or perhaps by the following verses from Valéry's famous poem:

Adieu, Narcisse . . . meurs! Voici le crépuscule.  
 Au soupir de mon cœur mon apparence ondule,  
 La flute, par l'azur enseveli module  
 Des regrets de troupeaux sonores qui s'en vont.  
 Mais sur le froid mortel ou l'étoile s'allume,

<sup>41</sup> Quoted according to Fischer, J. O. (Ed.): *Dějiny francouzské literatury 19. a 20. stol.* (A History of French Literature of the 10th and 20th Centuries). Vol. 2. Prague, Academia 1976, p. 375. Originally published in an article on Valéry's *Mon Faust* in *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 115, 1962, pp. 112—117.

<sup>42</sup> Publius Ovidius Naso: op. cit., p. 112. According to Tiresias, Narcissus should not know himself (*si se non noverit*) in order to live a long life.

<sup>43</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang: *Summer Night*. In: *Painstaking Work*, p. 51.

<sup>44</sup> Wilde, O.: *The Happy Prince*. In: *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*. London and Glasgow, Collins 1969, p. 290.

<sup>45</sup> Thanatos was god of death according to Greek mythology. Both he and Hypnos were the sons of Nyx, the goddess of night.

Avant qu'un lent tombeau ne se forme de brume,  
Tien ce baiser qui brise un calme d'eau fatal.<sup>46</sup>

Ho Ch'i-fang decided to tell his Swallow a story of the Young God who did not succeed in loving his nymph, although he greatly suffered thereby, and about the nymph who failed to win the Young God's love though she tried hard. He construed the story on the basis of the myth of Narcissus and Echo, but altered it.

The unnamed Echo in this story (she remained unnamed also in *The Oracle*), lived in a thatched hut (*mao she*) [41] in the midst of deep, wild forests. She had transgressed divine law and in punishment was sent down to earth. When leaving, she learned from the oracle that after a few years a "young god" would pass near her whom she might lure by her song. The "young God" really passed by her hut, she sang, but he went on his way and did not stay by her.<sup>47</sup>

*The Oracle* is the song of unhappy Echo, who in contrast to the punished Echo from Greek mythology, could speak and sing beautifully but failed to find a responsive echo in the heart of the Young God. Neither had the mythological Echo found this, but the difference lies in the fact that the Young God in the poem of Ho Ch'i-fang was not a narcissist in the usual sense of the word as was the mythological Narcissus, but as a symbol of a young man unwilling or unable to requite the love of a girl, and on the other hand, one who was convinced that by this sacrifice he was saving Youth, preserving it as long as possible.<sup>48</sup> He dreaded love's and Hypnos' embrace, and a kiss on the lips of Thanatos.

The unnamed Echo is the picture of a woman striving to win a man's love through her loquacity, excessive solicitude, forgetting that women "cannot fight for love, as men may do" and that they "should be woo'd and not made to woo".<sup>49</sup>

Echo in Ho Chi'i-fang's rendering sings as follows:

This heart-stirring day has finally drawn near,  
Like a sigh of night, the sound of your footsteps approaching  
I can clearly hear — not the whispering of forest leaves and night wind nor  
The faint patter of flitting deer along mossy paths.  
Tell me, with your song like a peal of silver bells, tell me  
Are you the Young God from the oracle?

You must have come from the warm and easeful south,  
Tell me of its moonlight, its sunshine,

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<sup>46</sup> Valéry, P.: *Album de Vers Anciens* . . . , p. 32.

<sup>47</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang: *Painstaking Work*, pp. 106—107.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>49</sup> Shakespeare, W.: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In: *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*. London, Oxford University Press 1930, p. 202.

Tell me how the spring breeze unfolds the hundred flowers,  
How the swallows dote on the green willows,  
While I close my eyes to sleep in your dream-like singing,  
That warm fragrance I seem to remember yet seem to forget.

Please stop, stop your long journey's ceaseless flight,  
Come in, and sit on this tiger-skin cushion,  
Let me burn the fallen leaves I gather every autumn,  
Listen while I softly chant my own song,  
That song like the firelight, now low, now leaping high,  
Like the firelight, telling the story of the fallen leaves.

Do not go on, ahead is the boundless forest,  
Where ancient trees take on the spots and stripes of savage beasts,  
Half-alive half-dead the creepers python-like intertwine,  
Through the dense leaves not a star can gleam,  
In fear you will not dare to make the second step,  
When you hear the empty echo of the first.

Must you go? Wait for me to go along with you,  
My feet know each safe path,  
My unceasing song will dispel your weariness,  
I'll give you again and again the warm comfort of a hand,  
When the heavy darkness of the night separates us,  
Your eyes can gaze unwavering into mine.

But after all you do not listen to my passionate song,  
Your feet do not pause despite my trembling,  
Like the silent, mild breeze floating through this dusk,  
Your proud footsteps fade, fade away . . .  
Ah, at last you came, without a word, as in the oracle,  
And do you leave without a word, Young God?<sup>50</sup>

*The Oracle* was Ho Ch'i-fang's favourite poem. He wrote about it, it was the subject of his reflections and he used it as the title of a collection that appeared in several editions after 1945.<sup>51</sup>

His poems from the year 1932 and the first half of 1933 are of a similar character as *The Oracle*. They are filled with a sensibility which, of course, may have had different

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<sup>50</sup> McDougall, pp. 32—33, and *The Oracle*, pp. 3—5.

<sup>51</sup> Mc Dougall, p. 235.

roots. His refined decadence may have been influenced also by native traditions. In his essay referred to at the beginning of the present study, Ho Ch'i-fang admits an "intoxication in the works of the post-Parnassian French poets",<sup>52</sup> further, his preference of the "delicate, bewitching poetry of the T'ang and Five Dynasties period",<sup>53</sup> particularly Wen T'ing-yün [42] (ca 813—870), but he might equally well have mentioned also Li Yü [43] (937—978), the Last Ruler of Southern T'ang.<sup>54</sup> It should also be observed that he "cherished the poems of Christina Georgina Rossetti and Alfred, Lord Tennyson, reading them often and with deep feeling".<sup>55</sup>

The image of Narcissus, even though it persisted in Ho Ch'i-fang's mind as his "poetic autobiography", or a characteristic of his ideal and his artistic abilities of that time, did not affect much his works as regards ideas. Ho Ch'i-fang soon became aware that in the equation of life, Youth (*ch'ing-ch'un*) [45] does not exclude Love (*ai-ch'ing*) [46],<sup>56</sup> that these are but two eternal unknowns that are mutually related. That embrace of Dream and Love did not haunt him any more; it was now only the source of his joys, though more often of his sorrows. Everything about him at that time was "filled with dying midsummer memories".<sup>57</sup> Even though he did not own up to a love for Shakespeare at that time, these "midsummer memories" are an allusion to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and to those moods that ultimately led him to create his *Yen ni chi* [47] The Swallow's Nest,<sup>58</sup> a series of short poems about love (happy or hapless), about nights, sleeping lotuses, firefly's golden wings, flower-like lips, etc.

### 3

Ho Ch'i-fang's midsummer night's dreams ended with the end of his stay in Peking before the vacation in 1933 when the students were forced or at least exhorted to leave before the impending Japanese aggression.

We shall now go back to the thoughts revealed at the beginning of the second part of this study: to the paths in dreams and to the little known journal to which Ho Ch'i-fang confided some of his images from *demios oneiron*.

Ho Ch'i-fang considered *chou-meng i-pan-ti mi-li* [49] (indistinctness as if of morning dreams), a metaphor by which Liang Tsung-tai had characterized Mallarmé's poetry in his article on Paul Valéry,<sup>59</sup> to be suitable to characterize one of the

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>54</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang: *Ch'u-pan hsü* [44] A Preface to the first edition. In: *Painstaking Work*, p. v.

<sup>55</sup> McDougall, p. 56.

<sup>56</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang: *Painstaking Work*, pp. 105—108.

<sup>57</sup> McDougall, p. 54.

<sup>58</sup> Published in *Han-yüan chi* [48] The Han Garden, a volume of poems by Pien Chih-lin, Li Kuang-t'ien and Ho Ch'i-fang, Shanghai 1936.

<sup>59</sup> Liang Tsung-tai: op. cit., p. 28.



basic traits of his own poetry. He used the word *mi-li* (indistinctness) in the last line of *The Cypress Grove* when “midsummer memories” were replaced in his creative development by a “season of desolation” and loneliness of his adult age.<sup>60</sup> As regards *chou-meng* (morning dreams), a single stroke of the brush was enough to alter them into *hua-meng* [50] painted dreams. Later he published his “indistinct painted dreams” in a little collection *Hua meng lu* [51] *The Painted Dreams*. Because of its unusual literary beauty, and particularly its formal and stylistic values, it won the Ta-kung-pao [52] *L’Impartial* literary award for 1936 and made Ho’s name known throughout the Chinese literary scene.

Our study will take note mainly of the poems and essays that appeared in the journal *Mercury* and were thus tailored after the “reality = dream myth”, although for the sake of completeness, the most important works in *The Painted Dreams* will also be analysed.

In contrast to the initial development, i.e. between autumn of 1931 and May 1933, Hypnos or Hermes are no longer associated with “midsummer memories” in which poetry of nice feelings or impressions predominated; from the summer of 1933 until May 1935, Ho’s poetry was becoming much more serious. In summer of 1933, in the cypress grove of his native country, Ho Ch’i-fang had the impression that he ate the fruit of knowledge and like Biblical Adam he lost his Eden and yet felt no remorse.<sup>61</sup> Hypnos or Hermes (or both) now extended the sphere of their impact. Ho asserted somewhat hyperbolically that he had by then “formed views on all aspects of life in the real world”,<sup>62</sup> but the truth is that the horizon of his literary production had widened. Waking dreams he described, “colours and patterns” he endeavoured to capture, the allusions with their subtleties and richness of meaning (which often require long hours of research, occasionally fruitless ones) became the only suitable means and devices of creating a world of literature or art. In Ho Ch’i-fang’s poetry and prose between 1931—1936, the “aspects of life in the world” are always examined from the point of view of the “reality = dream myth”. These aspects are considerably disparate and the views arrived at in 1933 to 1935 differ from those of the period before 1933. The image of Narcissus has now definitely sunk beyond the horizon of Ho Ch’i-fang’s ideals, the new image will still linger years in the deepest darkness preceding dawn.

Ho’s first poem in the journal *Shui-hsing* is an expression of this searching:

I unfurl my sails, my wings,  
Dressed in sunlight, mist and rain  
To a place of clouds and waves, to be as carefree as water and birds.  
But where can I find my vast and illusory river,  
As vast as the Milky Way fallen from the sky?

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<sup>60</sup> McDougall, p. 54.

<sup>61</sup> Loc. cit.

I dare not open the door to look at the frosty moon which fills the courtyard,  
I am even more afraid of the cockcrow at daybreak:  
One night of insect noises turns my hair white.<sup>63</sup>

This poem called *Ch'i-ch'ung* [53] *Wall Insects* reminds us of *Ch'u-tz'u* [54] poems from the times before our era. To us it seems to be a certain imitation of *Yüan-yu* [55] *The Far-off Journey* from the cycle *Chiu-t'an* [56] *The Nine Laments* by Liu Hsiang [57] (77—6 B.C.).<sup>64</sup> It is not an imitation of the style of *Ch'u-tz'u* poem, but of its spirit. Similarly as the heroes in *Ch'u-tz'u* also that in Ho's poem (in fact Ho himself) "seeks escape in distant travel".<sup>65</sup> A note similar to *Ch'u-tz'u* and Ho's poem is one "of embittered despair"<sup>66</sup> or at least of sorrow.

The flight of our poet is similar to that of the poet Ch'ü Yüan [58] (4th—3rd cent. B.C.), the most frequent hero of *Ch'u-tz'u* poems, who "was as the cloud dragon, floating in watery vapours, like a dense mist".<sup>67</sup> In contrast to the idol of Ch'u's poetry "who shaking his wings and beating with his pinions, racing the wind, driving the rain, . . . wanders without end",<sup>68</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang's "far-off journey" lasts one single dreamless night at the longest, and is a poetic form of his waking dream. The cockcrow in his dream frightens the night, distorts his vision of a "vast and illusory river" and leaves the poet with white hair to listen to "insect noises". The poet whose hair turned grey overnight is unable to span the abyss between the dreamland of his imagination and the reality in which he lives. The Mallarméian "Ici-bas est maître",<sup>69</sup> despite all desire and mental effort, is something of which Ho Ch'i-fang is aware at least unconsciously. A dream, a waking dream, is to be the solution to the enigma brought about by life in its most diverse forms.

It has been observed earlier that at the time of writing his "painted dreams", Ho Ch'i-fang was reading Eliot's *The Waste Land*, and may perhaps have been enthusiastic about it. However, Ho Ch'i-fang's waste land, insofar as he succeeded in depicting it, differed vastly from *The Waste Land* by Mr. Eliot. First and foremost, one did not feel in it the "terrible dreariness" in the measure as in Eliot's; it was not a "country cracked by a drought"<sup>70</sup> where Ho Ch'i-fang's dreamy spirit moved. Ho Ch'i-fang trembled at his own gloomy moods and non-poetic images provided by

<sup>62</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 46, and Shui-hsing, 1, No. 1, October 1934, p. 102.

<sup>64</sup> *Ch'u Tz'u. The Song of South*. Translated by David Hawkes. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1959, pp. 167—169.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

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

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

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

<sup>69</sup> Mallarmé, S.: *Les Fenêtres*. In: *Poésies. Édition complète contenant plusieurs poèmes inédits*. Paris, Gallimard, n.d., p. 25.

<sup>70</sup> Wilson, E.: *T. S. Eliot*. In: Zabel, M. D. (Ed.): *Literary Opinion in America*. Vol. 1. Gloucester, Peter Smith 1968, p. 214.

his own desolate country and his own season of desolation. The images of the kind of a man who turned hoary in a single night are an exception rather than the rule in Ho Ch'i-fang's poetry. His solution of the enigma of life as a dichotomy of reality and dream proceeds along a different road from that followed by Eliot, although in 1935, their ways drew close together.

In the second issue of the journal *Shui-hsing*, Ho Ch'i-fang published an essay entitled *Yen* [59] Cliff. This is a dreamy recollection of his home in Wanh sien. Here, the enigma of life is resolved in a different manner from that employed in the poem *Wall Insects*. The indistinctness spoken of repeatedly in this study is not only reflected in the content, but is also carried over to the formal aspect of the work. Especially at the beginning the essay is as vague, indistinct and more or less scantily sketched, as are Chinese paintings influenced by *śūnyatā* (emptiness) of the sect Ch'an [60]. Only gradually do the images become evident when the poet gives expression to his own positive confession:

"... but I truly admire that precipitous cliff, that famous spot; perhaps I shall climb it one day and in the rays of the setting sun, and distraught, will for a moment fuse with my shadow. What will the world then seem like? The Mount T'ai will be like the feather of a wild goose. I shall sit with pleasure under the wooden arbour looking at the dwarfed pine in the middle of the cliff."<sup>71</sup>

The cliff which Ho described in this essay may have been the T'ai-po Cliff westward of the town of Wanh sien. According to a more realistic travelogue Ho Ch'i-fang wrote towards the end of 1936, allegedly the famous poet Li Po "had once built a hut there so he could live there as a hermit", although "there is no evidence at all of any relationship between the mountain and the drunken poet of former days".<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, Ho Ch'i-fang's above sentences do carry traces of Li Po's art and of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's [61] (ca 140—ca 90 B.C.) philosophy of life.

In the poem *Liang fu yin* [62] by Li Po we read:

"The wise may pass unnoticed and the fool may be made into a hero. People consider me to be lighter than a wild goose feather."<sup>73</sup>

In *Ssu-ma Ch'ien chuan* [63] *The Biography of Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, written by Pan Ku [64] (32—92 A.D.), we read Ssu-ma Ch'ien's words:

"A man has only one death. That death may be as weighty as Mount T'ai, or it may be as light as a goose feather."<sup>74</sup>

Sitting thus under the arbour at the foot of the cliff, not far from the place where the poet Huang T'ing-chien [65] (1045—1105) left behind a stone inscription,<sup>75</sup> Ho

<sup>71</sup> *Shui-hsing*, I, No. 2, November 1934, p. 176.

<sup>72</sup> McDougall, p. 105.

<sup>73</sup> The Poems of Li Po. Vol. 1 (chüan 3), p. 9a.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted according to Watson, B.: *Ssu-ma Ch'ien. Grand Historian of China*. New York 1958, p.

63.

<sup>75</sup> McDougall, p. 105.

Ch'i-fang addressed himself first to the dwarfed pines on the cliff, then to the buffalo boy and the grass cutter in one person. The double image of the latter then reminded him of the old Taoist hermit and he himself felt a yearning to own a thatched house (*mao wu*), not unlike the one he had prepared for Narcissus' nymph, and then to dwell in it when he "had abandoned wordly things" (*hsieh-chüeh jen shih*) [66], for he liked this "wilderness" (*huang-liang*) [67] of his native country.<sup>76</sup> The waste land of Ho Ch'i-fang from the second half of 1933 until the beginning of 1935 was precisely a "wilderness" of this type.

Here too, an abyss between dream and reality was involved. The young poet of modern China could in no way become the old Li Po or T'ao Yüan-ming [68] (365—427).

Like so many other symbolists, for instance, the Greek Jean Moreas or the Irishman William Butler Yeats, Ho Ch'i-fang also reached after literary myths of his country. To him ancient China, from the times of the golden age of poetry and philosophy of his fatherland Ch'u in the 4th and 3rd cent. B.C. until P'u Sung-ling's [69] (1640—1715) period, the last great recorder of events about extraordinary people and things, was a land of dreams, but not of the kind some poets considered Greece to belong to, where they used to go only "to play with the nymphs".<sup>77</sup>

This tendency may best be seen from three records of the painted dreams which then gave the name to the collection. Ho Ch'i-fang's play with myths was extremely serious and was to provide him with material for investigating important aspects of life — a strange overlapping of dream and reality.

The first of these records portrays a dream relating to Ting Ling-wei [70]. Ting Ling-wei was to Ho Ch'i-fang a symbol of immortality, of course, interpreted in a specific way. Ting Ling-wei's very short story is found in *Sou-shen hou-chi* [71] Sequel to Records of Spirits,<sup>78</sup> traditionally attributed to T'ao Yüan-ming, but certainly not in Liu Hsiang's work *Lieh hsien chuan* [74] The Biographies of Immortals.<sup>79</sup> The enlarged version of Ho Ch'i-fang does not differ by its "message" from the old tradition. Ting Ling-wei studied the Taoist teachings, became an immortal crane and rose up to heaven. After a thousand years he returned to his native town in the Liao province. To his great surprise, he found his native place to be as it had been formerly, but the people had changed for the worse — he did not recognize them at all.

Ho Ch'i-fang does not alter the crane's song and reproduces it as it is recorded in T'ao Yüan-ming:

<sup>76</sup> Shui-hsing, 1, No. 2, p. 178.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Balakian, A.: *The Symbolist Movement. A Critical Appraisal*. New York, Random House 1967, p. 109.

<sup>78</sup> T'ao Ch'ien [72] (i.e. T'ao Yüan-ming): *Sou-shen hou-chi*, n.p. 1791, chüan shang [73], p. 1a.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Mayers, W. F.: *The Chinese Reader's Manual*. Shanghai 1924, p. 220 and TSCC ed. of *Lieh hsien chuan* or the translation by Kaltenmark, M.: *Le Lie-sien tchouan: (Biographies légendaires des Immortels taoistes de l'antiquité)*. Peking 1953.

There is a bird, bird called Ting Ling-wei,  
Who left his home a thousand years ago and now returns.  
The town walls are as before, the people are not so,  
Why not study immortality as graveyards grow.<sup>80</sup>

Ho Ch'i-fang did not comment on this searching or study of immortality, although he evidently identified himself with the interpretation implied in the quoted song. As a matter of fact, there is no paradox between immortality and ever growing number of graves. At least not according to old Taoists. It is an interpretation taking contact with Lao-tzu, eventually with Chuang-tzu, and partly also with a certain part called *nei-tan* [75] inner elixir tradition of the religious Taoism of Master T'ao's own time: there was question here not so much of physical immortality, as rather of achieving a conviction that "seen creatures are merely the innumerable transitory forms adapted by the life that emerged from primordial chaos"<sup>81</sup> and that these "monads of life appear in this world as plants, animals, or human beings, then disappear into formlessness before reappearing in different guises".<sup>82</sup> In the light of the teachings of the ancient sages of his country Ho Ch'i-fang perceived it to be useless to dread the kiss on the lips of Thanatos, for life and death are two sides of the same coin, they are different though equally valuable phenomena from the aspect of immortality.

Here too, however, he saw the abyss that always disturbed his dreams. Only it was of a different kind. Earlier the dreams used to be his own dreams, dreams in which he himself, as the continuation of the long-forgotten Narcissus, was the principal figure. Now others become mixed in the dream about Ting Ling-wei, ordinary people, and these did not understand the symbolic meaning of the "crane myth". Ting-Ling-wei was to them only a "real red-capped crane" or the "first crane of spring returning", or even an "inauspicious omen". They then "waved their hands and uttered threatening noises to drive him away".<sup>83</sup> A spanning of this abyss between a narcissist individual and human collective later led to a totally new orientation in Ho Ch'i-fang's work.

While in Ting Ling-wei Ho Ch'i-fang added new details to a short myth, in the second of the records called *Ch'un-yü Fen* [76] on the contrary, he hardly takes any note of details from the old short story and only repeats those most essential and inevitable to its understanding. *Ch'un-yü Fen* is a hero of the well-known T'ang *ch'uan-ch'i* [77] prose romance entitled *Nan-k'o t'ai-shou chuan* [78] *The Governor of the Southern Tributary State* by Li Kung-tso (8th—9th cent.).<sup>84</sup> It speaks of

<sup>80</sup> Cf. McDougall, p. 67.

<sup>81</sup> Kaltenmark, M.: *Lao Tzu and Taoism*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1969, p. 66.

<sup>82</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>83</sup> McDougall, p. 67.

<sup>84</sup> *T'ang jen hsiao-shuo* [79] T'ang Short Stories, Shanghai 1955, pp. 85—90 and Li Kung-tso: *A Lifetime in a Dream*. In: Franke, H. and Bauer, W. (Eds): *The Golden Casket. Chinese Novellas of Two Millennia*. Penguin Books 1967, pp. 102—117.

Ch'un-yü Fen, a knight-errant (*yu-hsia*) [80] from the countries of Wu [81] and Ch'u who, like people of that kind liked to drink and amused himself with the guests. Once, at the end of such a drinking bout he felt very tired and fell into a deep sleep in the presence of guests who had put up the horses in the stables and were preparing to wash their weary feet. In the course of a few short moments during which the servants had not had even time to sweep the yard, nor his friends to wash their feet, he dreamt a long dream in which he passed through a whole life-time. He reached the Locust-tree Kingdom (Huai-an kuo) [82], married the king's daughter Princess Golden Bough (Chin-chih) [83], became a governor, waged a war against the Sandalwood Kingdom (T'an-lo kuo) [84], and lost it. Then his wife died, he left the country in which he had been governor and returned to the Locust-tree Kingdom. He vainly tried to preserve the favour of his royal father-in-law. He lost it and had to return to his house distant ten *li* from the town of Kuang-ling [85].

A situational tension, similar to that in the story about Ting Ling-wei, forced Ho Ch'i-fang again to face reality and dream. A longer excerpt from Ho Ch'i-fang's record will point to its kindred nature with the quotation from Chuang-tzu relating to "reality = dream myth" and his philosophy of equality of things and opinions:

"Ch'un-yü Fen knelt under the locust-tree, among the roots which protruded like a range of mountains, and pushed the little finger of his right hand up the ant-hole; but it was full of twists and turns and he could not get through. Then he put his lips together and whistled, but the sound dispersed in the profound darkness without an echo. In there was a city with pavilions and halls, there were mountains, rivers, trees and plants — of this he had no doubts at all; he could remember the Divine Turtle Mountain to the east of the kingdom, where he had once enjoyed himself hunting. Perhaps his present awakening was really a dream? He stood up.

The locust-tree was very tall, with feather-shaped leaves clustered thickly on the branches which spread out in all directions, like the sky. The distant evening clouds gleamed. An ant, with tiny feet and slender waist, so weak it could not withstand the wind, wriggled in Ch'un-yü's imagination. Were it to climb up the cracked bark, how pitiful it would look! But by comparing the ant to himself, Ch'un-yü Fen felt that he was even more insignificant. He forgot the distinction between large and small, he forgot the distinction between a long passage of time and a brief one, so that this afternoon's hangover did not seem like a matter of a few moments."<sup>85</sup>

A comparison of the two quotations shows beyond all possibility of doubt that Ho Ch'i-fang links here material from Li Kung-tso's prose romance with Chuang-tzu's philosophical views. The reminiscence of hunting is not made by hazard; its purpose is to induce a mental atmosphere considerably differing from the one in Li Kung-tso's short story. As to "awakening", this reminds at once of Chuang-tzu's "great awakening". In agreement with Chuang-tzu's philosophy, it seems to Ho that

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<sup>85</sup> McDougall, pp. 68—69.

Ch'un-yü Fen's real life not far from the town Kuang-ling, with his drinking bouts, with women and everyday duties, was "perhaps" really a dream! And also as regards his forgetting the differences between great and small, long and short, Ho Ch'i-fang only followed the mental processes typical of his native country Ch'u in ancient times, and of course, also of Master Chuang-tzu. That is why it seemed to him that the locust-tree reached up to heaven or "this afternoon's hangover did not seem like a matter of a few moments".

The abyss between dream and reality does exist here for those who stand around Ch'un-yü Fen, but also Ho Ch'i-fang. Servants chop down the locust-tree, a symbol of dreamy visions.

The last of the three records called *Pai-lien chiao mou* [88] *The White Lotus Monk*, expanding brief excerpts from the short story *Pai-lien-chiao* [89] *The White Lotus Sect* by P'u Sung-ling,<sup>86</sup> is written in a similar style, but here as if the abyss did not exist. The world of dreams which he presents is totally remote from the world of reality. Ho's painted dream is a fine sample of stylistic art, but brings nothing new that would go to resolve his life enigmas. This last record was written sometime between December 1934 and January 1935.<sup>87</sup> Though it is possible that all three were written at that time.

The following reaction is surprising. In the essay *Magic Plants (Mo-shu ts'ao)* [90], written in March 1935, Ho Ch'i-fang asserts: "The sage has no dreams."<sup>88</sup> This is a very free quotation from the philosopher Lieh-tzu [91]. According to the latter "morning imagery (*chou-hsiang*) [92] (i.e. waking dreams, M.G.) and night dreams (*yeh-meng*) [93] are the results of the external factors on the body and the mind. Therefore imagery and dreams fade away by themselves in those who possess a strong spirit. Hence, they are no empty words that state that precisely people of ancient times in the waking state forgot their egos and had no dreams in their sleep".<sup>89</sup>

Ho Ch'i-fang, of course, did not consider himself to be a sage and was of the opinion that for the common people, days without waking dreams and dreamless nights would be "barren and desolate" (*huang-liang*).<sup>90</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang made use here of the same characters as in the essay *Cliff*. However, the wilderness of the country excited in him only beautiful, even sublime feelings, while the "barren and desolate" state of his own soul induced nothing but feelings of horror.

By the essay now being dealt with, Ho Ch'i-fang took leave of the "reality = dream myth", for he found that it had no universal validity. Ever since

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp. 70—71. *Yüan-pen Liao-chai chih-i* [86], with the commentaries by Lü Chan-ssu [87]. Chüan 5. Shanghai, n.d., pp. 8ab—9a.

<sup>87</sup> McDougall, p. 71.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 78. Shui-hsing, 2, No. 1, April 1935, p. 29.

<sup>89</sup> Lieh-tzu. Chüan 3. SPPY ed., Taipei 1966, pp. 7ab.

<sup>90</sup> See Note 88.

extrasubjective reality, the human collective entered his dreams and became co-judges in resolving life enigmas, his work founded on this myth slowly but surely crumbled. In this essay, dream is exactly differentiated from reality. When the author, referring to the above-mentioned third record of painted dreams writes, "I put down my pen, and for a moment really believe that I am under a magic spell of the White Lotus sect: a bowl of a clear water, a boat made of straw, and I am off on a trip across my sea",<sup>91</sup> he knows quite clearly that he is dreaming, and despite the words that he really believes in his dream, he in reality does not believe in it at all.

The dream, however, persists to be an effective tool and device of his literary work, but now is strictly distinguished from reality.

Ho Ch'i-fang came closest to Eliot's *The Waste Land* in his last work published in the journal Mercury, i.e. in a poem called *K'ung-hou yin* [94] *Ballad of the Vertical Harp*. That impression of "barren and desolate" state which he feared really materialized in the period between March and May 1935, spread and deepened. He was probably led to this state of mind by "the hopeless dry words of T.S. Eliot, and the moans of Dostoyevsky's troubled souls", and his reading of G. Hauptmann's drama *Einsame Menschen*.<sup>92</sup> But a contributory cause was also certainly the impasse of his own creative work, the fall of his philosophico-aesthetic ideals. The equation between dream and reality could not be adequately replaced by any other. Finding this task insolvable, Ho Ch'i-fang decided to commit a symbolical suicide.

Ho Ch'i-fang undertook the task to portray this state of his own soul. The form was provided by Eliot's famous poem which includes "quotations from, allusions to, or imitations of" many different writers and different literatures.<sup>93</sup> The material, in contrast to *The Waste Land* which is oriented extravertly, comes from the literary and biographical experience of Ho Ch'i-fang. But the poem is also reminiscent of Eliot's poetic mastery: fusing of images of different origin, into one beautiful and effective whole. That, decidedly, is no "odd pastiche".

The extent of this study precludes the detailed analysis of *K'ung-hou yin* here, and thus only the more important moments will be pointed out.

The poem is set into a Peking duststorm. Winds, particularly in spring and at the beginning of summer, bring in large quantities of dust into Northern China from the Mongolian plateau. By a concurrence of certain weather conditions, this gives rise to storms whose action resembles those on the open sea with the difference that man is not a victim of water and waves, but of fine dust and sand getting into eyes, mouth and ears. The poet is in his room. The excerpt of the poem quoted here represents the first part of his poetic autobiography; it is an evocation of "midsummer memories", but simultaneously implies his present state of uncertainty:

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<sup>91</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>92</sup> McDougall, p. 168.

<sup>93</sup> Wilson, E.: *T. S. Eliot*, p. 216.



With my rush screens lowered,  
I am in a rocky cave on some deserted island.  
But am I the Duke of Milan cast into the sea,  
Or his orphaned daughter, Miranda?  
Miranda! I call my name but there is no response.<sup>94</sup>

Prospero, the right Duke of Milan, and Miranda, his daughter, are the chief heroes of W. Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*. Antonio, Prospero's brother, usurped the title of Duke of Milan, seized political power and betrayed his country to Alonso, King of Naples. Prospero, thanks to his knowledge of magic arts, caused a storm to rage on the sea, and amidst dramatic events, rallied his helpers and gave battle to and triumphed over his opponents. Ho Ch'i-fang, however, is neither Prospero, nor Miranda. He has no magic mantle and receives no help from the all-powerful spirit Ariel. Nor does he fall in love for the first time to find his life's happiness. At the time of writing this poem his "charms are all o'erthrown" and his strength "most faint".<sup>95</sup> Nonetheless, he asks whether his "gourd" could not brew the storm that was then raging in Peking:

Surely this isn't my magic?  
Surely the flying, crying locusts fill the air  
Can't be the grains of yellow sand I scattered from the gourd?<sup>96</sup>

The gourd, i.e. the Chinese gourd, shaped like an hour-glass, is considered a magic plant in China.<sup>97</sup>

In the next part of Ho's poem, "midsummer memories" become fused with the traits of his poetic biography between the vacation of 1933 and March 1935:

I should really like to take a long siesta,  
I should really like to paint on a wall  
And then step into it  
And wake to find myself falling near the Immortal's Isle,  
To hear someone clapping and laughing at "the scholar in the water".

But let's listen to your dreams.  
(Why are you always lost in dreams now?)  
Thirsty? Perhaps you want some water? An orange?  
. . . An orange in the north of Huai has got a hard skin,

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<sup>94</sup> McDougall, p. 49. Shui-hsing, 2, No. 3, June 1935, p. 285.

<sup>95</sup> *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, p. 25.

<sup>96</sup> See Note 94.

<sup>97</sup> E.g. see the passage on T'ieh K'uai-li [95], one of the Eight Taoist Immortals. In: Doré, H.: *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*. Vol. 9, Shanghai 1915, pp. 514—515 or p. 496.

Maidens call it love-in-idleness,  
 Do not sprinkle that flower juice on my eyelids  
 The first thing I see when I awake might be  
 A bear, a wolf, a monkey . . .<sup>98</sup>

The first image indicating a need of a long afternoon nap (the storm bursts at noon) is followed by two others deriving from P'u Sung-ling. The first of these recalls the story *Hua pi* [96] *Picture on the Wall*,<sup>99</sup> describing a certain Mr. Chu [97], a second-degree graduate in the state examinations who fell in love with a maiden scattering flowers and portrayed on the wall. When he saw her, "his body whirled and soared up into the height, and as if flying through mist and clouds, he found himself in the wall".<sup>100</sup> Then behind the wall he experienced quite a delightful event though not a quite carefree episode. True, it was not as rich and long as Ch'un-yü Fen's, yet it sufficed for the virginal flower-girl to become a real woman. This first picture is but an allusion. Its real sense is concealed in the final point of the whole story. And that one is at least partially stated in P'u Sung-ling's words: "Phantoms are made up by the people themselves",<sup>101</sup> these delusions derive from their excited thinking, they are something unreal. Picture on the wall of this kind may indeed be an effective literary device, as was clearly shown by P'u Sung-ling, but is remote from life and reality.

The second image links with another of P'u Sung-ling's short story *Hsien-jen tao* [98] *The Immortal's Isle*.<sup>102</sup> This story is about certain Wang Mien [99], a scholar who wished to see immortals. With the aid of charms worked by a Taoist priest, he reached an island lying in the middle of the sea. Clapping and laughing at "the scholar in the water" is an allusion to an inadequacy of the main protagonist of the story.<sup>103</sup> Mr. Wang, a first-degree graduate, was an extremely conceited but also incompetent scholar. The immortals in the story (in fact ideal figures of educated people as P'u Sung-ling imagined them), constantly showed him his insufficient literary erudition and unrefined taste. The image of the scholar fallen in the water ought to be understood as Ho's self-condemnation. Ho Ch'i-fang, the sensitive man of letters, thought his works to be but a new *pa-ku* [100] eight-legged essays.

In the subsequent lines, the normal, though greatly excited state of mind becomes gradually replaced by insanity. A verbatim quotation from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is here preceded by a practically word-for-word quotation from *K'ao kung chi* [101], a chapter from *Chou li* [102] *The Rites of Chou*,<sup>104</sup> and already deranged

<sup>98</sup> McDougall, pp. 49—50. Shui-hsing, 2, No. 3, pp. 286—287.

<sup>99</sup> *Yüan-pen Liao-chai chih-i*. Chüan 1, pp. 5ab—6a.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5ab.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6a.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, chüan 8, pp. 24b—28a.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25b.

<sup>104</sup> *Chou-li*. Chüan 39. SPPY ed., Taipei 1966, p. 3a.

state of the poet continues by a ranting monologue imitating the words of Oberon, the King of the Fairies, intended for Titania, the Queen of the Fairies . . .<sup>105</sup>

The third part of the poetic autobiography comprises the period immediately preceding the origin of the following poem :

. . . What's up, you plants, always so straggly at my bedside?  
Asking, asking, I turn over and knock  
The basin and tray to the floor. The dream is broken.  
I am dreaming of a woman in a novel  
(Nastasya, are you happy?)  
Does the sound of tearing silk or breaking fans make you laugh?)  
I dream that I am a white-headed madman,  
My head dishevelled, with a jug, running towards the white waters.<sup>106</sup>

On awakening, the poet did not turn into either a bear, or a wolf or a monkey, but found himself in a room similar to the one described by Dostoyevsky in his novel *The Idiot*, and in which Nastasya Filipovna, one of the most impressive characters of the great Russian novelist, found her death.<sup>107</sup> Here the poet sees reality through the eyes of the insane Prince Myshkin, although the latter had still been normal by the bedside of the murdered Nastasya. The latter, of course, can be happy only in the eyes of a madman. After Parfen Rogozhin, Nastasya's fanatical husband, had killed her with the knife put in her beloved book but hated by him, everything stood still in the room (small table, rich bride's dresses, flowers). But fans were mentioned by Ho Ch'i-fang as symbols of his lost creative endeavours.<sup>108</sup>

The most powerful in the entire poem, however, is the last of the quoted images. The demented poet alludes to his suicide in two short lines: like the old man from an old ballad which allegedly reached China during the Former Han period (207—8 B.C.) he throws himself into a river and finds his death there.<sup>109</sup> The lines do not come from the ballad itself, but from a prosaic text by Ts'ui Pao [103] (3rd—4th cent. A.D.) entitled *Ku chin chu* [104] Notes on the Things Ancient and Modern.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>105</sup> *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, p. 201.

<sup>106</sup> McDougall, p. 50. Shui-hsing, 2, 3, p. 287.

<sup>107</sup> Dostoyevsky, F. M.: *Sobranie sochinenii* (The Complete Works). Tom 6. *Idiot*. Moscow 1957, pp. 685—687.

<sup>108</sup> McDougall, pp. 47, 62—64.

<sup>109</sup> Here follows the translation of this ballad into English by J. D. Frodsham: *The Poems of Li Ho* 791—817. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1970, p. 195:

Sir, do not ford the river!  
Now you 've gone and forded the river!  
Into the water you 've sunk and drowned —  
What are we to do?

<sup>110</sup> Here follows the translation of the text from *Ku chin chu*, Shanghai, Commercial Press 1954, p. 12: "K'ung hou yin (Ballad for Vertical Harp) was made by Yö-ok [105], a wife of Korean ferryman Kwakni

In autumn of 1931, at the start of his studies in Peking, Ho Ch'i-fang told to his girl friend: "I am a young god".<sup>111</sup> At the end of his stay in Peking in 1935 he compared himself to a grey-haired drug addict, holding a jug, symbolizing his self-destructive passion, his unrealizable dreams, who in his insanity takes his own life. But a comparison of these two myths, one originating from the Greek, the other perhaps but not certainly from Korean tradition, reveals a considerable difference. Ho Ch'i-fang's creation filled the space between these two extreme points.

The paths in dreams led Ho Ch'i-fang to his artistic self-realization in the form of noteworthy painted images. His works, like those of P'u Sung-ling, were the products of his magic "gourd",<sup>112</sup> symbolizing an artistic-creative force. The last image of his creative biography in *K'ung-hou yin*, however, was, fortunately enough, not the last one of his creative activity.

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After the vacation of 1935, Ho Ch'i-fang started teaching at the Nan-Kai Middle School in Tientsin. The journal *Mercury* where he stored the images from his *demios oneiron* had ceased to appear. Ho Ch'i-fang left Peking, an ancient city, a city of peculiar poetical beauty, left his intelligent and refined friends, and came to a big town which was "ugly, dirty and foul".<sup>113</sup> The period of painting on walls, of windows and fans, walks in graveyards, listening to sounds of the woodpecker, the night watchman's rattle and the pigeon whistles, was definitely over.

While in Tientsin, Ho Ch'i-fang devoted but little time to writing. Between March and May 1936, he wrote four prosaic pieces originally intended to form a novel. He called them *Fou shih hui* [110] Drawings of Fleeting Life.<sup>114</sup> These four "chapters", about one tenth of the intended novel, are filled with memories, reflections, events, his own and those of others, and with literary and mythological allusions. We learn from them some interesting things about him, his unnamed friends and people he knew, for instance, about the local warlord in his native province Yang Sen. He

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Chago [106]. Once when Kwakni Chago stood up in the morning and rowed the boat, a dishevelled white-haired madman with a (wine) jug forded on the wrong place and drowned. His wife followed him and called him to stop. She did not succeed, he proceeded to go into the deep water and died. His wife then took the vertical harp and playing she composed the song: Sir, do not ford the river (Kung wu tu ho) [107]. Its melody was sad and full of sorrow. When she ended her song she threw herself into the river and died. Kwakni Chago returned home and sang the song to his wife Yō-ok. Yō-ok was deeply moved, took the vertical harp and wrote down the melody. Those who heard it, all cried and swallowed the tears . . ."

<sup>111</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang: *Summer Night*, p. 51.

<sup>112</sup> According to *Liao-chai tzu-chih* [108] Self-preface to *Liao-chai chih-i*: "For those who know how to fly quickly and become easily inspired, who are mad and stubborn and not able to become free, who embrace the whole world in their inner selves, and who are stupid, is really nothing concealed here. Those who are perfect, do they find something in my gourd?" See *Liao-chai chih-i hsüan* [109] A Selection from *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*. Peking 1957, p. 1.

<sup>113</sup> McDougall, p. 6.

<sup>114</sup> See Ho Ch'i-fang: *Painstaking Work*, pp. 63—125.

recalls there that his great love towards the end of the twenties had been I. S. Turgenev<sup>115</sup> (he liked to read him also later), but neither he nor his schoolfellows liked Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*.<sup>116</sup> It is to be regretted that he never finished this work.

At the beginning of June 1936 Ho Ch'i-fang stopped working on Drawings of Fleeting Life, but also gave up teaching at the Nan-Kai Middle School and left for a brief stay to Wanh sien. On his return to the north and at his new post at Lai-yang [111], in the Shantung province, he wrote a series of articles about this visit. These essays appeared later as a collection *Huan-hsiang jih-chi* [112] *Diary of a Visit Home*<sup>117</sup> and described the real, hard life of peasants, their backwardness and social injustice at Chinese countryside. Ho Ch'i-fang was no longer interested in beautiful and dreamy images, but in reality itself.

While working on these essays he wrote the poem *Sung-tsang* [113] *Funerals*. This poem is much more lucid than *K'ung-hou yin* because the author mentions almost everywhere the sources of his inspiration. "This is the age of funerals," he writes in the last line of the first strophe. That, however, does not mean that the poet had in mind contemporary funerals, nor was he forced to this poetic statement by any concrete facts of the immediately preceding moments. As in *K'ung-hou yin*, it reflected events from his poetic autobiography, impressions from his readings and his studies. This poem, however, was designed to serve a different purpose. It was to be his symbolic funeral, but also his resurrection.

Ho Ch'i-fang did not consider his symbolic suicide one and a half year before, to be a manifestation of his momentary depression. He justified it by analogous acts of great men of letters from the recent and remote past:

I have seen de Nerval leading on a blue silk sash  
A lobster knowing the secrets of the sea through the boulevards.  
And with the belt from a woman's skirt  
Hang himself outside the door of a doss house.  
The last peasant poet just now in the hotel  
Is slashing the blue veins in his neck.<sup>118</sup>

The first four lines of this strophe were probably taken over from the essay on Gérard de Nerval in the book *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, by Arthur Symons, a work that introduced personalities and works of French symbolists and their predecessors into the Anglo-Saxon world. We find written there that one day in 1841 "he was found in the Palais-Royal, leading a lobster at the end of a blue ribbon

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>117</sup> Appeared in Shanghai in 1939.

<sup>118</sup> McDougall, p. 122, *The Oracle*, pp. 69—70.

(because, he said, it does not bark, and knows the secrets of the sea), the visionary had simply lost control of his visions, and had to be sent to Dr. Blanche's asylum at Montmartre".<sup>119</sup> There is also written that on the night of the 25th January 1855, at three in the morning "the landlord of a 'penny doss' in the Rue de la Vieille-Lanterne . . . heard some knocking at the door, but did not open, on account of the cold. At dawn, the body of Gérard de Nerval was found hanging by the apron-string to a bar of the window."<sup>120</sup>

The last two lines evidently describe the death of S. Yesenin in the Leningrad Hotel Angleterre on 27th December 1925, even though the details are not accurate.

Inaccurate likewise is the following quotation from this poem:

I heard the splenetic Lord Byron  
Reciting in an icy voice: "Gold.  
Icy gold. But it may be changed for pleasure."<sup>121</sup>

Ho Ch'i-fang here paraphrases the 3rd and 4th strophe from Canto XII in the versified novel *Don Juan* where the relationship between money and pleasure is best depicted.<sup>122</sup> Otherwise, a part of this canto is devoted to the question of gold and money, their share in an individual's life, in society and political reality.<sup>123</sup> According to Byron, "ready money is Alladin's lamp", "ambrosial cash" prepared for use and abuse.<sup>124</sup> Ho Ch'i-fang took note of Byron's views on gold and money for he saw about him only the misery of the peasants and the hedonism of the rich. And finally, this knowledge was one of the motives for the struggle by this great representative and father of "satanic poetry" against his society, social and national oppression, and ultimately brought about his untimely death at Missolonghi in Greece on 19th April 1824.

Ho Ch'i-fang does not stage his death in this poem for that was already a "fact" in his poetic biography. A long time having elapsed since it had taken place, he decided to insert himself into the long series of those who were being or had been buried and to bury his own self. This had to be a mythical funeral. In decisive moments of his young age, Ho Ch'i-fang always turned to mythological images:

I bury myself  
As if scattering the mythical dragon's teeth  
Waiting for them to grow into a troop of warriors  
And engage in mutual slaughter  
Till finally only the strongest remain.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Symons, A.: op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>121</sup> McDougall, p. 122, *The Oracle*, p. 69.

<sup>122</sup> *The Complete Works of Lord Byron*. Paris, A. and W. Galignani and Co. 1842, p. 735.

On the day when he wrote this poem (8th November 1936) Ho Ch'i-fang went back to his beginnings and to the source (or at least to one of the sources) of his Narcissus, definitively dead in his life and work, and in Ovid or elsewhere, but certainly in one of the treasuries of Greek myths, he learned about the hero Cadmus who had gone to look for his kidnapped sister Europa, but failed to find her. Fearing his father's punishment for the assignment (who could find Zeus himself and take him to task for this misdeed?), Cadmus decided to build himself a new home at the spot where a stray brindled cow lay down. He killed the dragon of Ares, god of war, and on the advice of Pallas Athena pulled out his teeth and planted them in the soil on which he stood. All at once, these teeth began to sprout and an army of warriors grew out of them. At first Cadmus thought that the teeth had given life to a brood of enemies. But it was not so. These earth-born warriors began to fight among themselves and smote one another until only five of the hardiest and most able remained. Thus was the grain separated from the chaff. On Pallas Athena's orders they sheathed their swords and concluded a firm friendship. They ranged themselves by Cadmus' side and with their help he built the city of Thebes and thus became one of the most powerful rulers in Greece.<sup>126</sup>

Ho Ch'i-fang also altered this myth. He did not compare himself directly to Cadmus but to one of the dead monster's teeth. He hoped that thus buried in mother earth, he would first be a seed of contention and then of unity, and ultimately, tempered in cultural, social and political events of his time, he would become one of the builders of the new China.

5

Ho Ch'i-fang's early literary work begins with the symbol of the "Young God" and ends with that of "dragon's teeth". The fruit of this "dragon's teeth" was numerous poems, essays, travelogues, literary and critical works of the subsequent years and decades. They began to sprout from mother earth immediately after the symbolic act of the funeral. The first of them originated as a reaction to his previous literary loves, as an embodiment of antidecadent attitudes of the reborn poet and fighter. One of the most refined poets of China of the 1930s turned his back on his work and the works of those whom he had earlier admired.

His poem *Yün* [114] *Clouds*, the last of five Lai-yang poems and written in the spring of 1937, reacts to Baudelaire's prose-poem *L'Etranger*,<sup>127</sup> by which the latter

<sup>123</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 721.

<sup>125</sup> McDougall, p. 122, *The Oracle*, p. 70.

<sup>126</sup> Publius Ovidius Naso : op. cit., pp. 93—100.

<sup>127</sup> Baudelaire, Ch. : *Le Spleen de Paris*. In : *Œuvres de Baudelaire*. Vol. 1. Paris, La Pléiade, n.d., p. 406. This poem in prose was translated into Chinese probably for the first time in 1922. See *The Short Story Magazine*, 13, 6 June 1922, p. 22.

begins his collection *Le Spleen de Paris*. By *Clouds* Ho Ch'i-fang begins his entire later work, the work of one of Cadmus' new warriors.

Ho Ch'i-fang's poem negates Baudelaire's small piece along the aspect of both form and content. The first negation is more or less fortuitous, the second, however, derives from fundamental changes in the *Weltanschauung* of Ho Ch'i-fang. From approximately similar material, the one created a poem in prose, the other a poem. The beginning of Baudelaire's *L'Etranger* is the end of Ho Ch'i-fang's *Clouds*, and vice versa. Where the former speaks of love, the second speaks of non-love. The middle of the poem differs, where Baudelaire expresses his relation to the kinsfolk, friends, country, beauty and gold, Ho Ch'i-fang writes about the poor and the rich. Here is his poem in its entirety:

"I love those clouds, those drifting clouds . . ."  
I supposed to be that stranger in Baudelaire's prose poem,  
Mournfully craning his neck  
To look at the sky.

I went to the countryside.  
The peasants were too honest and lost their land.  
Their household shrank to a bundle of tools.  
By day they seek casual work in the fields,  
At night they sleep on dry stone bridges.

I went to a town by the sea.  
In the wintry tarred roads,  
Row upon row of summer villas stand  
Like modern prostitutes in the streets,  
Waiting for the happy laughter of summer time,  
And for the lewdness and shamelessness of big-bellied men.

From this time on I shall express my opinions:

I want a thatched roof,  
I do not love clouds, I do not love the moon,  
I do not even love the stars.<sup>128</sup>

By his first poem *The Oracle* from a collection of the same name, Ho Ch'i-fang reacted to Valéry's *Narcisse parle* and wrote a considerably different work, although formally and conceptually it remained close to the early work of the last French symbolist. In the last poem of this collection he stood up face to face to Baudelaire,

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<sup>128</sup> McDougall, p. 126, *The Oracle*, pp. 77—78.



the *magnus parens* of modern poetry. By the way, he did the same in his poem *Get Drunk (Tsui pa)* [115],<sup>129</sup> taking contact with the message of Baudelaire's *Enivrez-vous*,<sup>130</sup> but also negating it.

Ho Ch'i-fang's "get drunk" means the very opposite: do not get drunk either on alcohol, or books, or "honey-dripping lips",<sup>131</sup> because they "cannot conceal human grief".<sup>132</sup> This is the very opposite of Baudelaire's message: "Il faut être toujours ivre. Tout est là: c'est l'unique question . . . De vin, de poésie ou de vertu, à votre guise. Mais enivrez-vous."<sup>133</sup> In that same poem Ho Ch'i-fang again refuted his earlier production and his own self when he compared himself to the buzzing fly "dreaming of dead bodies, of water-melon rinds in mid-summer, of dreamless emptiness".<sup>134</sup> In addition to his actual observation of life in Lai-yang and his poetic experience, this comparison was probably forced on him by Baudelaire's words that reminded him of the most characteristic trait of the preceding period: "Des rêves! toujours des rêves! et plus l'âme est ambitieuse et délicate, plus les rêves s'éloignent du possible."<sup>135</sup>

In his poems from the turn of 1936—1937, Ho Ch'i-fang strove to react to and get even with one part of Baudelaire's literary work and his complex personality. It concerns that part of Baudelaire's which endeavours to escape objective reality and move into *les paradis artificiels* conjured up by dreams, alcohol and drugs. "Anywhere out of the world", that is where this part of Baudelaire's sensitive soul tried to find its artificial paradise.<sup>136</sup> This craving was, of course, in sharp contrast to the highly concerned mission of Cadmus' five warriors below the as yet non-existing new Thebes.

At the beginning of this road, Ho Ch'i-fang took no note of anything that in Baudelaire's work was outside "les nuages qui passent . . ." He gave no attention to the themes that were close to the *littérature engagée*, yet simultaneously possessed high artistic value. Baudelaire's *Les Yeux de Pauvres*, *Les Veuves*, *Le Désespoir de la Vieille*, *Les Bons Chiens*, (and reference is here made solely to his works from *Le Spleen de Paris*), *mutatis mutandis*, which is a prerequisite of every literary influence and originality, might likewise have helped in building up a new world.

<sup>129</sup> McDougall, p. 125, *The Oracle*, pp. 75—76.

<sup>130</sup> Baudelaire, Ch.: op. cit., p. 468. This poem in prose appeared in Chinese probably for the first time in the journal *Shih* [116] *Poetry*, 2, 1, 15th April 1923, by Yü P'ing-po [117] (1899—).

<sup>131</sup> This was probably taken over from *Solomon's Song*, 4, 11: "Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as the honeycomb: honey and milk are under thy tongue; and the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon."

<sup>132</sup> McDougall, p. 125, *The Oracle*, p. 75.

<sup>133</sup> Baudelaire, Ch.: op. cit., p. 468.

<sup>134</sup> McDougall, p. 125, *The Oracle*, p. 76.

<sup>135</sup> Baudelaire, Ch.: op. cit., p. 433. The quotation is from *L'Invitation au Voyage*.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 487—489. Translated into Chinese by Yü P'ing-po. Appeared in *Poetry*, 2, No. 1, in 1923.

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A few months following the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War in 1937, Ho Ch'i-fang decided not to crane his neck any more. Later he recalled "with gratitude" precisely his stay in Lai-yang which showed him that two possibilities lay open to him: to commit suicide (but this time not only symbolically) or to "abandon his isolation and indifference and go to the masses, to join in the struggle".<sup>137</sup>

Ho Ch'i-fang opted for the latter alternative.

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<sup>137</sup> McDougall, p. 169.

1. 何其芳 2. 夢中道路 3. 預言 4. 柏林  
5. 故鄉 6. 楊森 7. 沈雁冰 8. 茅盾  
9. 萬縣慘案週 10. 文學週報 11. 楚  
12. 陰 13. 影 14. 莊子 15. 莊子引得  
16. 胡適 17. 新月社 18. 公孫龍 19. 西山  
20. 黃昏 21. 刻蕙集 22. 水星 23. 巴金  
24. 卞之琳 25. 鄭振鐸 26. 沈從文  
27. 臧克家 28. 張天翼 29. 老舍 30. 周  
作人 31. 李白 32. 靜夜思 33. 李太白詩集  
34. 李廣田 35. 梁宗岱 36. 保羅·瓦萊拉  
評傳 37. 小說月報 38. 水仙圖 39. 年輕  
的神 40. 夏夜 41. 茅舍 42. 溫庭筠  
43. 李煜 44. 初版序 45. 青春 46. 愛惜  
47. 燕泥集 48. 漢園集 49. 畫夢一般  
的迷離佳 50. 畫夢 51. 畫夢錄  
52. 大公報 53. 砌蟲 54. 楚辭 55. 遠游  
56. 九嘆 57. 劉向 58. 屈原 59. 巖  
60. 禪 61. 司馬遷 62. 梁甫吟 63. 司馬  
遷傳 64. 班固 65. 黃庭堅 66. 謝絕

人事 67. 荒涼 68. 陶淵明 69. 蒲松齡  
70. 丁令威 71. 搜神後記 72. 陶潛  
73. 卷上 74. 列仙傳 75. 內丹 76. 淳于棼  
77. 唐傳奇 78. 南柯太守傳 79. 唐人小說  
80. 游俠 81. 吳 82. 槐安國 83. 金枝  
84. 檀蘿國 85. 廣陵 86. 原本聊齋  
誌異 87. 呂湛思 88. 白蓮教年 89. 白  
蓮教 90. 魔術草 91. 列子 92. 畫想  
93. 夜夢 94. 筌篈引 95. 鐵拐李  
96. 畫壁 97. 朱 98. 仙人島 99. 王勉  
100. 人胎 101. 考工記 102. 周禮 103. 崔豹  
104. 古今註 105. 麗玉 106. 霍里子高 107. 公  
黑塘河 108. 聊齋自志 109. 聊齋誌異  
選 110. 濟世繪 111. 萊陽 112. 還鄉  
日記 113. 送葬 114. 雲 115. 醉吧  
116. 詩 117. 俞平伯

## ON THE LITERATURE WRITTEN BY CHINESE WOMEN PRIOR TO 1917

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This is an attempt at a concise analysis of the important aspects of the literature written by Chinese women from the earliest times until the year 1917. Attention is devoted primarily to the state of investigation of these issues thus far, then to the specific features of this literature, its developmental curve and to the differences between it and the literature written by Chinese men, and finally to the most prominent among the Chinese poetesses through the last two millennia.

If literature is to be studied consistently, it has to be done in its affinities to the social context. The literary and social context will provide a set of relations that can be judged, evaluated and scholarly processed. Literature and women, or more concretely Chinese literature and Chinese women, and to be even more precise, literature written by Chinese women before 1917 forms the subject of the present study.

1

Less than a decade after the execution of Ch'iu Chin [1] (1875—1907) of whom we shall speak at the end of this essay, and two months before Hu Shih [2] (1891—1962) came out with his article *Wen-hsüeh kai-liang ch'u-i* [3] A Preliminary Discussion of Literary Reform, launching the modern era of Chinese literary history, Hsieh Wu-liang [4] published the first history of literature written by Chinese women. The book was entitled *Chung-kuo fu-nü wen-hsüeh shih* [5] A History of Chinese Women's Literature, and appeared in Shanghai in October 1916.

Hsieh Wu-liang, a prolific literary historian at that time and also later, was one of those who right at the start joined the group of reformers and revolutionaries centred around Ch'en Tu-hsiu [6] (1879—1942) and his journal *Ch'ing-nien tsa-chih* [7] (*La Jeunesse*), subsequently renamed into *Hsin ch'ing-nien* [8] *New Youth*, the principal forum of the cultural revolution of the May Fourth Movement around 1919. He certainly took note of Ch'en Tu-hsiu's words about the woman problem (*fu-nü wen-t'i*) [9]. In the very first number of this journal, in the opening article with the heading *Ching-kao ch'ing-nien* [10] *Call to Youth*, Ch'en Tu-hsiu pointed out the need to deal with the woman problem.<sup>1</sup> Another contribution, likewise included in

<sup>1</sup> Ch'en Tu-hsiu: *Call to Youth*. *La Jeunesse*, I, No. 1, 15th September 1915, p. 2.

this issue and entitled *Fu-jen kuan* [11] *Thoughts on Women*, is directly concerned with the problem of women.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing strange in Hsieh's decision to contribute his mite to this issue, much in vogue in China at the time, and to write a book that presents the history of literature written by Chinese women from the earliest times up to the Ming dynasty (1368—1644) inclusively. In a short *Hsü-yen* [12] Foreword, Hsieh Wu-liang expressed his conviction that men and women in their position, whether in the natural world or in society originally do not differ, that their intellectual abilities and emotional dispositions are the same and that women's talents lag in nothing behind those of men. In the literary realm, too, women can compete with men (*cheng shen*) [13]. As far as the quantity of literary output was concerned, women lagged behind, but this had its objective reasons in the circumstances and destinies (*ching yü*) [14] in which they found themselves through the influence of the historical and social development.<sup>3</sup>

But Hsieh Wu-liang also pointed out that literary works do not constitute the only means in which equality of rights between men and women may be achieved. He saw a broader and more effective way to this end in *nü-hsüeh* [15] women's education, hence, in involving women in the general aesthetico-educational, moral and cultural process.<sup>4</sup> He evidently left out of count political and practical issues, that is, such as were involved in bringing to life new ideas that aimed at a total liberation of Chinese women.

But since the last two problem areas became the burning issues of the day immediately following the May Fourth Movement of 1919, and began to be implemented in practice, the study of old literature written by women receded into the background and into at least partial oblivion. It was only in February of 1927, hence, at the peak of the Chinese revolution of the Northern Expedition when a "continuation" to the above book by Hsieh Wu-liang appeared. The book was entitled *Ch'ing-tai fu-nü wen-hsüeh shih* [16] *A History of Women's Literature of the Ch'ing Dynasty*, and its author was the literary historian Liang I-ch'en [17]. This book meant the beginning of the short and as yet not overcome interest in Chinese literature written by women. The most significant fruit of this interest proved to be the book by T'an Cheng-pi [18] from the end of 1930, called *Chung-kuo nü-hsing-ti wen-hsüeh sheng-huo* [19] *Literary Life of Chinese Women*. Less than a year later, Liang I-ch'en published a history of the entire old Chinese literature written by women, under the title *Chung-kuo fu-nü wen-hsüeh shih-kang* [20] *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, and some six months later, in April 1933, T'ao Ch'iu-ying [21], the wife of the prominent historian Chiang Liang-fu [22], published the book *Chung-ku fu-nü yü wen-hsüeh* [23] *Chinese Women and Literature*.

<sup>2</sup> O'Rell, Max: *Thoughts on Women*. Ibid., pp. 1—2.

<sup>3</sup> Hsieh Wu-liang: Foreword. In: op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.

Up to now, European and American sinology has not shown any marked interest in this literature. Only translations of poems of Chinese women authors have been published,<sup>5</sup> the first doctoral dissertations dealing with works by Chinese women have been written,<sup>6</sup> as also a few articles about them, and one monograph devoted to the greatest Chinese poetess Li Ch'ing-chao [24] (1081-after 1141).<sup>7</sup> The pioneer in this field was Henry H. Hart. In 1933 he published the book *The Hundred Names* containing 69 poems by Chinese women. In 1972 two collections of poems written by Chinese women appeared: *The Orchid Boat: Women Poets of China*, translated by Kenneth Rexroth and Chung Ling [26], and *A Gold Orchid: The Love Poems of Tzu Yeh* [27] in the translation by Lenory Mayhew and William McNaughton.

2

The history of literature written by Chinese women, or rather such in which Chinese women took part, goes back to the very origins of Chinese literature. Already in *Shih-ching* [28] *The Book of Poetry* (11th—7th cent. B.C.) we find essentially (though not completely) folklore poetry and song production in which female hands and feelings are clearly noticeable.

And one of them, a poem written for a young boy, appears as if it indicated the best of what poetry of Chinese women of numerous future generations would create:

Don't come in, Sir, please!  
 Don't break my willow-trees!  
 Not that *that* would very much grieve me;  
 But alack-a-day! what would my parents say?  
 And love you as I may,  
 I cannot bear to think what *that* would be.<sup>8</sup>

From a theoretical consideration of this excerpt of a poem and its application to the fundamental premise of the earliest Chinese poetic theory expressed in *Shih-hsü* [29]

<sup>5</sup> These are to be found in different collections. E.g. *Selling Wilted Peonies*, by H. Wimsatt, contains biography and poems by Yü Hsüan-chi, New York, Columbia University Press 1936, or *Strofy iz granenoi yashmy* (Songs Made of Cut Jade), by M. Basmanov, contains translations of poems by Li Ch'ing-chao, Moscow 1970.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Walls, J. W.: *The Poetry of Yü Hsüan-chi: a Translation, Annotation, Commentary and Critique*. Bloomington, Indiana University 1972, 409 pp. and Ch'en, Toyoko Yoshida: *Women in Confucian Society: A Study of Three T'an-tz'u Narratives*. New York, Columbia University 1974, 351 pp.

<sup>7</sup> Hawkes, D.: *Hsi P'ei-lan* [25], Asia Major, New Series, VII, Nos 1—2, 1959, pp. 113—121; Chang Lily Pao-Hu: *Li I-an, Eleventh Century Poetess*, Journal of Oriental Literature, 6, 1953, pp. 59—64; Hsu K'ai-yu: *The Poems of Li Ch'ing-chao (1084—1141)*, Publication of the Modern Languages Association, 77, 1962, pp. 521—528; Hu P'ing-ch'ing: *Li Ch'ing-chao*, New York, Twayne Publishers 1966; Hu P'ing-ch'ing: *Courtesan Poetess Hsueh T'ao*, Free China Review, 22, No. 5, May 1972, pp. 23—25.

<sup>8</sup> Giles, H. A.: *Gems of Chinese Literature. Verse*. 2nd ed. Shanghai 1923, p. 1.

Preface to the Book of Poetry, traditionally attributed to Confucius' disciple Tzu-hsia [30], but written probably by Wei Hung [31] (1st cent. A.D.), it ensues that this poem is a concretization of the heart's wishes, desires, and especially of feelings (*ch'ing*) [32] and the remaining, particularly rational aspects, play in it a minor role. In the sentence *Shih-cho chih-chih suo chih yeh* [33] Poetry is where the heart's wishes go,<sup>9</sup> the word *chih* [34] truly expresses the ontological essence of and precondition for the existence of an emotional quantum as an indispensable prerequisite of creativeness. In the next sentence: *Tsai hsin wei chih, fa yen wei shih* [35] What lies in the heart is wish, when expressed in words, it is poetry,<sup>10</sup> this ontological essence and premise of literary creation are briefly explained and justified. Poetry and later also other forms of literature written by women's hands, with minor exceptions, never went beyond the lyrico-poetical and emotional sphere.

Although a literary context is inconceivable without a social one, for it is made by man as "social animal", the poetry of Chinese women originated in an atmosphere remote from the broader socio-political relationships and confined itself to a sphere that did not usually go beyond the framework of their lives as partners in the family, in the so-called sororities, in public houses, etc. The social context of this literature, compared with that written by men, is a narrow one indeed.

Ch'en Shou-yi, in his extensive work on old Chinese literature, has written:

"Women poets had cropped up and distinguished themselves in nearly all the previous (i.e. pre-T'ang, 618—907, M.G.) dynasties. Although there had been attempts made to discourage higher education for women and to block out a special curriculum for them in which domestic duties and ethics were emphasized, daughters of distinguished scholarly families had acquired from time to time erudition and developed creative talents by virtue of family association. Besides this, the voices of unlettered but naturally gifted women singers were registered in the collections of folk songs and popular ballads. Nonetheless, women in China until very recent times were disfavoured by cultural conventions as in other parts of the world."<sup>11</sup>

There was no question uniquely of cultural conventions. Women could not sit for State examinations and, under normal circumstances, could not hold any political functions, civil or military offices. In this manner, they had their way blocked to the most important form of self-realization in old China. In China there was no free social intercourse between men and women: only sing-song girls, prostitutes and talented courtesans could make use of this privilege which, in individual cases, did not remain without a powerful impact on their literary activity. The same applied, though in a lesser measure, also to the so-called *nü-kuan* [36] Taoist priestesses

<sup>9</sup> Liu, James J. Y.: *The Art of Chinese Poetry*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1962, p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>11</sup> Ch'en Shou-yi: *Chinese Literature. A Historical Introduction*. New York, The Ronald Press Company 1961, p. 262.



"who could enjoy considerable intellectual and artistic companionship in the popular establishment of Taoist sorority houses (at other times misinterpreted as nunneries)".<sup>12</sup> As a rule, these were disappointed women, dismissed wives and concubines, who in these sororities found an opportunity of undisturbed and free encounters with poets, artists and prominent men of their times.

It was in such environments that poems by Chinese women were made. Arthur Waley, who at the end of World War I could have been acquainted inadequately only with this poetry, wrote that the Chinese woman poet is always a " 'rejected wife', cast adrift by her lord or sent back to her home . . . The moment, then, which produced such poems was one of the supreme tragedy in a woman's life".<sup>13</sup> Waley probably had in mind poems usually ascribed to Chuo Wen-chün [37], wife of the famous poet Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju [38] (179—117 B.C.) about the snow-white heads as an allegory of love between husband and wife up to the end of their lives,<sup>14</sup> or to the wife of General Liu Hsün [39] (3rd cent. A.D.) about the curtain of the wedding bed as an allegory of lost love,<sup>15</sup> or to Pan Chieh-yü [40] (1st cent. B.C.), an aunt of the historian Pan Piao [41] (3—54 A.D.), who was a favourite concubine of the Emperor Han Ch'eng-ti [42] (32—7 B.C.), about the autumn fan as an allegory of a neglected wife.<sup>16</sup>

Waley's above statement is not quite true, for they were not always "rejected wives" who created poetry of value. Nor were they always "lonely women" (this expression was used by Hans H. Frankel in his book *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady*) who wrote such poetry, but women from various social groups and various positions whether in families or outside of them. They were not linked by any outward sign indicative of family status, but by "feelings" spoken of above. The most sincere feelings ever manifested in Chinese poetry were concentrated on the brush tips of Chinese women. That tension present throughout the entire history of Chinese poetry, and even the entire literature between *hsing* [43] human nature and *ch'ing* (human feelings), between the so-called deterministic and expressive theories and their concretization in literary works,<sup>17</sup> between *wen i tsai Tao* [44] literature as a vehicle for the Way, and *shih yen chih* [45] poetry as expressing heart's wishes,<sup>18</sup> was as if non-existent for many Chinese poetesses. They always chose precisely the second aggregate of these oppositions.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>13</sup> *A Hundred and Seventy Poems*. Translated by Arthur Waley. New York, Alfred A. Knopf 1919, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>16</sup> Giles, H. A.: op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Liu, James J. Y.: *Chinese Theories of Literature*. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press 1975, pp. 63—87.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Pollard, D. E.: *A Chinese Look at Literature. The Literary Values of Chou Tso-jen in Relation to Literature*. London, C. Hurst and Company 1973, pp. 1—29.

A discerning study of the pre-1917 history of Chinese literature, keeping apart that written by men from that written by women, reveals an interesting phenomenon. These two literatures differ in a considerable measure, they evolved in different ways. This was due principally to the slight, practically negligible participation of Chinese women in the social and cultural life, its intimate or family character. Literature is a social institution, and social are also its devices, and so are even the figures of speech or tropes, prosody or metre, symbol or allegory, for they could originate solely in society and could be created only by a human being. According to Mukařovský, the aesthetic and extra-aesthetic values participating in the creation of a literary and artistic work are also social. The same holds also for literary or artistic norms and functions. These are likewise inconceivable without society, especially the latter, which has a closer relation to society, for it is the realization of the teleological principle and strives to be a daily companion to man.<sup>19</sup>

If we consider the aesthetic function of literature written by Chinese women and that of literature written by Chinese men, we see that the former was not meant to have a wider sphere of impact than was the environment of its origin (family sororities, courtesans' circles and their friends), while the aesthetic function of the latter was intended to have a wide field of activity, to affect, if possible, the entire intellectual sphere of Chinese society.

All those, whether creating literature or editing or publishing it, be they men or women, as members of the traditional Chinese society, had to adapt their behaviour (and usually did so up to point) to the generally recognized moral and social code *li* [46] (rites, propriety, decorum) which set down the norms of proper behaviour for each individual in accordance with his standing in the family, clan and society. It likewise set down norms of proper behaviour for women which derived from their subordinated status (this, of course, did not apply universally). A normative manifestation of this was the so-called *san ts'ung* [47] three obediences,<sup>20</sup> and implied the so-called *ssu hsing* [48] four duties, determining the mode of proper behaviour and decorum of women as individuals, and consisted in the defining of moral maxims (*te*) [49], mode of speech (*yen*) [50], forms of appearance (*jung*) [51], and of the proper labour or tasks (*kung*) [52]. Only the last one could be actually concerned with a self-realization of womanhood in creative activity. But according to Pan Chao [53] (33—103 A.D.), the first codifier of a proper woman behaviour, this self-realization could refer to and not exceed "spinning and sewing, avoidance of joking and foolery, entertaining guests serving them meal and wine".<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Mukařovský, J.: *Estetická funkce, norma a hodnota jako sociální fakty* (Aesthetic Function, Norm and Value as Social Facts). In: *Studie z estetiky* (Studies in Aesthetics). Prague, Odeon 1966, pp. 17—54.

<sup>20</sup> The women were expected to obey their fathers or elder brothers as young girls, later their husbands, and their sons after their husbands' death.

<sup>21</sup> Liang I-chen: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, pp. 71—72.

Naturally, in social practice these norms were exceeded insofar as it was expedient. Pan Chao herself, alias Ts'ao Ta-ku [54] (Grand Instructress Ts'ao) was a foremost lady scholar and completed *Han shu* [55] A History of the Former Han Dynasty. Literary attainments of the girls in the families were relatively high, although in all probability this was not a frequent case. Nevertheless, women must have had a certain literary education, even though these were rather exceptions, otherwise we could hardly explain the high artistic standard of their works.

The aesthetic function of literature spoken of above and its various spheres of impact were likewise governed according to this quasi-omnipotent moral and social code. Since literary activity was outside the spectrum of labour and tasks permitted by *li* to the female sex, we hardly need be surprised by the numbers of anonyms and semi-anonymes, the wife of so-and-so, and Madam so-and-so, which we may encounter in a more detailed histories of this literature. Numerous women concealed their names in order not to jeopardize their reputation. In addition, the works of Chinese women were never so carefully collected and preserved as were those of men. Only a fragment of Li Ch'ing-chao's work is known today. Three, or perhaps even six *chüan* [56] small volumes of her *tz'u* [57] songs have been lost.<sup>22</sup> It is said that she had "obviously invited the jealousy of men".<sup>23</sup> The parents of Chu Shu-chen [61] (early 12th cent.) themselves burned the works they could lay their hands on, of their talented daughter, the best poetess after Li Ch'ing-chao.<sup>24</sup> During the Ming period, the major part of poems by Hsüeh T'ao [62] (ca 768—831), the best known poetess of the T'ang period, also were lost.<sup>25</sup>

It was quite different in the case of Chinese men writers. According to Burton Watson "it would seem that they (Chinese poets, M.G.) had no objection to most, if not all, of their work being transmitted. At least, this is the feeling that prevails in the case of poets who are known to have collected and edited their own works."<sup>26</sup>

In the traditional Chinese society *wen-jen* [63] a *littérateur* could only be a man as an embodiment of one part of a bipolar ideal of scholar-official (*wen*) [64] and warrior (*wu*) [65]. True, men did accept into the circle of their literary activities also women, but only insofar as it suited them. As a rule, this was done in a twofold manner: in their own works this was usually in the form of an "objectified ideal", as the dolls, often put in the bed-chamber, under the bedcovers, amidst the curtains and various requisites. As in the poem by Wen T'ing-yün [66] (ca 812—ca 870):

<sup>22</sup> Lu K'an-ju [58] and Feng Yüan-chün [59]: *Chung-kuo shih shih* [60] A History of Chinese Poetry. Peking 1957, p. 665.

<sup>23</sup> Ch'en Shou-yi: op. cit., p. 405.

<sup>24</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., p. 287.

<sup>25</sup> Johnson, E. W.: *Hsüeh T'ao (768—831)*. In: Wu-chi Liu and Irving Yucheng Lo (Eds): *Sunflower Splendor. Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry*. Bloomington and London, Indiana University Press 1975, p. 565.

<sup>26</sup> Watson, B.: *Chinese Lyricism. Shih Poetry from the Second to the Twelfth Century*. New York and London, Columbia University Press 1971, pp. 139—140. Cf. also Waley, A.: op. cit., p. 232.

Within the crystal curtain, a glazed pillow.  
Warm fragrance bring dreams — ducks embroidered on the cover.  
The willows on the river are like mist,  
Geese fly under a waning moon.

Lotus root fibres, the autumn colour is light.  
The man-shaped head ornament is cut zigzag.  
The locks on her two temples are barred by fragrant red.  
The jade hairpin on her head sway in the wind.<sup>27</sup>

The other mode was more human. The woman was recognized to be a partner. Men enabled her to achieve self-realization within the scope or space which they reserved for her. This space ranged exclusively within the domain of lyric poetry. The ability to make poetry "was part of the make up of a true gentleman to be able to put together at least the kind of polite verse required at social functions",<sup>28</sup> or at the banquets, parties, etc. The ability to make poetry was also part of the make-up of attractive and talented ladies to be able to put together at least the sophisticated replies to the lines of the present gentlemen. The poetic impromptu formed part of the social diversion, as shown by numerous examples from Chinese literary history, and also the existence of the phenomenon and later the tradition known as literature of *ts'ai-tzu chia-jen* [67] of talented gentlemen and beautiful ladies. Although the majority of these works have not been preserved, although they had not great value, yet it is probable that they served as exercise for outstanding poems at moments more propitious to literary works; usually they were moments of parting, mourning, pleasure and love, sorrow and affliction, those moments when the abundance of sincere feelings could be released.

When Chinese men "objectified" their partners in many and different ways, women endeavoured to manifest their own feelings; through their feelings they tried to communicate with the ambient world insofar as it was accessible to them. If description predominated in men's poetry dedicated to women or written in their names, then expressiveness prevailed in women's poetry. Communicativeness of women's works could not become manifest in the entire genological wealth of Chinese literature, but solely in the domain of poetry, and that primarily in poetry strictly patterned to norms, for example, *lü-shih* [68] regulated verse, *chüeh-chü* [69] broken-off lines, eventually quatrains of another kinds, and *tz'u*.<sup>29</sup> Women also attempted to create plays and *t'an-tz'u* [70] versified novels. These were predominantly poetic works, or such where the verse was the most important literary device.

<sup>27</sup> Frankel, H. H.: *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady. Interpretations of Chinese Poetry*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press 1976, pp. 56—57.

<sup>28</sup> Watson, B.: op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the last part of this essay.

The knowledge required to master the most diverse types of *vers régulier* could be acquired fairly easily in a good family education or in the luxurious public houses.<sup>30</sup> Reading and memorizing of poetic texts facilitated a thematic and stylistic orientation. A deficiency of social experience and a narrow framework of self-realization forced Chinese women poets to have recourse to the most regulatory of Chinese poetic forms (perhaps also thanks to the influence of the T'ang and Sung poetry) in order to express the part of female psyche most opposed to regulation — their own feelings.

Very noteworthy poems were written by the *poétesses maudites*, the courtesans, the Taoist priestesses, rejected wives and concubines. Their poetry was clearly directed against an "objectification" of their own sex, and against the rules of proper woman behaviour prescribed in the works of Pan Chao, Lady Cheng [73] (T'ang dynasty),<sup>31</sup> Empress Jen Hsiao-wen huang-hou [75] (1362—1407),<sup>32</sup> and others, insofar as Chinese poetic means and devices permitted it.

These poetesses showed their own bodies and souls in their poems. In this poetry, women tried to be equivalent partners to men, at least in the emotional life.

Thus already in one of the poems attributed to the poetess and singing girl Tzu-yeh (Midnight Lady) of the Eastern Chin dynasty (4th cent.), we find the suggestion of simple but impressive picture of a woman's naked body:

In the evening I did not comb my hair.  
My silken locks tumbled o'er my shoulder.  
I leaned over the knees of my lover:  
"Say, am I not beautiful everywhere?"<sup>33</sup>

Hart called his paraphrase of this poem as *Song of Songs*, thus hinting at King Solomon's masterpiece and at the image of Shulamite.<sup>34</sup>

Chao Luan-luan [77], an educated courtesan from the P'ing-k'ang-li [78] district in Ch'ang-an [79], living in the T'ang dynasty, wrote poems on the various parts of her body: about her cloud hairdress, her willow eyebrows, her sandalwood mouth, slender fingers and even about her creamy breasts (*su-ju*) [80]. It may be observed that Hsieh Wu-liang mentioned them all but quoted two only: those referring to

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<sup>30</sup> Ch'en Tung-yüan [71]: *Chung-kuo fu-nü sheng-huo shih* [72] A History of the Life of Chinese Women. 2nd ed. Shanghai 1933, p. 97.

<sup>31</sup> Lady Cheng has written *Nü hsiao ching* [74] Classic of Women's Filial Piety. This book is shortly characterized in T'ao Ch'iu-ying, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 81—82. Cf. also Chou Tao-chi's and Ray Huang's essay *Hsü* [76] *Empress*. In: Goodrich, L. C. and Fang Chaoying (Eds): *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368—1644*. Vol. 1. New York and London, Columbia University Press 1976, pp. 566—569.

<sup>33</sup> Liang I-chen: An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature, p. 115.

<sup>34</sup> Hart, H. H.: *The Hundred Names*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1933, p. 53.

Luan-luan's eyebrows and fingers.<sup>35</sup> T'an Cheng-pi cited them all, without any commentary which, in the case of other women poets, he hardly ever omitted.<sup>36</sup> Kenneth Rexroth has translated them all, which is quite understandable, having in mind the contemporary state of American poetry written by women. *Cloud Hairdress* (Yün-huan) [82] in Rexroth's translation brings but certain poetic and stylistic alternations in comparison with the poem by Tzu-yeh:

My disordered perfumed clouds are still damp,  
Iridescent as a blackbird's throat feathers,  
Glossy as a cicada's wing.  
I pin a gold phoenix by my ear.  
After I have adorned myself,  
My man smiles at me.<sup>37</sup>

Poems of this type are very rare now, although in their time they may have been quite numerous. Very few of them could be preserved in collections that survived subsequent censorship of the Neo-Confucianists.

Many more poems may be found in old Chinese collections in which the accursed poetesses write about their yearnings and worries. One of them is a quatrain from 20 Spring Songs (*Ch'un ko*) [83], likewise attributed to Tzu-yeh:

Plum flowers all fallen and gone,  
Willow catkins disperse with the wind.  
How I lament that in the spring of life  
No man has beckoned me.<sup>38</sup>

Another is a quatrain from the 18 Autumn Songs (*Ch'iu ko*) [84], likewise ascribed to the same poetess:

Autumn night reigns, a cool wind is blowing.  
The sky is high, the stars and moon bright.  
In the chamber scattered ornaments lie  
And within silk courtains two are making love.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Hsieh Wu-liang: op. cit., part 2, *hsia* [81] section, p. 38.

<sup>36</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>37</sup> Rexroth K. and Chung Ling (Eds): *The Orchid Boat. Women Poets of China*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company 1972, p. 29.

<sup>38</sup> Liang I-ch'en: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, p. 120 and M. E. Workman's translation in *Sunflower Splendor*, p. 75.

<sup>39</sup> Liang I-ch'en: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, p. 123.

Tu Ch'iu-niang [85], a courtesan from Chin-ling [86], the present Nanking, sang the following song to her guests:

I advise you, Sir, do not envy my gold-embroidered dress!  
I advise you, Sir, take pity of your youthful years!  
When the trees bloom their blossoms must be plucked,  
Do not tarry, once past their bloom, too late to break their boughs.<sup>40</sup>

Kuan P'an-p'an [87], a courtesan, singer and dancer from Su-chou, became a concubine of the President of the Board (*shang-shu*) [88] Chang Chien-feng [89]. She had the opportunity of meeting the poet Po Chü-i [90] (772—846). After Chang's death she lived in a house called Yen-tzu lou [91] Swallow's Mansion. There she wrote, among others, the following quatrain:

The waning lamp in the house keeps company to spring hoarfrost.  
Alone I rise from the bed where we used to love each other.  
How great is the yearning of one single night?  
The earthly orb and heavenly vault cannot be compared to it.<sup>41</sup>

Although this poetry is expressive, provoking and, what we have not as yet pointed out, also critical towards those to whom it was addressed, even though it reaches out into the domain of morality, it never dares adversely to encroach upon the above-mentioned category *li*, protective stronghold of Chinese society. Literature whether written by men or women, had, at least in a certain measure, to abide by Confucius' commentary to the first ode from *The Book of Poetry*. It ought to be "expressive of enjoyment (*lo*) [92] without being licentious (*yin*) [93] and of grief (*ai*) [94] without being hurtfully expressive (*shang*) [95]".<sup>42</sup> A tenet at least partly valid for literature and especially for poetry was that it had "to make permanent the tie between husband and wife, to perfect filial reverence, to deepen human relationships, to beautify moral instruction, and to improve the customs of the people".<sup>43</sup>

Hsü Yüeh-ying [96], likewise a prostitute from the T'ang period, is the only one, insofar as we could ascertain, from all the Chinese women poets to have expressed very explicitly and distinctly the stupendous, binding, restricting, and as regards individual development, retarding strength of the "religion of propriety":

I shed tears for I have abandoned the "three obediences".  
I can in no way assign myself into the framework of interhuman relations.

<sup>40</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., p. 221.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 216—217.

<sup>42</sup> Legge, J.: *The Chinese Classics*. Vol. 1—2, Taipei 1969, p. 161.

<sup>43</sup> Liu, James, J. Y.: *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, p. 66.

Even though I play, sing and enjoy myself for days,  
I envy those who wear simple hairpins and cloth aprons.<sup>44</sup>

When a criticism of *li* in Chinese society, and certainly in poetry was not admissible, *poétesses maudites* did take the liberty of polemizing at least with the relations of men to the opposite sex, of inciting the members of the subordinate sex towards an independent way of acting, and if circumstances required it, also towards a love out of the wedlock, whether in a monogamic or polygamic marriage. The very frequently quoted words of the poetess Yü Hsüan-chi [97] (ca 843—868), one of the Taoist priestesses of whom we shall speak later, are a proof to this. In one of her poems she wrote :

It is easy to get cheap jewel,  
But it is difficult to find a beloved man.<sup>45</sup>

Or :

If you can find a man like Sung Yü,  
Why should torment yourself about Wang Ch'ang?<sup>46</sup>

The poetry of other Chinese women, whether married happily or otherwise, or even single, was with the exception of Chu Shu-chen's work, without any critical and polemical attitude, without provocative advertisements relating to their bodies or minds. The best among them left an overall work of higher literary value than that preserved from the writings of the accursed poetesses, but their poems are less vigorous. This drawback, however, is compensated for by the aesthetic qualities, particularly the handling of emotional nuances and various poetic devices in the field of tropes, figures of speech, by their exploiting of the specificities of Chinese poetic diction and forms of expression.

### 3

It was noted earlier that old Chinese literature written by women differed fairly markedly from that written by men. And in fact, the evolutionary curve of literature written by Chinese women does vary from that of literature written by Chinese men. It often lags behind, is not sufficiently flexible and in certain genres lacks the power to rise from its zero point. As regards literature written by men, it may generally be said that until the period of the Sung dynasty (960—1279), the most valuable literary heritage consisted of various poetic genres, and from the period of the Yüan dynasty

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<sup>44</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., pp. 219—220.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>46</sup> Loc. cit. Sung Yü [98] (3rd cent. B.C.) was a famous poet and a man of handsome features. Wang Ch'ang [99] was often mentioned in the T'ang poems and his name was used probably as antonomasia for a boy unworthy of love. Not much is known about him. Cf. *Tz'u-hai* [100]. Shanghai 1948, p. 888.



(1279—1368) until the end of the Ch'ing (1644—1911) of works from the domain of fiction and drama, whether written in the old forms of literary language *wen-yen* [101], or in the vernacular *pai-hua* [102]. Fewer new and valuable works were written in poetic genres. The literature written by men involves, in fact, two evolutionary curves: one representing poetic development and the other fictional and dramatic development.

Chinese literature written by women is represented by only a single curve. It follows the former with an evident time lag and hardly deviates from its pattern, for a certain dramatic and epic vision in this literature is so connected with the principal, the tone-setting lyric vision, that it would be difficult to speak of any independent dramatic development, and quite impossible of any development in the domain of fiction.

The development of Chinese literature written by women had a more favourable course until the end of the Sung dynasty than at any subsequent period. This again was connected with the overall social development and the development of woman problem. Following a relatively promising progress of this literature under T'ang and Sung, the qualitative standard of the famous Chu-Li [103], i.e. Chu Shu-chen and Li Ch'ing-chao, was never achieved in the subsequent centuries.

The cult of feminine beauty and the relevant methods and means *quae ad effeminandos pertinent*, evidently achieved one of its peaks in the period of the Six Dynasties (420—589). This may be followed very distinctly in the poetic collection *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung* [104] New Songs from the Jade Terrace, compiled by Hsü Ling [105] (507—583).<sup>47</sup> As regards moth-eyebrows (*o-mei*) [106], various chignons, cinnabar lips (*tan-ch'un*) [107], their cult achieved an apogee at the time of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties (907—960). In the 10th century, at least 10 different eyebrow mascaras<sup>48</sup> and 17 different modes of lip painting were known in China.<sup>49</sup> This, of course, served to an "objectification" of women, but also frequently to a pregnant creative co-operation in the domain of lyric poetry. When we realize that at the beginning of the first millennium Pan Chao advised women to care only about their appearances, but not about make-ups (*yen-se*) [108], that she instructed them that their solicitude should not go beyond "washing (of face and hands) from dust and dirt" (*kuan-huan ch'en hui*) [109], and recommended "periodic bathing" (*mu-yü i shih*) [110] that their "bodies would not be filthy and defiled" (*shen pu kou ju*) [111],<sup>50</sup> we see what progress cosmetics have made over ten centuries and how in certain periods and in certain circles prescriptions for proper women behaviour used to be transgressed.

Some time under the Five Dynasties, but more probably during the Sung period,

<sup>47</sup> See Watson's criticism, *op. cit.*, pp. 91—101.

<sup>48</sup> Ch'en Tung-yüan: *op. cit.*, pp. 102—103.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>50</sup> Liang I-chen: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, p. 71.

foot-binding of women began to be practised.<sup>51</sup> At the origin of this inhuman custom was a “cosmetic flaw” of beauty in members of the fair sex: an insufficiently small foot, hence also not a graceful enough, and not “proper” manner of walk. Later, however, foot-binding, too, led to an “objectification” of women, to their greater dependence on men. They were forced even more to respect the maxims deriving from the “three obediences” and “four duties”. The deformed feet, or said more refinely, *chin lien* [112] golden lilies, became new ideals of totally fettered beauty. Towards the end of the Ming, but especially at the beginning of the Ch’ing period, the last maxim concerning women in the traditional Chinese society began to make their appearance: *wu-ts’ai shih te* [113] to be without talent (for a woman) is virtuous. Although this maxim was never pronounced by any authority in the domain of the woman problem, in the work *Wen shih mu-hsün* [114] Mother Instruction of Madam Wen, we read: “A woman is authorized to know only a few hundred characters relating to fuel, rice, fish and meat. To know more characters is unprofitable and harmful.”<sup>52</sup> Even the great Sung historian Ssu-ma Kuang [115] (1019—1086) recommended decent women “not to write poetry nor to pursue vulgar music”.<sup>53</sup> To have talent meant in this maxim to be creative in the realm of literature and art. Neo-Confucianists endeavoured to eject women even from the narrow space that had been reserved for them by the co-founders of the golden era of Chinese poetry, for example, Yüan Chen [116] (779—831), Po Chü-i, Liu Yü-hsi [117] (772—842), and others. But they did not succeed in this completely, as is attested to by the number of women poets from both last dynasties. A partnership between poets of the two sexes under the T’ang dynasty was an opportunity not only for poetical, but also socio-emotional contacts. Subsequent men of letters often went back to the acquisitions derived from these encounters. This is evidenced, for example, by the success of Yüan Chen’s *Ying-ying chuan* [118] The Story of Ying-ying and its dramatic adaptations and imitations from the Yüan and Ming periods.<sup>54</sup> Teachers of proper behaviour saw in Miss Ying-ying’s abilities to write poems a direct “invitation” to illicit love (especially when there was no prostitute involved).

The Ming period was the golden age of Chinese drama and its end represented morally and erotically the most relaxed period in the development of Chinese literature. Despite governmental and censorial surveillance of drama during the Ming dynasty, founded by the ex-mendicant bonze Chu Yüan-chang [125]

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<sup>51</sup> Ch’ en Tung-yüan: op. cit., pp. 125—128. Also Levy, H. S.: *Chinese Footbinding: The History of a Curious Erotic Custom*. New York, Walton Rawls 1966.

<sup>52</sup> T’ ao Ch’iu-ying: op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>54</sup> These were as follows: *Hsi-hsiang chu-kung-tiao* [119] by Tung Chieh-yüan [120], composed between 1190—1208; *Hsi-hsiang chi* [121] West Wing (Western Chamber) by Wang Shih-fu [122] (fl. late 13th cent.). For more about different versions of the story see Fu Hsi-hua [123]: *Hsi-hsiang chi shuo-ch’ang chi* [124] The Oral and Sung Versions of the West Wing, Shanghai 1955.

(1328—1398), despite recommendations to “perform plays about saintly immortals, chaste women, filial sons, obedient grandsons, and other themes conducive to morality and to the upholding of peace and social order”,<sup>55</sup> works were written, and especially performed, that were critical and highly erotic. Of course, there were also such as satisfied the above moralistic requirements.

Since singing and music (both in a very close connection with poetry) have played a chief role in Chinese drama, there were also very few dramatists among the Chinese women. But the development of Chinese drama written by women (if one can speak of anything like that, for plays by women constitute but a negligible drop in the abundant fountainhead fed by male playwrights) was very much retarded. Although the courtesans of that period had mastered the form *san-ch'ü* [126] individual songs,<sup>56</sup> the favourite poetic form of the Yüan period and an indispensable part of the Yüan *tsa-chü* [127] northern-style plays, yet we do not find a single female author of Yüan *tsa-chü*. In the Ming period, too, we find women poets who wrote *san-ch'ü*, e.g., Huang Fu- jen [128] Madam Huang (1498—1569),<sup>57</sup> and numerous courtesans who could do the same,<sup>58</sup> but again, with the exception of the Ming period, we find no women authors of dramas.

The Ming period had one single female author of one northern-style play, Yeh Hsiao-wan [129] (born 1613), the daughter of Shen I-hsiu [130] (1590—1645), one of the finest poetesses of the Ming period. Hsiao-wan's *Yüan-yang meng* [131] Dream of the Mandarin Ducks was a mythologico-allegorical play.<sup>59</sup> Three women characters of the play Hui Pai-fang [132], Chao Ch'i-ch'eng [133] and Ch'üung Lung-tiao [134] are sent by Hsi Wang-mu [135], a Taoist mythological deity, from her palace in K'un-lun [136] Mountains, the abode of immortals, back to the human life, since *ch'eri-yüan wei tuan* [137] the circumstances environing the mind created by the sight, sound, smell, taste, touch and thought have not been broken off as yet, and they were not prepared either for *nirvana* or becoming immortals. Hui Pai-fang dreams that she sees two mandarin ducks fly off a stormy lake covered with lotus flowers. On waking up, she goes for a walk on a high terrace and there meets Chao Ch'i-ch'eng and Ch'üung Lung-tiao. They become friends. On the occasion of Chung-ch'iu [138] Mid-Autumn Festival on the fifteenth day of the eighth month according to the lunar calendar, all three met at Feng-huang t'ai [139] The Terrace of Phoenixes, drank wine and composed poetry. On this day in China when the moon was at its brightest, women bowed to the moon.<sup>60</sup> At that time, families used to meet,

<sup>55</sup> Dolby, W.: *A History of Chinese Drama*. London, Paul Elek 1976, p. 77.

<sup>56</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., pp. 321—326.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., pp. 328—336.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 326.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 338—340. Her biography written by Hok-lam Chan see in the *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368—1644*. Vol. 1, pp. 667—669.

<sup>60</sup> *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking as Recorded in the Yen-ching sui shi chi* [140] by Tun Li-ch'en [141]. Translated by Derk Bodde. Peking, Henri Vetch 1936, p. 64.

for the full moon was also an allegory of luck, of family union or reunion.<sup>61</sup> Poems used then to be written as attested to by numerous examples from Chinese literary history.<sup>62</sup> Verily, it was “what one may call a beautiful festival”.<sup>63</sup>

A year later on that same day, the full moon was concealed behind heavy clouds, it rained in the evening and during the night, and Hui Pai-fang remained alone. The following day she learned that her younger friend Lung-tiao had died. She set out to her funeral but just as she was mourning by the side of Lung-tiao's coffin, a messenger brought the sad tidings of Ch'i-ch'eng's death. Pai-fang then realized that life and death are *anitya* (*wu-ch'ang*) [144] impermanent, always changing, never resting for a moment. She sought out a *tao-cho* [145] a Buddhist monk who instructed her and made it possible for her again to meet her friends. They met by the lake Yao Ch'ih [146] Jade Lake where the periodical banquets of the immortals are held. The three friend took part in the celebrations of Hsi Wang-mu's birthday.

From what has just been said it ensues in the first place that this “allegory of immortality” was a pastiche of Buddhist and Taoist beliefs, and a moral play about the “immortal saints”.

If, however, we compare this play with the events in Yeh's family, something else, of greater importance to our reflections, may be inferred. The episodes of the three friends from the *Dream of the Mandarin Ducks* are a literary eulogy of the life destinies of the three sisters from the family of the scholar-official Yeh Shao-yüan [147] (1589—1648). Hui Pai-fang was intended to represent the authoress herself. Her courtesy name (*tzu*) [148] was Hui-ch'ou [149]. Ch'iung Lung-tiao was meant to be her younger sister Hsiao-luan [150] (1616—1632) whose *tzu* was Ch'iung-chang [151]. And finally, Chao Ch'i-ch'eng was her elder sister Wan-wan [152] (1610—1633), her *tzu* being Chao-ch'i [153]. The age at the time of the death of the two sisters agrees in the play and in reality. The younger one died at the age of sixteen (17 *sui*) [154] five days before her wedding, and the elder one at the age of twenty two (23 *sui*), seventy days later. In the play, Yeh Hsiao-wan represented her own faith and that of members of her family. About Hsiao-luan, a very talented poetess and of unusual beauty, we know for certain that both her parents wrote eulogies on her and “believed that she became a Taoist goddess”.<sup>64</sup> Shen I-hsiu did the same about her eldest daughter.<sup>65</sup> The first play by a Chinese woman likewise failed to exceed the framework usual for the work of old Chinese women poets.

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<sup>61</sup> Frankel, H. H.: *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16—18. Hawkes, D.: *A Little Primer of Tu Fu*. Oxford University Press 1967, pp. 28—32, 71—77. See also Tu Fu's [142] (712—770) poem in Fletcher, W. J. B.: *Gems of Chinese Verse*. Shanghai, Commercial Press 1922, p. 83, or Wang Chien's [143] (768—833), *ibid.*, p. 185, or Chu Shu-chen's poem in Liang I-chen: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, p. 294.

<sup>63</sup> Tun Li-ch'en: *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>64</sup> *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368—1644*. Vol. 2, p. 1577.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Liang I-chen: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, p. 361.

As the Dream of Mandarin Ducks could have originated only after the year 1632, the first *tsa-chü* written by a Chinese woman had a delay on the first Yüan *tsa-chü* at least 350 years!

T'an Cheng-pi in his book *Literary Life of Chinese Women* endeavoured to find all the traces of Chinese women dramatists and their works. This seems, however, to have been a vain attempt, for the women he wrote about either were no dramatists, or nothing has been preserved from them.<sup>66</sup> And even if one or two works from the Ch'ing period have survived to this day, there is the question of *Chin-hua meng* [155] *Dream of Glory* and *Ch'üan-fu chi* [156] *Record of Complete Happiness* by Wang Yün [157] (18th cent.); evidently he has not read them,<sup>67</sup> and thus his testimony remains unconvincing.

The history of old Chinese literature knows of no short story or novel written by Chinese women. According to T'an Cheng-pi, the authoress of the novel *Yüan-Ming i-shih* [158] *Pleasant History of the End of the Yüan and the Beginning of the Ming*, was Wang Tuan [159] (died 1838). The novel presents in 18 chapters the history around Chang Shih-ch'eng [160] (1321—1367), a rebel who fomented an insurrection against the Yüan dynasty, later fought with Chu Yüan-chang, was defeated and killed. The sympathies of Wang Tuan, a native from environs of Hang-chou, were allegedly on Chang's side and his state whose capital was situated in Su-chou. The novel has not been preserved and possibly it may not have appeared in print.<sup>68</sup> Also Ch'iu Chin wrote a few chapters of her unfinished novel *Ching-wei shih* [161] *Stones of the Ching-wei Bird*, only towards the end of her life. Insofar as we know, they were not mentioned in any work prior to the year 1949, and it seems they were published only in 1960.<sup>69</sup>

Likewise the development of *t'an-tz'u* written by women lagged substantially behind that written by men. The first works of this genre preserved until now originated in the first half of the 16th century.<sup>70</sup> *T'an-tz'u* were usually read or listened to by women who thus wiled away long evenings or days. Their reading, recital or singing often required whole months, for as a rule, *t'an-tz'u* were extremely long. Chinese women poets began writing *t'an-tz'u* only at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, hence, at least one hundred years later than men.

The first *t'an-tz'u* written by a woman (very probably) and finished in the year 1651, was *T'ien-yü hua* [165] *Flowers of Heavenly Rain*, by T'ao Chen-huai [166].<sup>71</sup> Its plot is set in the 16th century. T'an Cheng-pi is of the opinion that the male

<sup>66</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., p. 344—363 and 369—376.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 364—368.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., pp. 391—392.

<sup>69</sup> See *Ch'iu Chin chi* [162] *The Collected Works of Ch'iu Chin*. Shanghai 1960, pp. 117—160.

<sup>70</sup> Cheng Chen-to [163]: *Chung-kuo su wen-hsüeh shih* [164] *A History of Chinese Popular Literature*. Peking 1957, p. 350.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp. 370—371, and T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., pp. 398—410.

protagonist Tso Wei-ming [167] embodies many of the characteristic traits of T'ao Chen-huai's father, and that she has immortalized herself in the portrait of I-chen [168].<sup>72</sup> Another historical person included in the *t'an-tz'u* is Cheng Kuo-t'ai [169] (died 1617), an influential brother of Cheng Kuei-fei [170] (ca 1568—1630), a favourite concubine of the Emperor Wan-li [171] (1573—1620). When allegedly trying to usurp the dragon throne, Cheng Kuo-t'ai sent his people to kidnap I-chen, to make her his future imperial consort, I-chen kills the attackers. The Chinese Judith at first feigns compliance and enthusiasm, treats the "messengers" to an abundant meal with copious drinking, then kills them all with a sword concealed in her dress. The song to the tune *Man Chiang Hung* [172] The River is Red describes the bloody vengeance of the lady with "moth-eyebrows" and "deformed feet".<sup>73</sup> Besides such a "knight-errant" tendency, a typical feature for this *t'an-tz'u*, similarly as for the subsequent novel *Ching-hua yüan* [173] *Flowers in the Mirror* by Li Ju-chen [174] (ca 1763—1830), is the condemnation of the double moral standard different for men and women and also a certain criticism of the polygamous system.<sup>74</sup>

This "knight-errant" tendency ("Mu-lan complex" according to Roxane Witke),<sup>75</sup> may also be observed in other *t'an-tz'u* written by women in the Ch'ing period. The most successful among them were *Tsai-sheng yüan* [175] A Story of Rebirth by Ch'en Tuan-sheng [176] and Liang Te-sheng [177],<sup>76</sup> and *Pi-sheng hua* [178] Flowers Created by a Brush by Ch'iu Hsin-ju [179] (ca 1805—after 1837).<sup>77</sup> The plot of the first of them is situated in the Yüan period, and chief woman protagonist Meng Li-chün (180) who, dressed as a man, wins the title *chung-yüan* [181] optimus among the metropolitan graduates in the State examinations, later becomes *tsai-hsiang* [182] prime minister of the whole Empire. When the Mongol Emperor finds out that Li-chün is of the opposite sex, he wishes to make of her his favourite concubine. Finally the beautiful, intelligent, virtuous and chaste woman becomes the wife of the man with whom she was formerly and formally betrothed.

As regard *Flowers Created by a Brush*, Cheng Chen-to was of the opinion that the main heroine Chiang Te-hua [183] was a metamorphosis of Meng Li-chün.<sup>78</sup> Following the unsuccessful suicide, likewise in a man's dress, she went through a similar (in something the same) career as the Chinese Amazon from the *Story of Rebirth*. Te-hua, too, married her fiancé and became, according to a fairly strong

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<sup>72</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., p. 407.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 408.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp. 402—403.

<sup>75</sup> Witke, R.: *Transformation of Attitudes Towards Women During the May Fourth Era of Modern China*. (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation). Berkeley, University of California 1970, pp. 45—49.

<sup>76</sup> Cheng Chen-to: op. cit., pp. 371—375, and T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., pp. 411—423.

<sup>77</sup> Cheng Chen-to: op. cit., pp. 376—378, and T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., pp. 438—452.

<sup>78</sup> Cheng Chen-to: op. cit., p. 376.

wording of T'an Cheng-pi, a "sitting hen-bird".<sup>79</sup> Besides the favourite adventurous devices with which Chinese literature of that and the preceding period is replete, Ch'iu Hsin-ju included in the present work practically everything that the rules of proper women behaviour required, together with an approval of and understanding for *chen* [184] chastity (for women only), and for polygamy.<sup>80</sup>

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The fettered beauty of "moth-eyebrows", whether with or without "deformed feet", failed during the course of a two thousand-year-old history of literature written by Chinese women — with negligible exceptions — successfully to get over the boundaries of a lyrico-poetical and emotional vision. Insofar as Chinese women may have perhaps attempted this in dramas or in *t'an-tz'u*, they created works of a low literary value.

The closing section of our study will take note only of the more valuable part of the Chinese literary heritage determined precisely by the delineated boundaries. We shall leave aside all anonymous works, or such whose author's sex is not definitively known (with the exception of Tzu-yeh). We shall not pay any attention to the jewels of ancient poetry from *The Book of Poetry*, although the decisive merit for many of its lines certainly goes to women. Nor we shall take note of further noteworthy poems attributed to Chuo Wen-chün, Wang Chao-chün [185] (1st cent. B.C.),<sup>81</sup> or Pan Chieh-yü, for they may have been the work of subsequent periods, as in the last case,<sup>82</sup> or someone else may have decisively participated in their writing, as in the first case.<sup>83</sup>

Here consideration will be given to outstanding Chinese women poets of almost the last two millennia. The most important criterion is the aesthetic value of the works in question as a dynamic wholeness of different values capable absorbing the readers of those and our times, as the perennial literary gems, even though they are not included in the general histories of Chinese literature, as a rule written (although unconsciously) from male-centric positions.

Only the first and the last of the poetesses whose life and work will be briefly commented upon here, succeeded in freeing themselves, in some measure, from the iron bonds of a lyrico-poetical and emotional vision by emphasizing or exploiting the

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<sup>79</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., p. 438.

<sup>80</sup> Cheng Chen-to: op. cit., p. 377.

<sup>81</sup> For more about Wang Chao-chün, the works attributed to her and her influence on Chinese literature, see in Liang I-chen: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, pp. 57—65.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. opinion expressed by Watson, B., op. cit., pp. 94—95.

<sup>83</sup> Chuo Wen-chün was wife of the great poet of the Han era Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju as mentioned above. Since her poem was written in five-syllable lines, in all likelihood it was the work of later date, just as the poem by Pan Chieh-yü.

experience or the socio-political environment. The first such poetess was Ts'ai Yen [186] (*tsu*: Wen-chi) [187] (fl. around 200 A.D.), and the last was Ch'iu Chin.

Ts'ai Yen lived in one of the darkest and most difficult periods in Chinese history, at the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries, at the time of the definite downfall of the Later Han dynasty. Palace intrigues, influence of eunuchs, misgovernment, the insurrection of the Yellow Turbans, had put the warlords, namely Tung Cho [188] (died 192), and later Ts'ao Ts'ao [189] (155—220) in the saddle. The Hsiung-nu [190], similar to or the same as European Huns, and Ch'iang [191] from Tibet-Kokonor area, proved also a great menace and invaded China. During one of these invasions, Ts'ai Yen, as a young widow, was captured and married to a Hsiung-nu chieftain. She spent 12 years in captivity and had two children. Ts'ao Ts'ao redeemed her and she returned, without her children, back to her native country. Two poems are currently ascribed to her, but in all probability she was the author of only one of them: *Pei-fen shih* [192] Lamentations.<sup>84</sup> She paints in expressive words the horror of the Hun raid: "Corpses of the slain lay entwined./ Men's heads dangled from the side of horses/ As they carried away the captive women."<sup>85</sup> The same applies also to weeping children being parted from their mother: "Our mother has always been kind,/ Why should she be cruel to us now?/ We are so young, so little./ How can you bear to leave us behind?"<sup>86</sup> The last verses of this poem proved something like prophecy or auguration for women of the forthcoming eighteen centuries:

Though I live, what hope can be mine?  
I entrust my life to my new husband,  
Sustaining myself the best way I can.  
Rootless, despised and miserable,  
I constantly fear to be abandoned again.  
Human life lasts but a moment,  
But grief is my lot till my days end.<sup>87</sup>

Even if Tzu-yeh did not exist as a "physical person", the songs ascribed to her in all probability came from the environment of the sing-song girls and their guests, or friends somewhere in places of the present Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces. Some traits of these poems, of which over one hundred have been preserved, had a considerable impact on subsequent poetry.

For instance, probably the most cited and translated Chinese poem — Li Po's

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<sup>84</sup> Original texts of both poems see, e.g. Liang I-chen: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, pp. 78—91. We follow Yü Kuan-ying's [193] and Wang Yi-t'ung's arguments for Ts'ai Yen's authorship.

<sup>85</sup> Wang Yi-t'ung's translation in *Sunflower Splendor*, p. 37.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.



[194] (701—762) quatrain *Ching-yeh ssu* [195] *Night Thoughts* would hardly have ever been written without one of the Autumn Songs ascribed to Tzu-yeh.

It will suffice to compare the last two lines of both quatrains:

Li Po: I wake, and moonbeams play around my bed,  
Glittering like hoarfrost to my wondering eyes;  
Up towards the glorious moon I raise my head,  
Then lay me down — and thoughts of home arise.<sup>88</sup>

Tzu-yeh: Grey autumn through the windows pries,  
Silk hangings sway in the wind.  
Up towards the glorious moon I raise my eyes,  
And send my love a thousand miles behind.<sup>89</sup>

Metalepsis, one of the tropes expressing a metonymical attitude conditioned by the homophony of words, was first used on a large scale in poems in the form of *tzu-yeh*. For example, three syllables “lotus root fibres” from the above quoted poem by Wen T’ing-yün were created under the direct, or a mediated influence of Tzu-yeh. Lotus root, i.e. *ou* [196] is homophonous with *ou* [197] mate, pair, and *ssu* [198] fiber is homophonous with *ssu* [199] to think of, to long for (a lover).<sup>90</sup> Lotus root fibres then signifies: lovers yearn for each other, think of each other.

Hsüeh T’ao was the first of the two best *poétesses maudites* of the T’ang dynasty, and the greatest among the poetesses-courtesans. She came from the family of a scholar-official from Ch’ang-an, later transferred to Ch’eng-tu, in the present Szechwan province. After her father’s death, probably because of the bad economic situation in the family, she began to play the exclusive courtesan. Wei Kao [202], longtime governor of the province (between 785—805), took notice of her, and thereafter often summoned her for entertaining guests with wine and poetry. She is said to have been not only unusually gifted, but also a beauty. Her fame spread throughout the empire and none among Chinese women poets had such an opportunity of meeting so many prominent poets as had Hsüeh T’ao. She met and exchanged poems with Yüan Chen, Po Chü-i, Chang Yu [203] (fl. around 810), Liu Yü-hsi, the short story writer Niu Seng-ju [204] (778—847), Tu Mu [205] (803—ca 856); she met likewise P’ei Tu [206] (764—639), once a chief minister of the Emperor Hsien-tsung [207] (805—820), Yen Shou [208] (ca 744—820), a high T’ang official, and others.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Giles, H. A.: op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>89</sup> Liang I-chien: An Outline of the History of Chinese Women’s Literature, p. 142.

<sup>90</sup> Hsiao Ti-fei [200]: *Han Wei Liu-ch’ao yüeh-fu wen-hsüeh shih* [201] A History of Yüeh-fu Songs of the Han, Wei and Six Dynasties, n. p., n. d. (but after 1942), pp. 246—248.

<sup>91</sup> Liang I-chien: An Outline of the History of Chinese Women’s Literature, p. 236.

The friendliest and perhaps also the tenderest feelings connected her with Yüan Chen (though she was at least ten years older). Allegedly she dedicated him over 100 poems.<sup>92</sup> She excelled in quatrains with the line length of either five or seven syllables. The influence of Tzu-yeh may be noticed in some of them:

When flowers bloomed, we did not admire them together.  
When they faded, we did not grieve together.  
You ask: When do I think of you?  
When the flowers bloom and when they faded away.<sup>93</sup>

Some of the poems are full of a gentle, but unobtrusive melancholy. Here we present one in Herbert Franke's translation:

Über kalten Farben, eben klar geworden liegt ein Streifen Dunst.  
Von fern tropft geheimer Klang wie Zitherspiel,  
Kommt ständig, lässt an Liebe denken auf dem Kissen  
und macht, dass die Trauernde um Mitternacht den Schlafen nicht findet.<sup>94</sup>

Yü Hsüan-chi, the second of the two best of the *poétesses maudites*, was more direct in expressing her feelings. Hsüeh T'ao, being the "first lady" of the province, as the protégée of the governor and an admired poetess, belonged to all and to none. Yü Hsüan-chi was emotionally more closely bound to various men, she was more progressive in her thoughts and ideas and more rebellious insofar as conditions allowed it. As a young girl she became the concubine of a certain scholar-official named Li I [212]. Later he had to dismiss her because of his wife's jealousy. For lack of other opportunities, Hsüan-chi became a Taoist priestess and a friend of some prominent personalities, the best known of whom was the poet Wen T'ing-yün, a man of a romantic temperament, unconventional behaviour and an admirer of talented and beautiful women.<sup>95</sup> She was greatly in love with a man named Li Tzu-an [213], and to him she dedicated most of her poems.<sup>96</sup> These are probably the most sophisticated and the most lyrical poems ever written by a Chinese lady for her lover — not husband.

Part of one of them sounds like this:

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<sup>92</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 238. Quoted according to Wu-shan Sheng: *Die Erotik in China*. Basel, Kurt Desch Verlag, n. d., p. 249. A long and important study by Chiang Hua [209] has been devoted to this poetess entitled *Nü shih-jen Hsüeh T'ao* [210] The Poetess Hsüeh T'ao, Chen mei shan [211] Truth, Goodness, Beauty, III, No. 3, 16th January 1929, pp. 1—36.

<sup>95</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., p. 182.

<sup>96</sup> Loc. cit.

In meeting and parting I lament  
                   the unsettled clouds;  
 Love and affection should learn from the river  
                   in flowing on and on.  
 I know we won't meet again  
                   in the season of blossoms,  
 And I won't sit by quietly  
                   drunk in my chamber.<sup>97</sup>

The greatest Chinese poetess and one of the greatest literary geni of China — Li Ch'ing-chao was often the only one whom the Chinese literary historians ranked in the unbroken line of men. She came from a wealthy and educated family. Her husband, whom she married in the year 1001 when she was twenty, was a minor official, antiquarian and book collector. Their marriage was a very happy one. Li Ch'ing-chao lived at approximately similar age as Ts'ai Yen, but she did not fall into the hands of barbarous Jurchens, although she lost almost all her possessions, and shortly after the flight to the south, her husband died (in 1029). True, her poetry did not go beyond the borders of the lyrico-poetical and emotional vision, but she knew how to "indulge the feelings" (*jen ch'ing*) [221],<sup>98</sup> those feelings that were not tainted by the rubbish derived from the mutual human (or inhuman) relationships prescribed by the Neo-Confucianist decorum. Famous are the lines written for her husband. Here are some of them in the translation by Eugene Eo-yang:

Through the thin red silk my cool flesh glistens  
                   lustrous as snow fresh with fragrance.  
 With a smile I say to my beloved:  
 "Tonight, inside the mesh curtains, the pillow and mat are cool."<sup>99</sup>

Or these which she wrote after his death:

It's late in the day — I am too tired  
                   to comb my hair,  
 Things remain but he is gone

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<sup>97</sup> Loc. cit. Quoted according to Jan W. Walls translation in *Sunflower Splendor*, pp. 287—288. On Yü Hsüan-chi see also a short article by Chao Ching-shen [214], *Nü shih-jen Yü hsüan-chi* [215]. The Poetess Yü hsüan-chi. In: *Hai-shang chi* [216] On the Sea. Peking 1946, pp. 226—238. The poetry of T'ang poetesses is also discussed in a booklet by Lu Ching-ch'ing [217] entitled *T'ang-tai nü shih-jen* [218] The T'ang Poetesses, Shanghai 1932. See also a review of this book by Yung I [218], in *Chung-kuo hsün-shu yüeh-pao* [220] New Chinese Books, II, No. 7, July 1932, pp. 19—21.

<sup>98</sup> Ch'en Tung-yüan: op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>99</sup> *Sunflower Splendor*, p. 370.

and with him everything.  
On the verge of words: tears flow.<sup>100</sup>

Li Ch'ing-chao exercised an influence on the poetry written by men. Hsin Ch'i-chi [222] (1140—1207), her townsman and a famous poet, wrote, among other things, *tz'u* "in the style of Li Ch'ing-chao".<sup>101</sup> It is only natural that her influence should be greater among women poets and may be noted to have reached until the Ch'ing period.<sup>102</sup>

Chu Shu-chen was unhappily married. Her emotional life and the ever-restless, ever-seeking poetry emanating from it, was evidently a reflection and a consequence of her impetuous and incessantly split spirit. As if each new friendship was to her a psychic trauma: "New love comes in sad uncertainty./ Old memories haunt me in my dreams."<sup>103</sup> In all probability, that uncertainty and that fear were justified:

Last year, the first full moon night of the year,  
Bright-coloured lanterns in the town were like pictures.  
Willows bowed their heads in the moonlight,  
And my beloved lured me to make love.

This year, the first full moon night of the year,  
The moon and the lanterns are as they used to be.  
But there's no beloved who was there last year,  
And tears soak sleeves of my spring dress.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 366.

<sup>101</sup> Liang I-chen: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, p. 292.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., pp. 292—293, and the text of this essay concerning Ho Shuang-ch'ing. Many articles and studies have been devoted to Li Ch'ing-chao. Here are some of them: Fu Tung-hua [223]: *Li Ch'ing-chao*. Shanghai, Commercial Press 1934, 95 pp.; Chao Ching-shen: *Nü tz'u-jen Li Ch'ing-chao* [224] *The Poetess Li Ch'ing-chao*. In: op. cit., pp. 239—272. Many of them have been written during the discussion concerned with Li Ch'ing-chao's life and works in the years 1957—1960, e.g., Han Mei [225]: *Li Ch'ing-chao ho t'a-ti tz'u* [226] *Li Ch'ing-chao and her Tz'u*, Ch'u-nü ti [227] *Virgin Soil*, February 1957, pp. 55—58; Ch'eng Ch'ien-fan [228]: *Li Ch'ing-chao chi ch'i tz'u* [229] *Li Ch'ing-chao and her Tz'u*, Yü-wen chiao-hsüeh [230] *Linguistic and Literary Pedagogy*, April 1957, pp. 6—8; Chang Chih-yüeh [231] and Chang Pi-po [232]: *T'an Li Ch'ing-chao tz'u* [233] *On Li Ch'ing-chao's Tz'u*, Yü-wen hsüeh-hsi [234] *Linguistic and Literary Studies*, 5, 19th May 1957, pp. 7—10; Huang Sheng-chang [235]: *Li Ch'ing-chao shih-chi k'ao* [236] *A Study in Li Ch'ing-chao's Biography*, Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu [237] *Literary Studies*, 3, 1957, pp. 67—90; Sheng Ching-hsia [238]: *Lun Li Ch'ing-chao* [239] *On Li Ch'ing-chao*, Kuang-ming jih-pao [240] (KMJP), 24th May 1959, in the column Wen-hsüeh i-ch'an [241] *Literary Heritage* (WHIC), No. 261; Wang Chi-ssu [242]: *Man t'an Li Ch'ing-chao-ti tz'u* [243] *A Few Words About Li Ch'ing-chao's Tz'u*, KMJP, 30th August 1959, WHIC, No. 276; Kuo Yü-heng [244]: *Tsai lun Li Ch'ing-chao* [245] *Once Again on Li Ch'ing-chao*, KMJP, 17th January, 1960, WHIC, No. 296; Huang Kuang-lu [246]: *Li Ch'ing-chao tz'u-ti ko-kuan hsien-shih i-i* [247] *The Objective Meaning of Li Ch'ing-chao's Songs*, KMJP, 14th February 1960, WHIC, No. 300.

<sup>103</sup> T'an Cheng-pi: op. cit., p. 284.

<sup>104</sup> Loc. cit.

Perhaps more than her haunting memories, Chu Shu-ch'en feared loneliness. "To work alone, to sit alone, /to sing alone, to amuse oneself and to sleep alone,"<sup>105</sup> she wrote in one of her poems. Chu Shu-ch'en professed "carpe diem" and did not believe in a long-term stability of emotional bonds between man and woman. "When admiring lanterns, one must find time for wine,/ next year we might not meet thus,"<sup>106</sup> she wrote in one of her poems that chronologically preceded or followed the one quoted above.

In Shen I-hsiu's work, whom we have already mentioned, we find no trace of Chu Shu-ch'en's restlessness. She was a daughter of Shen Ch'ung [257] (1562—1622), a second cousin of the famous playwright Shen Ching [258] (1553—1610).<sup>107</sup> She lived a happy married life and was extremely fond of her children, especially of her talented daughters, also spoken of above. After the death of the eldest daughter Wan-wan, the third daughter Hsiao-luan and of Shen I-hsiu, their father and husband Yeh Shao-yüan published their works, works that referred to them, his own works and those of other members of the family in a voluminous collection *Wu-meng-t'ang chi* [259] A Collection from the Midday's Dream Hall.<sup>108</sup> The poetry of Shen I-hsiu and of her daughters lay for long at least partly forgotten. It was again discovered in the 1930s in connection with the publication of Yeh's collection as a fine example of late Ming impressionist style.<sup>109</sup>

Shen I-hsiu studied Buddhist writings and her poetry resembles the "moon in water" and the "image in a mirror", shows a Buddho-Taoist *Weltanschauung*, but can also be expressive when her own experiences are in play. Specimens of this latter are the poems written after the death of her daughters, and of the former, e.g. one of eight quatrains called *Ch'iu jih* [260] Autumn Days:

It is night and the wind stirs behind the curtain.  
The little lake is full of duck-weeds.  
I wanted to cull of their flowers,  
But the wind has already blown them away.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 284. For Chu Shu-ch'en see the following articles: Sheng Ch'ieh [248]: *Chu Shu-ch'en-ti lien-ai shih-chi chi ch'i shih tz'u* [249] The Facts About Chu Shu-ch'en's Loves, Poems and Songs. Wen-i yüeh-k'an [250] Literary Monthly, VIII, 3, 1st March 1936, pp. 118—126; Ting Ying [251]: *Chu Shu-ch'en yü Yüan-hsi tz'u* [252] Chu Shu-ch'en and Her Song of the First Full Moon Night. In: Ting Ying: *Fu-nü yü wen-hsüeh* [253] Women and Literature. Shanghai 1946, pp. 65—84; Kung Tun [254]: *Nü shih-jen Chu Shu-ch'en* [255] The Poetess Chu Shu-ch'en, Jen-wu tsa-chih [256] Biographical Journal, II, Nos 8—9, 15th September 1948, pp. 2—7.

<sup>107</sup> See Chaoying Fang's essay on Yeh Shao-yüan in *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368—1644*. Vol. 2, p. 1577.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 1578.

<sup>109</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>110</sup> T'ao Ch'iu-ying: op. cit., p. 216.

Despite the derogatory maxim: to be without talent (for a woman) is virtuous, innumerable women poets sprang up in the Ch'ing period. From over 4,000 names of Chinese women found in Hu Wen-k'ai's [261] bibliography *Li-tai fu-nü chu-tso k'ao* [262] Writings of Chinese Women through the Ages,<sup>111</sup> only 350 odd belong to women from the preceding dynasties. It is next to impossible that during the 267 years of the existence of the last imperial dynasty, there should be over 3,500 genuine poetesses in China, but it is equally improbable that the works of such a long list of women should be totally valueless. The views of scholars will certainly diverge as to which of them could take first place on the ladder of literary values. Chung Ling is of the opinion that it was Wu Tsao [263] (beginning of the 19th cent.) as allegedly "one of the great Lesbian poets of all time".<sup>112</sup> Liang I-ch'en devoted most attention to Wang Tuan, the authoress of the first Chinese novel written by a woman and already referred to earlier.<sup>113</sup> Wu-chi Liu and Irving Yucheng Lo, editors of *Sunflower Splendor*, included in their comprehensive collection the poetess Ku T'ai-ch'ing [264] (1799—after 1875)—as the only one after Li Ch'ing-chao.<sup>114</sup>

We shall point to Ho Shuang-ch'ing [265], one of the most remarkable and the most talented women poets of her epoch. She lived and flourished in the first half of the 18th century and came from the district of Tan-yang [266] in the Kiangsu province. She was born and educated in the family of wealthy farmers. Her husband, also a farmer, had neither taste nor understanding for her literary likings, similarly as the husband of Chu Shu-chen. Shuang-ch'ing had no ambitions and did not care about the fate of her poems. According to T'ao Ch'iu-ying, only 14 of her poems have been preserved,<sup>115</sup> but Hu Wen-k'ai has shown that a whole collection of her poems exists: *Hsüeh-ya hsüan tz'u* [267] Songs from the Pavilion of the Set Snow, edited by her descendants.<sup>116</sup> Her best *tz'u* by their refined lyricism and sense of the classical "golden mean" are equal to Li Ch'ing-chao's songs:

It is very difficult to reveal lonely feelings.  
I swallow my tears but they come.  
Crumpling the faded flowers in my hands,  
silent I lean on the screen.

I start at the image in the mirror —  
I am so very lean.

<sup>111</sup> This book, published in Shanghai in 1957, is the best bibliography of its kind written on the basis of dynastic histories, local gazetteers, the collections of works devoted to the individuals or collectives, the works published in journals, etc.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Chung Ling: *Notes to the Poems*. In: *The Orchid Boat. Women Poets of China*, p. 135.

<sup>113</sup> Liang I-ch'en: *An Outline of the History of Chinese Women's Literature*, pp. 419—423.

<sup>114</sup> *Sunflower Splendor*, pp. 497—498.

<sup>115</sup> T'ao Ch'iu-ying: *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>116</sup> Hu Wen-k'ai: *op. cit.*, p. 494.

That is not a spring-like face!  
Nor an autumnal face!  
Is it me, Shuang-ch'ing?<sup>117</sup>

A unique exception in Chinese poetry, as far as we know, is the use of mesiodiplosis (the same word in the middle of successive lines) found in one of her *tz'u*:

In the purple streets  
People slowly put on their spring gauze  
and offer to spring.  
In spring the plum-tree is lean and the grass thin.  
The spring fields slowly give birth to spring.  
I remember, it was a beautiful spring.  
I then chided the oriole for destroying spring feelings.  
To this day I think of spring letters and spring tears.  
All have turned to spring ice.  
I pity that sorrowful spring. When did it end?  
The spring oriole has been fettered by spring fogs.  
I dedicate this song to me  
Or do I dedicate it to you?  
Is the spring soul mine or yours?  
Is it the beginning of spring or the end?  
Is this a spring dream, or a spring awakening?  
Is it the spirit of spring that causes this disease?  
Spring has blundered when it came — to Shuang-ch'ing.<sup>118</sup>

Ch'iu Chin, the last of the prominent old women poets, did follow the old traditions, but she also was the first iconoclast and the chief representative of the transitional period of the years 1898—1917 which was followed by modern Chinese literature.

Ch'iu Chin lived in a period similarly insecure, difficult but also remarkable as did Ts'ai Yen or Li Ch'ing-chao. But this time it was not a centrifugal, but predominantly a centripetal power that was provoked by the enormous impact of the foreign — this time no more a barbarian — world. Ch'iu Chin had no possibility of fleeing to the "south" as Li Ch'ing-chao had done, nor was she forcibly taken off to the cold "north" as was Ts'ai Yen. She left her husband and two children of her own will so that in Japan and outside of her family, she might prepare herself and through the written and spoken word also other members of her sex for important tasks: to wrest

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<sup>117</sup> T'ao Ch'iu-ying: *op. cit.*, p. 234.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.

the Chinese womanhood from under the domination of the "three obediences", the "four tasks", enforced chastity, prearranged marriages, concubinage, permanent widowhood (*chieh*) [268], literary ignorance and even analphabetism, foot-binding, and to find for them a way out in participation in the socio-political life. In contrast to the highly sophisticated but weak Ts'ai Yen she demanded of women not to feel "rootless, despised and miserable". Women were to leave the inner compartments (*kui-ko*) [269], acquire independence, and if possible, to become the ladies knights-errant (*nü-hsia*) [270] able to fight for the cause of the liberation.

The "knight-errant" tendency spoken of above acquired a concrete and very individual form in Ch'iu Chin. In Japan she dressed like a man, carried a short sword,<sup>119</sup> and at Shao-hsing, shortly before her execution, she wore a "man's long gown and black leather shoes and combed her hair back into a queue". She also "rode horseback astride and ordered girls to practise military drill".<sup>120</sup> Ch'iu Chin admired female warriors of the type of the two Ming loyalists Ch'in Liang-yü [271] (died 1668) and Shen Yün-ying [272] (1624—1661).<sup>121</sup> It is very probable that she knew I-chen from the Flowers of Heavenly Rain.<sup>122</sup> One of her songs to the tune The River is Red greatly resembles that I-chen chose when describing the process of killing of her kidnappers:

How many wise and heroic men were there  
In the dust and the dirt of this world?  
Famous heroines may be said to have risen  
Among moth-eyebrows only!  
Liang-yü's deeds drive tears to the eyes,  
And Yü-ying's deserts make the blood boil.  
The strokes of their swords  
Whistled like dragons  
And their sounds were followed by pain.

The perfume of freedom burn our minds.  
When will the grief for our country be vented?  
I admonish you, my companions,  
Put all your strength into the fray!  
Fight, think of peace for this species,

<sup>119</sup> Rankin, M. B.: *The Emergence of Women at the End of the Ch'ing: The Case of Ch'iu Chin*. In: Wolf, M. and Witke, R. (Eds): *Women in Chinese Society*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1975, p. 52.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>121</sup> Ch'in Liang-yü's biography see in Hummel, A. W. (Ed.): *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644—1912)*. Taipei 1970, pp. 168—169. Shen Yün-ying is also mentioned there.

<sup>122</sup> Cheng Chen-to wrote about the immense popularity of I-chen or Li-chün in the women's apartments, cf. op. cit., p. 348.



So that not they alone who wear nephrite belts  
May boast of abundance.  
Deformed feet, three inches long, are for nothing!  
They should be abandoned!<sup>123</sup>

The swords Ch'iu Chin mentioned in this poem, or of which she wrote in other songs,<sup>124</sup> and the one she carried and had herself photographed with,<sup>125</sup> were to her symbols of struggle and hope. Even though she never made use of the sword in an actual fight, it nevertheless for ever frustrated her personal hope. For her political and especially anti-Manchu activity she was beheaded on 15th July 1907. She did not try either to avoid arrest or evade death.

By her overall activity Ch'iu Chin wrenched literature written by women from the narrow scope of a lyrico-poetical and emotional vision. Her work, relatively inconsiderable in extent but meritorious, her heroic death ended the epoch of "moth-eyebrows" and "deformed feet" in Chinese literature.

●

The new Chinese literature written by women began in 1919 by the publication of a short story written by Hsieh Wan-ying [275] (i.e. Ping Hsin) [276] (born 1902) entitled *Liang ko chia-t'ing* [277] Two Families.<sup>126</sup> It may be of interest to note that the first modern Chinese short story written by a woman is concerned with the question of women's emancipation. It deals with problems that arose in connection with the May Fourth Movement when women received more freedom and opportunities than they had before. The old relationships were more or less broken and new ones had not become established as yet.

The old Chinese literature written by women is an inseparable part and parcel of old Chinese literature written by both sexes. But to try and judge it by the same criteria as that written by men is a dubious criticism, for this particular literature originated under different conditions and had different aims. It certainly is a far less differentiated literature, but is indispensable for an overall picture of the history of old Chinese literature, and valuable in its way. The literary scholars like Hsieh

<sup>123</sup> Liang I-ch'en: A History of Women's Literature of the Ch'ing Dynasty, pp. 254—255.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 254. See also Ting Ying: *Shih-jen Ch'iu Chin* [273] The Poetess Ch'iu Chin. In: op. cit., pp. 97—98.

<sup>125</sup> See Wei Chin-chih [274]: *An Early Woman Revolutionary*. China Reconstructs, XI, No. 6, June 1962, p. 31.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Ping Hsin: *Tzu-hsü* [278] Own Preface. In: *Ping Hsin san-wen chi* [279] Prosaic Pieces by Ping Hsin. 7th ed. Shanghai 1949, pp. 8—9. We were not able to find short story of this name in *Wu-ssu shih-ch'i ch'i-k'an chieh-shao* [280] An Index to the Periodicals of the May Fourth Movement under Ch'en-pao fu-k'an [281] Morning News Supplement, where, according to Ping Hsin's assertion, it should be published. It is very probable that the story was originally entitled *Shui-chih tsui* [282] Whose Fault?, and published there in installments between 18th and 22nd September 1919.

Wu-liang, Liang I-chen, or T'an Cheng-pi did much for promoting a knowledge of this literature. They did not attempt, however, to evaluate it adequately, to take an unbiased comparative approach to the study of Chinese national literature as a literary unit created both by men and women. In future, this last point, too, should be taken into account: to judge, *sine ira et studio*, the artistic value of literature written by Chinese women, and on the basis of a deeper knowledge to incorporate it more righteously into the long, persisting course of Chinese national literature.

1. 秋瑾 2. 胡適 3. 文學改良會議 4. 謝  
無量 5. 中國婦女文學史 6. 陳獨秀  
7. 青年雜誌 8. 新青年 9. 婦女問題  
10. 敬告青年 11. 婦人觀見 12. 緒言 13. 爭  
勝 14. 境遇 15. 女學 16. 清代婦女  
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19. 中國女性的文學生活 20. 中國婦女  
文學史綱 21. 陶秋英 22. 姜亮夫  
23. 中國婦女與文學 24. 李清照 25. 席  
佩蘭 26. 鍾玲 27. 子夜 28. 詩經  
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160. 張士誠 161. 精律史 162. 秋瑾記  
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貞 169. 鄭國泰 170. 鄭貴妃 171. 萬歷  
172. 滿江紅 173. 鏡花緣 174. 李汝珍  
175. 雨生錄 176. 陳端生 177. 梁德純  
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## CHINESE YOUTH PERSONALITY MODELS IN THE SIXTIES

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By testifying to the principal elements of the "Learn from Lei Feng" campaign of 1963, this article gives an overview of the chief patterns of behaviour propagated in 1963—1966, and also today. It also stresses the rejection by Chinese youth of such models and the harmful influence of Maoist propaganda campaigns on the activity of the young generation of China.

Personality patterns shaped in accordance with the established system of values and standard of conduct under concrete socio-economic conditions constitute a key element to understanding social behaviour. They may also serve as carriers of specific educational messages.

A classic Chinese Confucian philosophy postulating an image of a loyal subject and obedient son in order to strengthen both social hierarchy and an impaired central authority, laid particular emphasis on problems of education, moral principles and consciousness as being the essential factors of social life. The method of subordinating the population to political plans of the ruling circles by means of influencing its consciousness has long been and is still applied by Maoism which has taken from Confucianism the belief that the will, consciousness, and generally the subjective factors play a decisive role in all aspects of socio-economic life.

The numerous propaganda campaigns that have been launched in the People's Republic of China (PRC), also including those connected with the so-called "heroes of the Mao Tse-tung era" [1], were aimed precisely at influencing the society's awareness so as to create such attitudes and opinions which might support the implementation of certain political, social, and economic plans.

The propagation of the person of Lei Feng [2] who opens this list of the "heroes of Mao Tse-tung era" has naturally been motivated by similar aspirations. The reasons for the upgrading of a simple soldier to the rank of a hero become clear when viewed through the prism of the socio-economic situation in China in the mid-sixties following the failure of the Great Leap Forward (GLF). This situation resulted in a polarization of standpoints and in the struggle inside the Chinese leadership.

After the Ninth Plenary Session of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Eight Central Committee (January 14—18, 1961) Mao Tse-tung, faced with opposition to his economic policy within the leadership led by Liu Shao-ch'i [3], as well as with growing personal criticism not only in the party and government circles, but equally



among intellectuals, attempted to regain control over the political and cultural life in the country. This, in principle, was to lead, in the long run, to the concentration of full powers in his hands once again.

Mao Tse-tung's thesis about the continuing class struggle during the whole period of socialism put forward at the Tenth Plenary Session of the CCP Eight CC (September 24—27, 1962), while stressing the need to focus particular attention on ideological education among the officialdom and in the society as a whole in the spirit of "Mao Tse-tung thought", prepared "theoretical" grounds for further purges in the party and state apparatus, as well as among people responsible for cultural affairs. It also presaged the new indoctrination campaigns. The primary purpose of the "Socialist Education Campaign" [4] initiated after the Tenth Plenary Session of the CCP CC was, according to the *Decision of the CCP Central Committee on Certain Problems in the Present Rural Work (Draft)* dated May 20, 1963,<sup>1</sup> to set off the "Four Cleans Movement" [5] among the lower echelon officials in the countryside. It was to cover ideological, political, organizational and economic spheres. This campaign was met with hostility by a considerable number of party cadres, and was interrupted by Mao Tse-tung's adversaries later on, when it started to threaten the party and administrative apparatus from the *hsien* level upwards. This opposition was due to Mao's drive to eliminate from the party "the capitalist roaders in authority within the party" [6]. The above-mentioned directive was included in the *CCP CC Document No. 26 (1965)* of January 14, 1965, entitled *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas*.<sup>2</sup>

The scientists, intellectuals, and members of the cultural apparatus had a reluctant attitude towards the campaign. On the 1963—1964 criticism of philosophical, historical and literary conceptions they imposed a character of "scholarly discussions" instead of that of a "class struggle" as has been suggested. In this respect it is enough to mention the criticism of Yang Hsien-chen's [7] reflections on the dialectical struggle and the unity of contradictions, a critical drive against Feng Ting's [8] postulates regarding human pursuit of personal happiness, criticism of Shao Ch'üan-lin's [9] exhortations to realistic writing and describing a simple man in the literary works, and so on.

Despite the condemnation of the cultural cadres by Mao Tse-tung for their tardiness in carrying out the "Socialist Education Campaign" (in two successive directives of December 12, 1963 and June 27, 1964), the resistance of these circles enabled Hsiao Wang-tung [10], the then deputy Minister of Culture, to prepare

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Documents of Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. Sept. 1956 — Apr. 1969*, vol. 1, pp. 735—752. Hong Kong 1971.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 825.

a report on a successful completion of the campaign. This report was then approved by Liu Shao-ch'i in summer of 1965.

The difficulties of implementing the "Socialist Education Campaign" caused Mao's supporters to fall back upon the army as a base in the struggle for political power and an instrument of intensive indoctrination of the population. Since 1959, when Lin Piao [11] replaced P'eng Te-huai [12] as Minister of National Defence, the army has been subjected to the profound political training, and thanks to the planting of its representatives within the civilian apparatus, the army started to gain control over various spheres of the country's life, including the propaganda machinery. This in turn made it possible to carry out further campaigns aimed at strengthening Mao's authority and winning the favour of a part of the society for his socio-economic conceptions.

While being an active propagator of "Mao Tse-tung thought", the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was also set as an example of loyalty to it, especially in the course of successive campaigns popularizing "the good soldiers of Chairman Mao" [13] (since 1963), and later on, during the campaign of a much greater scope, started in 1964 and sloganized "Learn from PLA" [14].

A Mao Tse-tung's inscription "Learn from comrade lei Feng" [15] became a watchword to start a campaign making popular the first character in a gallery of "good soldiers of Chairman Mao".

Mao's personal contribution to this campaign ended right here. He inaugurated it and never more said a single word about Lei Feng officially. Following Mao's inscription, there appeared similar inscriptions of other leading party and state cadres. While calling to learn from Lei Feng, none of them, however, pointed out whom that appeal was to refer to. This might lead to the conclusion that in spite of the army propaganda control over it, the campaign was equally directed to the civilian population.

The young people were the primary target of the "Learn from Lei Feng campaign" [16] since its beginning. This is evidenced not only by the Communist Youth League (CYL) Central Committee circular letter calling on all its cells to develop the campaign,<sup>3</sup> but also by a particular emphasis laid on the educational work among the young included in the circular letter of March 6, 1963 issued by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (AFTU) Central Council,<sup>4</sup> or by appeals to children to learn from Lei Feng, formulated by the PRC vice-chairman Sung Ch'ing-ling [18].<sup>5</sup> Because the youth was the campaign's main target, the CYL had made all its

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<sup>3</sup> *Kung-ch'ing-t'uan chung-yang kuan-yü tsai ch'ing-nien chung kuang-fan k'ai-chan "hsüeh-hsi Lei Feng" te chiao-ay huo-tung te t'ung-chih* [17] *The CYL CC Circular Letter on the Intensive Development among the Chinese Youth the Education Campaign "Learn from Lei Feng"*. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1963, Nos 5—6, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Jen-min Jih-pao*, 7. 3. 1963.

<sup>5</sup> *Jen-min Jih-pao*, 1. 6. 1963.

organizations of all levels participate in it, along with its propaganda apparatus, but especially focusing on the youth press organs. Its pages contained the campaign guidelines, official documents, opinions of distinguished personalities, editorials, as well as letters from readers.

At the same time, various excerpts of Lei Feng's diary were printed in the papers and were edited as separate pamphlets. These fragments described the last three years of the hero's life and included biographical stories, poems and verses praising his virtues. The stage and the screen soon saw the emergence of epics on Lei Feng — both of traditional Chinese-style operas, as well as of narratives and movies.

In fact, literature was the main channel of information on the hero since the press articles, referring to readers' knowledge of the literary works, merely appraised Lei Feng's character. Certain discrepancies regarding the hero's life, which can be found in various sources, make this portrait rather untrustworthy. The evolution of Lei Feng's image throughout the biographical stories and the excerpts from his diary, which were edited in the period of 1963—1973, indicate its obvious adaptation to the changing propaganda purposes, and therefore raise doubts as to the authenticity of the diary and of the person itself.<sup>6</sup> Apart from all such doubts, however, this personage deserves out special attention as being a projection of Mao Tse-tung's supporters in the sixties, and after the "cultural revolution", practically the only functioning model of thinking and acting offered for the society's consumption.

According to the information contained in the story written by Ch'en Kuang-sheng entitled *Chairman Mao's Good Fighter, Lei Feng*,<sup>7</sup> he was born on December

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<sup>6</sup> The comparison of *Lei Feng jih-chi chai-ch'ao* [19] *Excerpts from Lei Feng's Diary* published in the book entitled *Mao chu-hsi te hao chan-shih — Lei Feng* [20] *Chairman Mao's Good Fighter, Lei Feng*, Peking 1963, pp. 99—148 with *Lei Feng jih-chi hsüan* [21] *Selections from Lei Feng's Diary*, Peking 1973, shows that some fragments have been deleted e.g. the mentioning of Lin Piao (*Excerpts* . . . , p. 128), about Wang Jo-fei [22] (*Excerpts* . . . , pp. 119—120), those about the films and plays seen by Lei Feng (*Excerpts* . . . , pp. 110, 123, 142—143). This was a result of the purge of Lin Piao in 1971, of a total silence that the Chinese historiography set then upon the heroes of Chinese revolution, and of a complete rejection since 1966 of the literary works, plays, and films dated before 1966. The 1973 edition introduces some fragments confirming the then valid Chinese foreign policy and also passages on the class struggle in the socialist society. *Selections* . . . present Lei Feng as a conscious follower of "Mao Tse-tung thought" on a much larger scale than *Excerpts* . . . Similar differences occur in two biographical stories — that of Ch'en Kuang-sheng, *Mao chu-hsi te hao chan-shih — Lei Feng* [23] *Chairman Mao's Good Fighter, Lei Feng* published in a book of the same title in Peking 1963, pp. 1—98 and in Ch'en Kuang-sheng — Ts'ui Chia-chün, *Lei Feng te ku-shih* [24] *Story of Lei Feng*, Peking 1973. In *Story* . . . the number of quotations from Mao's works increased considerably from 4 to 11, Lei Feng is equally attributed certain thoughts and views which he could not express in his lifetime, e.g. of an anti-Soviet character (*Story* . . . , p. 90), as well as against "harmful" literary works (*Story* . . . , pp. 138—139).

<sup>7</sup> In the materials on Lei Feng there are some differences regarding his biography. However, they are insignificant as far as his psychophysical features are concerned, as well as his personality, popularized in the campaign. Therefore, his biography was only outlined in the above-mentioned story which is the most reliable source among those available to the author of this remark. Those interested in a more complete

30, 1939 to a poor peasant's family in the Hu-nan province. Since his early childhood he experienced hunger, poverty and maltreatment from the hands of landowners. This had finally caused the death of his father, two brothers and mother. Being left all by himself, Lei Feng settled down with his relatives and earned his living by picking up brushwood. It was then that he was himself exposed to the landowners' chicanery, and welcomed with joy the creation of PRC. Soon after the liberation he went to primary school where, faithful to his determination to become "a good pupil of Chairman Mao" [27], Lei Feng distinguished himself as an attentive, friendly and resourceful young man.

In 1956 he took up the job at a collective-farm management office, and soon, as a token of appreciation for his excellent work, was shifted to the CCP *hsien* committee in Wang-ch'eng [28] (at present Ch'ang-sha) [29] where he acted as an assistant to the local party secretary.

On February 8, 1957 on his superior's initiative, he became a member of CYL. In the spring of 1958 Lei Feng moved to a state farm T'uan-shan-hu [30], where he had offered all his savings to buy a tractor for the farm, and as a remuneration for this, he was then accepted to a tractor-driving course. Later on, he became a professional tractor driver. But he did not stay there for long either. In the same year he moved to a metallurgical combine at An-shan [31], in North-East China. Lei Feng went there responding to the GLF call to increase steel production. He worked there one year at a coal-washery. But already in August 1959 he volunteered to go to the mountains to help building a new plant.

Soon after he changed jobs again, joining the PLA on January 8, 1960. In spite of a rather stunted physical build (154 cm stature, 47 kg weight and a curved nasal septum) and in spite of negative results of the medical tests, Lei Feng finally enlisted after a series of appeals and petitions. Overcoming the difficulties due to his physical weakness, Lei Feng completed the primary military training. He was then directed to a transportation unit at Fu-shun (Liao-ning province) and became a truck driver.

From 1961 he served as a section leader. A model soldier, Lei Feng diligently studied Mao Tse-tung's works, helped his fellow-soldiers, took part in voluntary work as supervisor of young pioneers in two primary schools, and he also served as deputy to the People's Representatives Conference of Fu-shun [32] city.

On November 8, 1960 he became a CCP member. On August 15, 1962 Lei Feng died unexpectedly, crushed under a wooden pole of a fence run over by a truck.

Thus, Lei Feng's biography seems to be a story of a life deprived of any particularly dramatic events and unusual acts that ended by an accidental and unnecessary death.

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picture may refer to such stories as Ch'en Kuang-sheng — Ts'ui Chia Chün, *Kung-ch'an-chu-i chan-shih Lei Feng* [25] *Lei Feng, The Fighter for Communism*. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1963, Nos 5—6, pp. 12—28; Ch'en Kuang-sheng — Ts'ui Chia-chün, *Lei Feng*. In: *Ch'ing-nien ying-hsiung te ku-shih* [26] *Stories about the Young Heroes*. Peking 1965, pp. 5—43; Ch'en Kuang-sheng — Ts'ui Chia-chün, *Story . . .*, op. cit.

The reason for such an apotheosis of mediocrity can be found in a work written by Mao in 1944, *Serve the People*,<sup>8</sup> and devoted to CC-security soldier Chang Ssu-te [35] who was killed when a charring shaft fell on him. As a man of no particular merits in his lifetime and a hero after his death, Chang Ssu-te is certainly an archetype of Lei Feng to a much greater degree than the heroes of revolutionary wars and the Korean war, although the connection between Lei Feng and the latter ones was strongly stressed in his diary.

This change in a pattern of heroism that can be observed while comparing Lei Feng with the war heroes who had found a solid place in the minds of the young Chinese of the fifties was, to a considerable degree, the result of a need to adjust a notion of heroism to the different, peaceful conditions.

The kind of heroism that manifests itself in a heroic action is characteristic in wartime, and Lei Feng lived in times of peace which, although not precluding such acts (one of Lei Feng's favourite heroines, Hsiang Hsiu-li [36], died while extinguishing a fire in a factory),<sup>9</sup> make them more unlikely to occur. Lei Feng was never faced with the tragic necessity of making war heroes, that of having to choose between the right cause and his own life. He did not have to suffer the death of a martyr as Liu Hu-lan [37], a heroine of the Liberation War, who did not want to testify anything before the Kuomintang officers,<sup>10</sup> nor to hold a handful of explosives in order to blow up a bridge held by enemy, as the brave soldier Tung Ts'un-jui,<sup>11</sup> or to block a barrel of an enemy machine gun with his own body in order to open the way for his unit to attack — an action accomplished by a Chinese volunteer in Korea, Huang Chi-kuang.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the essence of Lei Feng's heroism did not lie in actions conditioned by a particular situation, but in his attitude in everyday life.

It is exactly this attitude resulting from the accepted views and goals that was set as an example for the youth during the "Learn from Lei Feng" campaign. The elimination of hazardous elements for the sake of ideological consciousness as a source of heroism protected Lei Feng against possible reproaches similar to those raised by Feng Ting when he maintained that the heroism of Tung Ts'un-jui and Huang Chi-kuang was only an effect of a correct reflex in a specific situation not caused by conscious choice.<sup>13</sup> This, at the same time justified the whole campaign to produce heroes like Lei Feng, because every citizen could become such a hero,

<sup>8</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Wei Jen-min fu-wu* [33] *Serve the People*. In: *Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi* [34] *Selected works of Mao Tse-tung*. Peking 1968, vol. 4, pp. 891—904.

<sup>9</sup> *Excerpts* . . . , op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Liang Hsing, *Liu Hu-lan. A Story of a Girl Revolutionary*. Peking 1953.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Tsuo Lin, *Tung Tsun-jui. The Making of a Hero*. Peking 1959; Chin Ko—Ch'en Ch'iu, *Tung Ts'un-jui te ku-shih* [38] *Story of Tung Ts'un-jui*. Peking 1975.

<sup>12</sup> Han Hsi-liang, *Huang Chi-kuang*. [39] In: *Ch'ing-nien ying-hsiung te ku-shih* [26] *Stories about the Young Heroes*. Peking 1964, pp. 181—207.

<sup>13</sup> Criticism of these viewpoints of Feng Ting, cf. *Ying-hsiung shih-chi ts'ung na-li lai?* [40] *What is the Source of Heroic Deeds?* Hung Ch'i, 1964, Nos 21—22, pp. 33—35.

regardless of his social background and psychophysical predispositions, provided he worked on the formation of a correct ideological attitude.<sup>14</sup>

It was through the constant studies, as Lei Feng did, of the stories about the heroes, and above all through the works of Mao Tse-tung that one could achieve the right consciousness, characteristic of a hero — as was pointed out in an editorial of CYL biweekly.<sup>15</sup>

The suggested links between Lei Feng and wartime heroes so popular among the young, that appeared in the diary and press articles were designed to make the rather colourless personality of Lei Feng more interesting. However, the young Chinese were not supposed to study biographies of the heroes but first of all the “Mao Tse-tung thought”.

“There are many things worth learning from Lei Feng. But in my opinion one of them is especially worth our imitating. It is this feature that had made Lei Feng a hero. That is his persistent studying of the works of Chairman Mao, his diligent following of the teachings of Chairman Mao, it is the fact that he always acted according to instructions of Chairman Mao, and was a good fighter for Chairman Mao with all his heart and spirit.”<sup>16</sup> These lines paraphrasing Lin Piao’s introduction to the “red book” were written by a former Chief of General Staff Lo Jui-ch’ing. It was an irony of fate that the latter was one of the first victims of the “cultural revolution”.

In fact, Lei Feng’s diary contains many passages in which the role of studying “Mao Tse-tung’s thought” is of primary importance in the process of the development of the hero’s outlooks: “To me Chairman Mao’s works are like food and weapons, like the steering-wheel of a truck. We can’t live without food, can’t fight without weapons, can’t drive a truck without a steering-wheel, and can’t make revolution without studying Chairman Mao’s works.”<sup>17</sup>

Lei Feng’s diary makes mention of Mao Tse-tung and his works on numerous occasions. In the *Excerpts* . . . published in 1963 as many as 32 out of 92 passages (34.8 %) mentioned Mao’s name, and in the next editions their number increased considerably to reach in the *Selections* . . . of the 1973 edition, 57 of a total of 118 fragments (48.3 %).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Yang Hsiu, *Ch’u-sheng yü chin-pu* [41] *Social Background and Progress*. Chung-kuo Ch’ing-nien, 1963, No. 7, pp. 8—10; Cheng Chih, *Hsüeh-hsi Lei Feng t’i-kao kai-tsao ssu-hsiang te chüeh-hsing* [42] *While Learning from Lei Feng be Devoted to Raise the Reshaping of Ideology*. Chung-kuo Ch’ing-nien, 1963, No. 9, pp. 6—9.

<sup>15</sup> *Yung Lei Feng te hsüeh-hsi t’ai-tu hsüeh-hsi Lei Feng* [43] *Learn from Lei Feng as Lei Feng has Been Learning*. Chung-kuo Ch’ing-nien, 1963, Nos 5—6, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Lo Jui-ch’ing, *Hsüeh-hsi Lei Feng* [44] *Learn from Lei Feng*. Chung-kuo Ch’ing-nien, 1963, Nos 5—6, pp. 5—6.

<sup>17</sup> *Selections* . . . , op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>18</sup> *Selections* . . . present Lei Feng as a conscious follower of Mao to a larger scale than *Excerpts* . . . The number of fragments exemplifying his reflections on Mao’s works increased from 1 to 11, and the number of quotations from 10 to 23. The diary had also become more politically oriented: the number of

A part of them, with clear emotional overtones, contain descriptions of Lei Feng's most profound love to Mao Tse-tung: "Dear Chairman Mao! I think of you all day long, dream for months about seeing you. I would like to look at your picture as often as possible, and your face full of kindness invariably appears in my dreams."<sup>19</sup> It is just this boundless admiration for Mao Tse-tung that the campaign organizers wanted to instill into young minds.

The most prominent Chinese leaders emphasized this particular trait of a hero: Tung Pi-wu [45], the vice-chairman of the PRC pointed out in his inscription Lei Feng's thoroughness in studying excerpts from Mao's works, and Prime Minister Chou En-lai [46], Minister of National Defence Lin Piao, as well as Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) Chu Te [47] in their respective inscriptions defined Lei Feng as a "good fighter for Chairman Mao".<sup>20</sup>

It is possible, however, to find also such materials that indicate efforts of moderate elements to reduce the promaoist aspects of the campaign. Among them were included those rare statements not meant for general public that expressed an outright opposition to the study of Mao's works by the young people. There is, for instance, a declaration made by the then Secretary General of the Central Committee Teng Hsiao-p'ing at the CC Secretariat session, in March 1965, in which he said that sitting all day long over Lei Feng's diary and over the quotations from Mao's works would not make anyone either red, or an expert, and that one should better study physics.<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, there were more materials pointing to the opposition forces' attempts to propagate different characteristics of Lei Feng from those connected with the belief in Mao's thoughts. Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing omitted in their inscriptions, referring to Lei Feng, the name of Mao Tse-tung, but rather stressed other Lei Feng's features worth imitating, such as his spirit, his virtues, and life-style.<sup>22</sup> Also Hu Yao-pang the then CYL CC First Secretary connected with those leaders, and in particular with P'eng Chen [50], when he postulated certain modifications in the ideology of the young people, clearly omitted the imperative of studying the Mao's works. In his article about the "Learn from Lei Feng campaign" Hu Yao-pang mentioned Mao only as an author of the inscription, focusing his

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fragments not mentioning CCP or Mao, dropped from 38 to 34 % with the evident tendency to identify Mao with the party. Although in *Excerpts* . . . , dated 1963, there were 27.2 % of passages mentioning the party without Mao, in 1973 *Selections* . . . their number fall to 17.7 %.

<sup>19</sup> *Excerpts* . . . , op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>20</sup> Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1963, Nos 5—6, pp. 2—3; 1963, No. 7, pp. 4—5.

<sup>21</sup> Teng Hsiao-p'ing yen-hsing lu [48] *Quotations from the Statements by Teng Hsiao-p'ing*, Ch'ing-hua Ta-hsüeh "Ching-kang-shan" chan-tou tui [49] *The "Ching-kang-shan" Fighting Detachment of the Ch'ing-hua University*. Peking 1967.

<sup>22</sup> Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1963, No. 7, p. 2, 6.

attention on reflections based on the inscription of Liu Shao-ch'i.<sup>23</sup> In his speech made at the Ninth CYL Congress held in the course of the campaign, he totally omitted the problem of Lei Feng's attitude to the study of "Mao Tse-tung thought". Neither did he speak much about the hero himself, mentioning Lei Feng only when discussing problems of youth's loyalty to the party and to the model of a simple, modest life.<sup>24</sup>

The propagation of Lei Feng's way of living was as important aspect of the campaign as popularizing loyalty to Mao Tse-tung, although less controversial for the country's leadership. In the circumstances immediately following the economic catastrophe created by the GLF, the young Chinese were expected to work harder and face courageously the lack of any prospects of improvement in their living conditions, or to rule out all personal objectives from their lives. The method of political mobilization of the masses to correct errors made in the field of economy found its fullest expression in the "Learn from Lei Feng" campaign. It was not by accident that the above-mentioned CYL CC circular letter laid emphasis on such Lei Feng's personal traits, next to his relations to the party and Mao, as a conscious submission of an individual to the needs of the community at large, a strict observance of economizing regime, firmness in overcoming various difficulties.

Lei Feng, as found in his diary and other numerous works, is really a man unusually laborious, not merely performing his duties in a perfect way, but also performing voluntarily other tasks, far exceeding them, frequently at the expense of leisure and even his own health. Joining a common work at a plant despite illness, a selfless, voluntary assistance provided for the railroadman at a peak time,<sup>25</sup> picking manure for a people's commune in the cold mornings<sup>26</sup> — these are the examples of Lei Feng's day-to-day life. His only goal in life was to work for others.

It is not only love of work itself that made an extraordinary person of Lei Feng but also his total renouncement of all personal goals in life. The latter laid the groundwork for the propagation of his "simple, modest life-style" in which there was no place for privacy, or material satisfaction for his work. All the moral gratifications such as praises, thankfulness, promotions were also considered by him as demoralizing and avoided them by acting anonymously. In his own words he did not deserve them because in society he performed an important but very modest function similar

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<sup>23</sup> Hu Yao-pang, *Pa ch'ing-nien te wu-ch'an-chieh-chi ch'ue-wu t'i-tao hsin-te kao-tu* [51] *Raise to a New Level the Proletarian Consciousness of the Youth*. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1963, No. 9, pp. 2—5.

<sup>24</sup> Hu Yao-pang, *Wei wo kuo ch'ing-nien ko-ming-hua er tou-cheng* [52] *Fight for a Revolutionization of Our Youth*, (11. 6. 1964). Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1963, No. 14, pp. 11, 13.

<sup>25</sup> Ch'en Kuang-sheng—Ts'ui Chia-chün, *Lei Feng, The Fighter for Communism*, op. cit., pp. 22—23, 27.

<sup>26</sup> Ch'en Kuang-sheng—Ts'ui Chia-chün, *Chairman Mao's Good Fighter, Lei Feng*, op. cit., pp. 35—36.



to that of a screw in a machine, or a brick in the house.<sup>27</sup> Neither was he interested in the conditions of his life and work. Notes in his diary that he will always perform his duties without the least hesitation, and without caring about money,<sup>28</sup> had gradually earned him the reputation of “a fool”.<sup>29</sup> Not paying attention to such remarks from his colleagues and criticizing those who thought that “the most important thing in life is to eat well, dress well, and enjoy oneself”,<sup>30</sup> Lei Feng was always ready to reject all good things in life, being certain that such a conduct was necessary for the benefit of the country.

Considering the country's good as a direct motive of such a laborious, modest and actually ascetic way of living, served the purpose of convincing the population about the correctness of an economic development chosen by the Chinese leadership. This in turn was founded upon the political mobilization of the masses and a noneconomic coercion, and not on the rational considerations of objective possibilities and the existing genuine requirements of the population. This economic model presumed a drastic reduction in consumption and an extreme belt-tightening policy. It was therefore evident that such aspects of Lei Feng's activity, like giving up his military uniforms, picking up industrial wastes and garbage,<sup>31</sup> such as little screws, pieces of wire, tooth-paste tubes and rags, allotting the rest of his soldier's pay left after paying party fees and purchasing Mao's works, for commune development or for the flood victims,<sup>32</sup> were especially recommended to follow.

Newspapers printed letters praising the hero's accomplishments in order to prove the young people's support and enthusiasm for the campaign slogans.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, judging by the self-criticism of the persons “converted” by the campaign,<sup>34</sup> as well as by attitudes of those blamed for “selfishness”, one may infer that Lei Feng's life-style was by no means generally accepted and the reaction of the young people to the campaign comprised also elements similar to those he himself encountered. “There are such young people who think that one does not live but with only one thing on the mind — to eat better, dress better, have better housing conditions, find

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<sup>27</sup> *Excerpts . . .*, op. cit., pp. 131, 142.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109; Ch'en Kuang-sheng—Ts'ui Chia-chün, *Chairman Mao's Good Fighter, Lei Feng*, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>30</sup> *Excerpts . . .*, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>31</sup> Ch'en Kuang-sheng—Ts'ui Ch-ia-chün, *Chairman Mao's Good Fighter, Lei Feng*, op. cit., pp. 78, 79.

<sup>32</sup> *Excerpts . . .*, op. cit., p. 108.

<sup>33</sup> Hsüeh-hsi Lei Feng t'ung-chih te p'ing-fan er wei-ta-te kung-ch'an-chu-i ching-shen [53] *Learn a Simple and Great Communist Spirit from Comrade Lei Feng*. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1963, No. 8, pp. 10—11; I Yan-ho, Wo k'ai-shih tung-te-liao wei shen-mo huo-che [54] *I have Begun to Understand what I am Living for*. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1964, No. 24, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Chien-chu kung-jen te hsing-fu [55] *Happiness of a Construction Worker*. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1963, No. 12, pp. 3—4.

a more attractive partner and spend one's life in a more convenient way" — read a press article<sup>35</sup> defining such youth attitudes and minimalistic dreams as an expression of "bourgeois consciousness".

Thus, the young Chinese were resisting the pressure to transform them into "never-rusting screws of Chairman Mao". It is hard to estimate to what degree this rejection by the youth of the imposed model influenced the fact that the campaign, after a period of intense development in 1963, calmed down abruptly in the following year, and to what extent it was due to the necessity of making the propaganda apparatus busy with another one called "Learn from PLA", and that time aimed at the whole of the population. It can be noted, however, that it did not bring about the expected results since it was still thought urgent to find new personality models for the youth. The goals of the next "post-Lei Feng" campaigns and the methods employed to carry them out remained the same as those of 1963 and the connection between them and Lei Feng was clearly indicated. Thus, they can be treated as a continuation of the "Learn from Lei Feng" campaign.

In November 1965, a campaign propagating Wang Chieh [57] — the first of a series of heroes brought up in accordance with the image of Lei Feng, was initiated by the inscriptions of Chou En-lai, Chu Te, Lin Piao, Tung Pi-wu, Lu Ting-i [58],<sup>36</sup> as well as by appropriate directives of the PLA General Political Department, CYL CC<sup>37</sup> and AFTU.<sup>38</sup> The next hero, Mai Hsien-te [60], was "launched" in January 1966. Later on, a vast campaign propagating Ou-yang Hai [61]<sup>39</sup> started in March of the same year, and in July still another was initiated — "Learn from Liu Ying-chün" [62].

The relation between those events and the growing political turmoil known as the "cultural revolution" was already apparent. The campaign "Learn from Wang Chieh" [63] began in November 1965, that is to say, at the moment when the "Socialist Education Campaign" was stopped by Liu Shao-ch'i, and Mao decided to counterattack the opposition existing within the leadership.<sup>40</sup> The fact that as many as four campaigns were launched within one year (in the course of the "cultural revolution" the frequency of setting up new models was even greater), makes it

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<sup>35</sup> Li Er-chung, *Shih tan hsüeh-hsi Lei Feng te chi-ko wen-t'i* [56] *Let us Talk about a Few Problems Connected with Learning from Lei Feng*. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, 1963, No. 12, pp. 8—10, 15.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *I hsin wei ko-ming. Wang Chieh te ying-hsiung shih-chi ho jih-chi* [59] *All Heart for Revolution. The Heroic Deeds and Diary of Wang Chieh*. Peking 1965, pp. I—V.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1—5.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Peking Review*, 1965, No. 46, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> As early as in February 1964 Central-South Bureau CCP CC appealed to learning from Ou-yang Hai, but it was not then given the character of a so massive campaign.

<sup>40</sup> On November 10, 1965 a Shanghai newspaper *Wen-hui Pao* published an article approved by Mao and written by Yao Wen-yüan [64] criticizing a drama by Wu Han [65] entitled *Hai Jui pa-kuan* [66] *The Dismissal of Hai Jui*, which is generally considered as a signal for the initiation of the "cultural revolution".

obvious that they constituted an integral part of a struggle going on inside the Chinese leadership from November 1965 to August 1966 when the "cultural revolution" was officially proclaimed by the Eleventh Plenary Session of the CCP CC. Their real objective was therefore to rally the youth along with "Mao Tse-tung thought", prepare them as a striking force ready to destroy the party and state apparatus during the "cultural revolution". It is also worth retaining in mind that the successive campaigns were not initiated right after the death of their heroes (there was a four months span between the death of Wang Chieh and the campaign about him, six months since the accident of Mai Hsien-te, and since the death of Ou-yang Hai and Liu Ying-chün more than two years and four months, respectively), which would confirm the conclusion about the existing links between them and the situation in China at that time.

The above-mentioned heroes were well aware of imitating Lei Feng, which was clearly demonstrated in their biographies, and thus, they greatly resembled their archetype in the way they thought and acted. They all studied the works of Mao Tse-tung and propagated his "thought", were extremely laborious, cooperative, zealous in performing even the heaviest duties, and finally, they had no other personal ambition but that of catching up their ideals. It goes without saying that they did not attach any importance to their private lives. Nevertheless, in opposition to Lei Feng, their deeds required exceptional courage and dedication.

Wang Chieh, a 23-year-old commander of an engineering section, was killed during military training on July 14, 1965 when he covered a set of dynamite with his own body to save the lives of 20 men.<sup>41</sup> On August 6, 1965 Mai Hsien-te, a 22-year-old engineman on a gunboat went on performing his duties all the time during the sea battle against the Taiwanese warship, though wounded in the head.<sup>42</sup> On November 18, 1963 Ou-yang Hai, a 23-year-old soldier, was run over by the train he had prevented from derailling by pushing off the rails a horse loaded with arms and ammunition.<sup>43</sup> On March 15, 1966 Liu Ying-chün, a 21-year-old artilleryman, gave his life to save six children from scared horses drawing a cart full of weapons.<sup>44</sup> Thus, in the case of the successive heroes, the model of Lei Feng was enriched by the characteristic features specific for wartime heroism. This was probably to increase the propaganda effectiveness.

It is notable that some of Lei Feng's traits well exposed during the 1963 campaign, later on were much further stressed in the persons of the next heroes. This applies particularly to the question of studying "Mao Tse-tung's thought" and the necessity of giving up almost all pleasures of individual life.

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<sup>41</sup> *All Heart for Revolution* . . . , op. cit.

<sup>42</sup> *Ko-ming ying ku-t'ou—Mai Hsien-te* [67] *The Hard Bone of Revolution — Mai Hsien-te*. Peking 1966.

<sup>43</sup> Chin Ching-mai, *Ou-yang Hai chih ko* [68] *The Song of Ou-yang Hai*. Peking 1966.

<sup>44</sup> *Kitai na Stroike* (in Russian), No. 6, 1967.

In his diary Lei Feng devoted much attention to Mao and his works, although in that he was guided much more by emotions, than by reason. Wang Chieh, on the other hand, not only quoted the "Chairman's thoughts" more often, but also "analysed" their contents in a more thorough manner, and the next diary author — Liu Ying-chün, concentrated on those detailed "analyses" to such an extent, that he did not relate his own life at all.

The schematic way of thinking as well as narrowness of interests that these heroes demonstrated in their diaries pose serious doubts as to the authenticity of the diaries and the authors themselves. It is very likely, much more than in the case of Lei Feng, that the diaries and the stories relating the unusual accomplishments and ordinary lives of these heroes were being made up in order to solidify the cult of Mao Tse-tung among the young people. Because what other name but that of a cult, can be applied to the relationship which the seriously wounded Mai Hsien-te showed towards Mao Tse-tung when, although not recognizing his closest relatives, he smiled at Mao's portrait and quoted passages from his works.<sup>45</sup> Another example of this phenomenon is the highest esteem that Liu Ying-chün had for portraits of Mao Tse-tung: "Having arrived to the detachment's barracks . . ., he first cleaned the dust from all four walls and carefully hanged the portraits of the Chairman that he had brought — one on each wall. Since that time, every morning when cleaning up the room, he would wipe each of them with extreme care and in the evening he would stand in front of one of them just for a while staring at the Chairman's familiar, kind face with a profound devotion."<sup>46</sup>

The renouncement of privacy was much more stressed in the heroes who followed Lei Feng. In the case of Lei Feng such a decision was to a certain degree the result of a fateful event, as his family passed away when he was still a child. But the heroes who succeeded him gave priority to social activities by their own choice, not attaching any importance to family affairs. Wang Chieh made it very clear in his diary when he wrote that he did not intend to get married early because "in the young age while dedicating spiritual forces to the cause of the party, one should work much more for the fatherland".<sup>47</sup>

The differences between Lei Feng and the other heroes educated according to this archetype) different circumstances of death, intensification of certain characteristics), while obviously being motivated by the effectiveness of the successive campaigns, did not essentially change the characteristics of those persons; they all thought and acted in a predictable way and therefore perpetuated the same pattern. It is significant that the people chosen for models had already been dead (in the case of Mai Hsien-te it was an amnesia, so a kind of psychic death) and unable to interfere with the myths created about them.

<sup>45</sup> *Mai Hsien-te Follows Chairman Mao's Teachings*. Chinese Literature, 1969, No. 3, p. 63.

<sup>46</sup> Kitai na Stroiike, op. cit.

<sup>47</sup> *All Heart for Revolution* . . . , op. cit.

In the course of “cultural revolution” and right after it, many heroes regarding Lei Feng as a model and also resembling him in convictions and life-style, were “launched”. None of them, however, probably on account of the extreme frequency of the oncoming campaigns, has become so famous as Lei Feng whose personality was made by the Chinese propaganda a symbol of correct attitude in life. In assessing the various views and attitudes the Chinese press nowadays cites the Lei Feng pattern adapting it to the present political tendencies and the current propaganda requirements. One example of using Lei Feng during the political campaigns was his presentation in March 1976 by the press as a patron in the struggle against “right-wing capitulants” [69] and support for the “newborn things of proletarian revolution” [70],<sup>48</sup> and after removal of Teng Hsiao-p’ing in April 1976, as a personality mobilizing soldiers from his old unit to the struggle against Teng followers.<sup>49</sup>

After the death of Mao Tse-tung and the purge of the most active members of the extreme faction in Chinese leadership, in March 1977 in response to Hua Kuo-feng’s [71] call — “Learn from comrade Lei Feng and lead to the end the cause of the proletarian revolution initiated by Chairman Mao” [72], a new campaign started. It is characterized, on the one hand, by accentuating crimes perpetrated by the so-called “gang of four” [73] and as an attempt to mobilize the society to an increased production effort, on the other.<sup>50</sup>

The constant use in the Chinese propaganda of the Lei Feng-type personality patterns can by no means be a proof of their popularity. On the contrary, it signals the existence of a resistance in the society against the imposed social and economic decisions. It is just the dissatisfaction and protest of the urban youth sent to the countryside after graduation from schools, which lead to popularization of personalities who, after the resettlement, became famous for their heroic deeds like for instance Chin Hsün-hua [74], who in August 1969 sacrificed his life to save social property.<sup>51</sup>

The possibilities of young people opposing the propaganda-advocated way of life, in conditions of strict control over both the public and private life of each Chinese, are very limited indeed. The consequences in the form of degrading critique, re-education, resettlements, the loss of possibility of further education, etc., which open rejection of the patterns of thinking and behaviour officially recognized brings in its wake, force the youth to a but seeming and purely formal acceptance of them. Passiveness, conformism and the unauthentic behaviours appear to be the only

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Jen-min Jih-pao*, 6. 3. 1976; *Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, 5. 3. 1976.

<sup>49</sup> *Jen-min Jih-pao*, 21. 4. 1976.

<sup>50</sup> Editorial of *Jen-min Jih-pao*, *Chieh-fang Chün-pao* and *Hung Ch’i*, *Hsiang Lei Feng t’ung-chih hsüeh-hsi* [15] *Learn from Comrade Lei Feng*. *Jen-min Jih-pao*, 5. 3. 1977.

<sup>51</sup> *He Lived to Make Revolution and Dedicated his Life to Chairman Mao. Comrade Chin Hsün-hua’s Heroic Deeds*. *Peking Review*, 1970, No. 4, pp. 9—14.

possible result of imposing on the society a common, uniform way of thinking and behaviour. The experiences of Confucianism and of Maoism recurring to Confucian educational traditions have proved it.

In the moral code advanced by the present Chinese propaganda, obedience toward the leadership, similar to the principles of loyalty in the Confucian code, is the most important virtue. Lei Feng and the heroes of his type are people boundlessly believing in the infallibility of the leader who is their object of adoration, and in the indisputable character of his decisions, thus being uncritical, thoughtless and show an extremely poor inner life.

It must be stated that it is characteristic feature of Maoism to remould every society member to a such half-developed personality as Lei Feng, i.e. personality devoid of all spheres of activity and interests except that of hard work and the "Mao Tse-tung thought". By utilizing political backwardness of the masses, which is going to be petrified by such a policy, the Maoists determined to revive China's superpower status. But on the contrary the policy which discards an all-around development of the individual impose, as it was proved by the last twenty years of PRC's history, a barrier on the way to the economic advancement and social progress, and therefore it cannot last.

1.毛泽东时代的英雄 2.雷锋 3.刘少奇 4.社会主义教育运动 5.四清运动 6.党内走资本主义道路当权派 7.杨献珍 8.冯定 9.邵荃麟 10.萧望东  
11.林彪 12.彭德怀 13.毛主席的好战士 14.向解放军学习 15.向雷锋同志学习 16.学习雷锋运动 17.共青团中央关于在全国青年中广泛开展「学习雷锋」的教育活动的通知 18.宋庆龄 19.雷锋日记摘抄 20.毛主席的好战士——雷锋 21.雷锋日记选 22.王若飞 23.陈广生, 毛主席的好战士——雷锋 24.陈广生——崔家骏, 雷锋的故事 25.共产主义战士——雷锋 26.青年英雄的故事 27.毛主席的好学生 28.望城 29.长沙 30.团山湖 31.革山 32.抚顺 33.为人民服务 34.毛泽东选集 35.张思德 36.向秀丽 37.刘胡兰 38.金革——陈秋;董存瑞的故事 39.韩希梁, 黄继光 40.英雄事迹从哪里来? 41.杨参, 出身与进步 42.关治, 学习雷锋提高改造思想的觉性 43.用雷锋的学习态度学习雷锋 44.罗瑞卿, 学习雷锋 45.董必武 46.周恩来 47.牛德 48.邓小平言行录 49.清华大学「井冈山」战斗队版 50.彭真 51.胡耀邦, 把青年的无产阶级觉悟提到新的高席 52.为我国青年革命化而斗争 53.学习雷锋同志的平凡而伟大的共产主义精神 54.易彦

鹤,我开始懂得了为什么话着 55. 建筑工人的幸福 56. 李尔重,试谈学习雷锋的几个问题 57. 王杰 58. 陆定一 59. 一心为革命. 王杰的英雄事迹和日记 60. 麦贤得 61. 欧阳海 62. 学习刘英俊 63. 学习王杰 64. 姚文元 65. 吴晗 66. 海瑞罢官 67. 革命硬骨头——麦贤得 68. 金敬迈, 欧阳海之歌 69. 右倾投降派 70. 无产阶级革命新生事物 71. 华国锋 72. 向雷锋同志学习, 把毛主席开创的无产阶级革命事业进行到底 73. 四人帮 74. 金训华



## SUR LA LEÇON DU MANUSCRIT TURC D'ILLÉSHÁZY

MEFKÜRE MOLLOVA, Sofia

L'article apporte des corrections, compléments et nouvelles interprétations des mots turques et des phrases du manuscrit dit d'Illésházy (*Dictionarium turcico-latinum*), édité par J. Németh, *Die türkische Sprache in Ungarn im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Budapest 1970).

Dans son dernier livre, intitulé *Die türkische Sprache in Ungarn im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XIII*), Budapest 1970, 281 pp., le très regretté J. Németh avait choisi comme objet de son étude un monument turc transcrit en caractères latins, connu sous le nom du manuscrit d'Illésházy (qui est le nom de son possesseur). Sur la couverture de ce manuscrit on lit :

Illésházy Nikolai  
Dictionarium turcico-latinum. Viennae 1668  
pag. 180. in 8° transverso.

(Com. Steph. Illésházy)

L'auteur ou les auteurs (au moins deux) sont anonymes. Mais de la langue turque employée ici, J. Németh a déterminé avec raison qu'ils seraient des Bosniens turcophones, installés en Hongrie pendant la domination ottomane dans ce pays. Le manuscrit est bien conservé (dans la bibliothèque régionale de Széchenyi, en Hongrie) et l'écriture est bien nette.

La langue turque de ce monument se présente sous trois aspects : on y trouve des traits de la langue osmanlie aisée (*fasih türkçe*), des traits dialectaux locaux turcs et des traits nouveaux, surgis sous l'influence de la langue maternelle serbocroate des Bosniens. Voilà pourquoi nous sommes en présence d'un monument assez difficile à lire et à étudier. J. Németh s'est trouvé souvent dans l'impossibilité de prouver tel ou tel mot ou expression. Il est arrivé en conclusion que ce manuscrit nous est parvenu sous forme copiée par un ou deux copistes ne sachant pas le turc. Cette attitude lui a permis la reconstruction de certains mots inprouvables. Mais avec cela il s'est déclanché de la vérité historique, dialectale.

Dans ce présent article nous avons estimé prudent de revenir sur certains de ces mots difficiles.

J. Németh le lit comme *derya* kapetan «Schiffskapitän», en transformant la lettre *b* en *d*: «b[d]erja kapetan» et il cite en crochets [kapudan paşa] qui signifie alors, à cette époque «ministre de la marine ottomane», entré en français sous forme de *capitan-pacha*. Dans le dictionnaire de B. de Meynard nous trouvons *bahryé* (adj. ar. relatif à la mer) «ministre de la marine, amirauté, répond à l'anc. terme *quapoun deryaleq*». Il est évident que chez B. de Meynard il y manque le deuxième élément, qui serait *qapoudan*//*qapidan*: *bahriyyä qapidanı*//*bahriyyä kapidani*//*bahriyyä quapidanı*//*bahriyyä kapidani* et peut être encore *bähriyyä q* . . . Cette dernière forme (qui existe aujourd'hui en azerbaïdjanais *bähri(jj)ä* «denizçi») deviendrait dans la langue des Bosniens *berya*, avec la réalisation d'*ä* comme *a* dans les langues slaves méridionales et avec la chute de la voyelle atone, de *h*, qui peut s'effectuer aussi bien dans la prononciation des Turcs que Bosniens. Ainsi on peut admettre que nous n'avons pas une raison de transformer *berja* en *derja*.

En ce qui concerne la signification de *Berja kapetan*, il est difficile de l'identifier avec *capitan-pacha*. Nous nous contenterons de la traduction latine avec «capitaine de la marine». Il se peut qu'un jour, dans une source on trouve la signification de «ministre de la marine» de ce terme, devenu historique.

birahçse «crucifer» 23<sup>b</sup>

J. Németh l'a décomposé en *bir* «*ein, eins*» et *aḥç'e* «*Geld*». Mais «crucifer» ne peut pas être décomposé. Il signifie en français «celui qui porte sa croix (Jésus-Christ)». *birahçe* serait la forme diminutive persane de pers. *birah* «*impi*» (de *bi* «*sans*» et *rah* «*chemin*»), osm. *birah* id. (OT). La forme *birahçe* n'est attestée ni dans les dictionnaires de la langue persane, ni dans ceux de la langue turque. En réalité c'est «crucifer» qui fut traduit en turc avec *birahçe*, qui, à côté de la signification de «*impi*» voudrait dire encore «non musulman; chrétien»; f. *gāvur* «*impi*» et «non musulman; chrétien». Le suffixe diminutif *-çe* peut y être aussi slave; cf. turc de Gostivar: *ufače* «*siten* (tout petit)» < *ufak* et *-če* (Nasteva, p. 294).

bukar «tant» 87<sup>r</sup>

Ce mot est employé dans la phrase suivante: Bukarda zeman neredeidun /*bukar da zeman neredeydun*/ «où étais-tu tant de temps?» Elle est traduite en italien: «dove Sete Stato per tanto tempo». J. Németh corrige *bukar* en *bu* et *kadar*: *bukadar*, qu'il laisse non traduit.

Nous estimons qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de reconstruire *bukar*, qui existe dans les parlers turcs de la zone occidentales dans les Balkans: *bukar*, *buka*, qui anciennement se prononcerait comme *buqār*//*bukār* et de là *bukā*//*buka*, gostivar: *buka*

«ovolko» (Nasteva, p. 291, § 28). Ainsi *bukar* ne représenterait pas une faute d'écriture.

csoha ducsegi «textor pannarius» 20<sup>b</sup>

J. Németh les sépare en *ç''oha* «Tuch» et *duç''ic''i* «der Giessende»<sup>1</sup> et le confère avec hong. *posztót verni* «Tuch schlagen». Il rapporte «ducsegi» au turc *döğücü, döyücü, dövücü* «one who habitually beats, hammers, beats out, etc.» (Redh.).

Nous y cherchons *çoha duçeci* «tissérant de drap» qui remonterait au turc *çoha\*dukeci* < \**dokiyçi* < *doquycı*. Mais il se peut que la palatalisation de *q//k* en *k* et de *là* en *ç* soit produit en turc bosnien directement, au contact de la voyelle palatale *e*.

csoktandan «depuis longtemps» 86<sup>v</sup>

Ce mot se trouve dans la phrase suivante : *csoktandanvurmistur on icsi Száát /çoktandan vurmıştur on içi sâât/* «depuis longtemps a sonné douze heures».

J. Németh décompose ce mot en *ç''oktan* et le rapporte à *ç''ok* «viel» et encore en *ç''an* «Glocke» : «d[cs]an». Le mot *çan* y se présente sous forme de *çank* < *tc. çañ*.

Pour nous *çoktandan* est authentique. Dans les parlers turcs balkaniques en Déliorman, Dobroudja, Gerlovo c'est aussi *çoktandan* «depuis longtemps» et *çoktandanki* «ancien, ce qui est d'autre fois» : *çoktandanki iş* «affaire ancienne» (archives personnelles). Donc, ici on a l'accumulation, la répétition du suffixe de l'ablatif, phénomène connu dans les langues turques.<sup>2</sup>

dakdomuszi «aper (sanglier)» 16<sup>a</sup>

J. Németh l'a décomposé en *dag* «Berg» et *domus* «Schwein». Mais «dakdomuszi» qui doit s'entendre comme *dakdomuzi* est un mot composé et signifie «sanglier», qui se rencontre dans les parlers turcs balkaniques modernes sous forme de *dādomuzu* (zone centrale). Dans les parlers turcs occidentaux il serait *dakdomuzi* également, car dans cette zone la gutturale fricative terminale et à la fin de la syllabe se réalise précisément comme *k* : Gostivar *dak* «šuma (montagne)», *bak* «lozje (vigne)», *bek* «beg» (Nasteva, p. 286, § 17. c); Kumanovo : *yaksıs* «yağsız» (Eckmann, p. 117,

<sup>1</sup> Chez J. Németh : *c''* = scr. *dž*, *d*; *ç''* = scr. *č*, *ć*; chez nous : *c* = scr. *dž*; *ć* = scr. *d*; *ç* = scr. *č*; *ç* = scr. *ć*; *tc. g* > scr. *d* (= *ć*); *tc. k* > scr. *č* (= *ć*).

<sup>2</sup> L'accumulation des morphèmes fut sujet d'un article par la turkologue soviétique Galina Fedorovna Blagova, *Tendencii k uslozneniju t'urkskogo padežnogo sklonenija (opyt sravnitel'no-tipologičeskogo izučenija)*. In: *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 1, 1970, p. 67, où elle cite un exemple analogue *oguzdandan* «de Oghouz». B. A. Serebrennikov revient sur cet exemple, quand il cherche l'origine du morphème de l'ablatif dans son article intitulé : *O nekotoryh problemah istoričeskoj morfologii t'urkskih jazykov*. In: *Struktura i istorija t'urkskih jazykov*. Moskva 1971, p. 284.

§ 19.a) ; dans le manuscrit d'Illésházy cela s'observe encore dans les mots suivants : szaktarafa vel szakgyani bone «ad dextram (à droite)» /*sak tarafa vel sak canibone*/ ; szakszigan /*saksigan*/ «pica(pie)» ; iakluk /*yakluk*/ «strofiolum (Handtuch)» ; iak-murluk /*yakmurluk*/ «pallium (Regenmantel)». iak /*yak*/ «butirum (Butter)» (J. Németh).

En osmanli et en turc moderne «sanglier» s' appelle *yaban domuzu* (Radloff) ; dans le dialecte turc du Rhodope de l'Est — *bayır domuzu* (archives personnelles).

daulhana «timpana» 14'a

J. Németh le cite dans l'article lexical de *daul* «Trommel» (et *hana* «Haus» renvoie à *daulhana*).

Dans un autre monument turc transcrit du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, appelé *Colloquia familiaria turcico-latina* de Jakab Nagy de Harsány on trouve la forme *daulhane* de ce mot, lequel G. Hazai traduit comme «Trommel» (Hazai). Dans le dictionnaire terminologique historique de M. Pakalın, dans les indexes de P. Hammer et dans les dictionnaires lexicaux ce mot fait défaut. Par contre il est conservé en serbocroate et en bulgare ; scr. *dabulhàna*//*daulhàna* «nekogašna turska bojna muzika ; bučna muzika ; svirka uopšte» (RSKNJ), bulg. *daboănă* «tăpan, gog, daul ; baraban» (N. Gerov). Donc *daulhana*/*daulhane* signifierait «un instrument musical militaire (employé également à l'occasion des noces) — grosse-caisse».

demin ogyägy «subex» 10'b

J. Németh y a cherché *demir* «Eisen» et il a transcrit «ogyägy» comme *oc''ac''i*, qu'il a laissé non traduit. Dans l'article lexical d'*oc''ak* «häuslicher Herd, Feuerherd» il renvoie à *demir*. C'est tout.

En réalité, on n'y a pas *demir*, mais la donnée est authentique : *demin ocači*//*demin ocagi*, qui veut dire littéralement «foyer de la religion». Le mot latin «subex» signifie en français «marchepied des dieux (en parlant des nuages)». Donc *demin ocagi* «subex (marchepied des dieux, de la religion)». La forme de *dim* «religion», nous la trouvons encore dans les mots *dimsatici* «proditor (traître (de la religion))», *dimsus* «tyrannus (tyrane — lit. : impi, sans religion)». En turc *demin ocagi* serait *diniñ ocaği*, turc dial. *dinin ocagi*. Ce mot composé serait-il un calque d'une langue cultivée quelconque ? Pour la palatalisation de *g > ç* et pour *i > e* cf. *çoha duçeci* (Voy. *csoha ducsegi*).

deritraszigi «coriarius» 20'b

J. Németh le décompose en *deri* «Haut, Leder» et *traş* qu'il a laissé non traduit, en renvoyant simplement à *deri*.

Nous y cherchons le mot *deri traşici* «corroyeur» qui remonterait au turc des Turcs *deri traş idci* (< *idici*). La chute de *d* devant *c* serait effectuée en turc bosnien; cf. Pakalin: *deri traşlamak* «derinin traş bıçağı ile istenildiği kadar inceltilmesi hakkında kullanılır bir tâbirdir».

domuszdissi «porca (trurie)» 16'a

J. Németh ne le transforme pas. Il le cite dans l'article lexical de *domus* «Schwein» (et donne *dişi* «Weibchen» avec: s. *domus*). Mais il semble que *domusdişi* lui est étrange, car il le munit du signe d'interrogation.

Nous estimons que *domusdişi* est la forme bosnienne de tc. *domuzdişisi* «trurie» (Radloff).

dua aden «orasti (priez)» 38<sup>v</sup>

J. Németh le transforme en *dua ettin* [«aden»]. Il le traduit par «Sie haben ... gebetet».

Pour nous *dua aden* est la forme bosnienne de tc. *dua edin* ou *dua edin* «priez». La présence d'a à la place d'e peut être expliquée de deux manières: 1. par l'assimilation vocalique progressive: *dua aden* (*a e > a a*); 2. par l'existence de la forme *ad-* du verbe auxiliaire défectif *ed-//et-* dans les parlers turcs ou dans la langue turque des non-turcs. Dans un monument transcrit en caractères cyrilliques du siècle dernier nous trouvons de même un autre verbe, où participe ce verbe auxiliaire: *Peeris adersân* «tu jeûnes; tu jeûneras».<sup>3</sup>

dusmanukluk «inimicus (inimité)» 8'a

J. Németh le corrige en *duşmanluk*: «dusman(uk)luk».

Pour nous *duşmanukluk* est authentique. Il remonterait au turc *duşmannuqluq//duşmannukluk* < *duşmanluq* et *-luq*. Donc, on y observe une assimilation consonantique progressive et une accumulation des morphèmes (Voy. csoktandan); cf. Kumanova *çüpliklik* «kura yaprakla örtülü toprak» (Eckmann, p. 116).

L'assimilation s'observe dans la forme dialectale moderne *duşmannık*. Mais *duşmannıklik* ne nous pas encore connu.

ebsanhanluk «sella familiaris (chaise percée; siège)» 10'a

ebsankabi «matula (vase de nuit; pot de chambre)» 10'a

<sup>3</sup> Voy. N. K. Dmitriev, *Materialy po osmanskoj dialektologii. Fonetika «karamalickogo» jazyka*. I—II. In: *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom Muzeu*, 3, 1928; 4, 1929, index, p. 143.

J. Németh y voit *ebsan*, sans le traduire et sans revenir sur *hanluk* et *kabi* ou *kab*.

Nous estimons que ces deux mots contiennent la même base: *ebsanhanluk* remonterait au turc *\*ebsahanluġı* < *ab* «eau» (< pers. *ab* «eau») et *sahanluq*, à l'izafet turc; B. de Meynard: *çahanleq /sahanlıq/* «réunion des plats ou *tabla* servis sur les plateaux, le long du sofa, dans le service à l'ancienne mode». L'épenthèse de *n* s'observe encore dans *sanbah* «matin» 88<sup>r</sup> < *sabah*.

Dans *ebsankabi* on aurait le développement ultérieur de *\*ebsahani*. En turc il pouvait s'entendre comme *\*ebsānqabi//ebsānkabi*, composé de *eb* «eau», *sān* < *sahan* «vase; pot» et *qab//kab* «pot». Donc un mot composé de trois éléments lexicaux, où il faudrait chercher deux étapes de formation: *\*ebsahani* < *\*ebsāni* > *\*ebsānqabi* ou *\*ebsāni* > *\*ebsānqabi//ebsānkabi*. Ce qui nous intrigue c'est la présence de *e*, au lieu de *a*. L'échange, serait-il effectué à la suite de l'association avec *ev* «maison; chambre»: *\*evsahani*?

edi «allons! voyons! allons donc!» 86<sup>r</sup>

Avant ce mot, on lit *ver*. Cela a donné à J. Németh une cause pour les unir dans *veralum* [«veradi»]. Il le rapporte à la phrase précédante: *istermiszünüs mangyaia /istermisünüs manc'aya varalum/* «Wollt ihr essen gehen?». C'est un passage difficile à lire, à déchiffrer. Nous y voyons deux phrases, formant un dialogue:

l'hôtelier: *istermisünüs mancaya* (< *mancayı*) «Voulez-vous les mets?»

les hôtes: *veredi /ver edi/* «Donne donc!», où *edi* remonterait au *hedi//hadi* «allons donc!» En tout cas, nous ne pouvons pas transformer «veredi» en *veralum*. Ce passage n'est pas traduit en italien, ce qui rend difficile la compréhension. L'écrivain bulgare L. Karavelov le donne comme *hejdi* id. (Archives du dic. dial. bulgare).

er- «atteindre» 88<sup>r</sup>

Ce verbe se trouve dans une de deux conversations sur le repas, qui sont écrites d'une manière négligée, sans toujours respecter les normes de ponctuation. On y voit une série d'énonciations familières, mondaines se succéder et on ne peut pas toujours déterminer si on a affaire avec les paroles d'une personne ou de plusieurs personnes, en forme de dialogue. Ainsi: «gairi zeman ben szizi horataederu erszen e szizun szāglogone, verbana etmek». J. Németh lit, transcrit et traduit ce passage de la manière suivante: *gayri zeman ben sizi horata ederum; her-kese* [«erszen e»] *sizun szāglogone*. «ver bana etmek.» «Ein anderes Mal werde ich für euch eine Belustigung veranstalten. Prosit dir und allen. Gib mir Brot.» Ici *szāglogone* est une faute d'imprimerie. Dans son Glossar c'est *sāglogone*. Ainsi J. Németh y voit deux personnes qui parlent.

La traduction italienne est très incomplète: «il sogno altro tempo io voi burlaro, buon provi fai». C'est tout.

La question si ces paroles sont d'une personne ou de deux personnes n'est pas tellement importante. L'important c'est d'extraire l'essentiel — l'énonciation d'une pensée. Nous sommes inclinés à distribuer ces paroles ainsi : *Gayri zeman ben sizi horataederu* — dit Nikolaga qui vient d'entrer. Une personne de la table invite Nikolaga en disant : *Ersen e!* Et Nikolaga répond : *Sizun saglogone!* et en se tournant vers le garçon-l'hôtelier, ou vers une personne de la table, ajoute : *Ver bana etmek*. Ainsi on peut ranger le dialogue comme suit :

— ... *Gayri zeman ben sizi horataederu* «Une autre fois c'est moi qui vous distraira».

— *Ersen e!* «Attends donc; tends ta main donc (pour trinquer les verres)!»

— *Sizun saglogone!* «A votre santé!» *Ver bana etmek*. «Donne-moi du pain.»  
Donc nous estimons que «erszen e» ne doit pas être lu comme *her-kese*.

ezer: Alah vereidi ezer «Deus det suam gratiam» 4'a

J. Németh lit «ezer» comme *ec'er* «wenn, wenn nur». Quant à nous, «ezer» doit être lu comme *ezer*. Dans les parlers turcs balkaniques *ezer*, *ezar*, *hezar* signifient «certes, ma foi». Ils remonteraient au *he zahir*, où *zahir* signifie «évidemment; certainement; sans doute»; Samy-Bey: *zaher* (adv. de l'ar. *zâhyr*) «évidemment; certainement; sans doute» 712; OT *zahir* «bir şeyin dış görünüşü, meydana olan suret». Ainsi «Alah vereidi ezer» /*Alah vereydi ezer*/ signifierait «Plaise à Dieu, certes!» Dans le livre de Nagy de Harsány nous trouvons le souhait : *Allah virmesin!* «ne plaise à Dieu» 21 (Hazai); chez Samy-Bey: *Allah vermessin* id 35.

hipigÿ «restio (marchand de cordes, cordier)» 20'a

J. Németh le lit comme *hipic'i* «Seilschläger» et le fait venir de *ipc'i*. Pour lui, ce mot représente un cas d'Anaptaxis (p. 94).

La forme *hip* de *ip* turc qui signifie «corde, fil» nous trouvons en serbocroate : *hiptan-kazùktan* // *hipten-kazùkten* // *ipten-kazùkten*, abrégé en *hiptan*, *ipten* «mno-ga nečega; i s koca i s konopca (sastalo se, iskupilo se)» (Škaljić). Pour nous *hipici* n'est pas un mot dérivé, mais un mot composé. Il est composé de *hip* «corde, fil» et *iyici* < *iyici* «(ouvrier) fileur»; Radloff: osm. *ij-* «sognut' — zusammenbiegen»; SDD *iğmek* «germek : *ipi iğ*» ou bien dans *ici* il faut chercher *iyirici* «fileur» d'où, avec la chute simultanée de la voyelle atone et de la consonne vibrante on aurait obtenu *iyici* et de là en turc bosnien *ici*.

isarlik «castellino (petite forteresse)» 79'

En se basant sur le sens diminutif de ce mot, J. Németh le lit comme *isarc'ik*, qu'il laisse non traduit.

On peut admettre qu'*isarlık* remonte au tc. *hisarlıq* dont abondent les Balkans et la Turquie moderne. En Bulgarie on a *Hisarlăka* en bulgare, *Hisarlık* en turc (actuellement Zgrade), village, district de Nevrokop (Spisak na naselenite mesta, Sofia 1945, p. 25), *Isarlăk* en bulgare, *Isarlık*, *Hisarlık* en turc, plaine, rattachée à la ville de Razgrad;<sup>4</sup> *Hisarlık*, *Hissarlık* est le nom de la colline célèbre de Troie en Anatolie (IA).

*Hisarlık* signifie «lieu de ruines de forteresse», «lieu de restes de forteresse» et de là peut se rapporter à la signification de «petite forteresse». Mais nous ne l'aurions pas transformé en *isarcik*.

kabah «urna (urne, sorte de grande vase à puiser de l'eau)» 10<sup>a</sup>

J. Németh reconstruit «kabah» comme *kabal*? «Eimer».

Mais «kabah» est donné comme le synonyme de *ulcsi* /*ulçi*/ «mesure ; mesure de liquide». Ici et *ulçi* et *kabah* seraient employés pour exprimer «une vase de mesure ; litre». *Kabah* est la variante à *h* de *kabak* «kadeh, testi, şarap kabı» (TTSI). Dans le manuscrit d'Illésházy il y a d'autres mots où l'on observe ce phénomène — l'emploi de *h*, au lieu de *q*/*k* qui est un trait anatolien, étranger aux parlers turcs balkaniques modernes.

köl «corda» 15<sup>a</sup>

La signification de «corda» latin est double «corde» et «tripe (mets)». J. Németh y a cherché le premier sens, ce qui l'a invité de rapporter *köl* à *kıl* «Haar». Mais le mot *kıl* «étoupe» se représente dans le manuscrit d'Illésházy par *kel*, employé dans *domuskele* «étoupe de porc ; poil de porc».

Nous y voyons la variante palatale de *qol*//*kol*. La réalisation palatale de certains mots de la classe vélaire à cette époque serait assez répandue. Le livre de Nagy de Harsány en témoigne bien ; cf. encore Radloff : osm. *ijnä jürdüsi* «igol'noe uško — das Nadelöhr», qui en turc moderne est *igne yurdusu*. Ainsi *köl* serait détaché d'un autre élément avec lequel il formerait un mot composé au sens de «tripe (mets)». Un tel composé en turc moderne est *kol sucuk* : bir kol sucuk «une pièce de saucisse» (lit. «un bras de saucisse»). Alors *köl* signifiera «tripes, remplies dans une pièce de boyau».

köl «lapillus (petit caillou, petite pierre)» 5<sup>b</sup>

J. Németh a corrigé le mot latin «lapillus» en «capillus» et a rapporté «köl» de nouveau à *kıl* «Haar».

<sup>4</sup> J. Zaimov, *Prinos kām proučvaneto na mestnite imena v južna Dobrudža*. In: Dobrudžanska ekspedicija 1954. Sofia, BAN 1956, p. 219.



Encore une fois nous y chercherons la forme palatale du mot turc *kol* «susuz dere; güherçile (vallée, ruisseau sans eau; nitre, salpêtre)» (SDD), Radloff: osm. *qol* «razvvetvlenie — die Verweigung; *nährin qolu* rukav reki — der Arm eines Flusses», *sagaj qol* «nizmennost', dolina (bez reki) — die Niederung, Thalhöhlung (ohne Fluss)».

Ainsi *kōl* serait une forme palatale osmanlie, non attestée encore dans les monuments étudiés jusqu'à présent, de *qol*. On peut le conférer avec *çay* «terrain sablonneux fin (probablement délaissé par un ruisseau)» dans le dialecte turc du Rhodope de l'est de la Bulgarie (archives personnelles). Donc *kōl* «petit caillou (du lit délaissé du ruisseau)» n'aura rien de commun avec *kıl* «Haar».

kumilluk «arenaria atramenti (pierre poreuse)» 14<sup>a</sup>

J. Németh le donne comme *kum<sup>l</sup>luk* «Streusand» en le faisant venir de tc. *kumluk*.

Ne serait-il pas plus juste de y voir un mot composé *kumilluk*, forme bosnienne de tc. *\*qumillugi//qumillügi* qui littéralement signifierait «endroit à sable fin, de pierre poreuse»? *Kumilluk* se compose de *kum* «sable» et *illuk* «endroit; pays»; cf. osm. *illik* «memleket malı, beğlik» (TTSIV). La forme turque de *illuk* serait *illük* et dialectale *illuk*, de *il* «pays» + *-lük*; cf. Radloff: anc. ujur *il* «1. mesto okolo dverı, mesto, gde sid'at prostye l'udi (protivopoložnoe: tör početnoe mesto) — die Stelle bei der Thür, die Stelle in der Jurte, wo das gemeine Volk Platz nimmt (Gegensatz: tör — der Ehrenplatz); 2. nizko postavlenyj, nizkij — der Niedriggestellte, Niedrige».

mugyalebcsi «typographus (typographe)» F 19<sup>v</sup>

J. Németh le prend tel quel, sans le transcrire et traduire et suppose qu'il remonte au *muc<sup>u</sup>ellid* [*muc<sup>u</sup>ellid-başı?*] «Buchbinder» et au *matba<sup>a</sup>ac<sup>i</sup>* «Buchdrucker».

Nous allons le transcrire comme *mucelebçi* et le rapporter à *mücellid* «relieur». La forme *mücelled* signifie «relié» et encore «volume, tome». Le peuple aurait contaminé *mücellid* avec *mücelled* et formé un nouveau mot turc *\*mücelledci* ou *\*mucelletçi* qui en turc bosnien donnerait *\*muceleçi* (pour la chute de *t* devant *ç* cf. slave méridional *otče* > *oče* «père»). La labiale *b*, qui dans la prononciation serait *p* (*mucelepçi*) peut être anorganique (quoique son apparition est souvent suscitée par la présence de *m*, comme dans *elimbden* < *elimden* «de la science» 77').

Encore *mucelebçi* peut être formé de *mücellid* > *mücellit*//*mucellit* «relieur» + *-çi*, suffixe des noms d'agents turcs; cf. parlers tc. balkaniques *bağçıvancı* «jardinier», de *bağçıvan* «jardinier» et *-cı*, même suffixe.<sup>5</sup> Alors le passage d'*i* en

<sup>5</sup> Nous revenons sur cette question dans notre article «Parler turc de Florina». In: Linguistique Balkanique, XIII, 1969, 1, p. 118, § 62.1.

e serait effectué après la formation de la nouvelle dérivée : *mucellit* > \**mucelletçi* > \**muceleçi* > *mucelebçi*. On peut encore admettre que *mucelebçi* est une formation turque de *mucelled*//*mucellet* «volume, tome» + *-çi*, c'est-à-dire «qui fait des volumes ; typographe».

En dernier lieu nous pouvons admettre que dans la transcription de ce mot il peut y avoir une faute, avec l'indication de *d* comme *b*.

parmakapi «patibulum (patibule, fourche patibulaire, sorte de gibet où l'on attachait les esclaves pour les battre de verges)» 13<sup>a</sup>

J. Németh le corrige comme *dar-âğac*''i «Galgen» «P[D] ar(m)ak[g]ap[g]i»

Encore un mot non connu jusqu'à présent. Chez Samy-Bey *parmaq* signifie «rayon d'une roue § grillage» 281. En osmanli du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, on trouve l'expression *parmak getirmek* «iymana getirmek (convertir à la religion)» (TTSI). On peut supposer que cette expression contient précisément la notion d'un instrument de torture, employé dans le convertissement à la religion (à une religion : probablement dans notre cas : à la religion musulmane).

Ainsi dans *parmakapi* nous voyons la forme bosnienne de tc. *parmaqqağı*//*parmakapi* qui littéralement signifie «porte-grille» qui nous fait allusion aux portails des forteresses. Serviraient-elles, ces portails en fer grillé, d'instrument de torture ? Ou bien est-il question d'une autre «porte-grille» spéciale pour torturer les gens ? Nous n'avons pas pu le trouver ni dans le dictionnaire des termes historiques ottomans de M. Pakalın, ni dans les indexes de P. Hammer. Mais il a dû exister un tel mot et un tel instrument de supplice. Dans le livre de Nagy de Harsány on trouve un autre instrument de supplice. C'est *tactakula*, lequel G. Hazai traduit par «Holzfessel» (Hazai).

pucsrük «mutus (muet, silencieux ; dont on ne parle pas ; obscur, ignoré)» 6<sup>a</sup>

J. Németh lit «pucsrük» come «tucsrük» et «mutus» comme «mucus» tout en indiquant «pucsrük» et «mutus». Il transcrit «tucsrük» comme *tuç''rük* et le traduit comme «Speichel, Spuck, Rotz».

Mais à la même page du manuscrit d'Illésházy, on trouve encore «tucsrük» «saliva», ce qui prouve que pucsrük «mutus» est un autre mot. La forme turque de *puçruk* serait *pükrük*. Donc, c'est un mot de la classe palatale. Il serait originairement lié avec tc. *bük-* «tordre § filer § plier § courber ; fair fléchir» (Samy-Bey, 266). Dans la langue turque des Barabas on a *pökülük* «sgorbivšijs'a — zusammengekrümmt» (Radloff), dans les dialectes turcs anatoliens : *büklük* «hafif bulutlu hava (temps légèrement nuageux)», *bükrü* «kambur (courbé)» (SDD). On peut supposer

que l'ancienne forme de *bükrü* fut *\*bükrük* < *\*bükürük*. Alors *pükrük* serait une variante à *p* de *\*bükrük* et signifierait originairement «personne courbée» et de là par métaphore «personne timide, renfermée, peu communicative».

szeferi dua «brevis oratio» 38<sup>a</sup> (deux fois)

J. Németh y trouve l'expression *sıfiri dua* «kurzes Gebet», où *sıfiri* signifierait «sehr wenig» (!) *Sıfiri*, s'il existait, devait signifier «nul», de *sıfir* «zero» et *sıfiri dua* — «prière nulle».

Mais *seferi dua* existe dans la langue turque et signifie «prière courte, faite avant la campagne, avant le voyage» < ar. *seferi du'a*. Chez M. Pakalın on a la forme turquisée de cette expression. C'est *sefer duası* «Yeniçeriler tarafından harb sahası dâhilinde oldukları zamanlarda ikindi namazı kılındıktan sonra toplu olarak yapılan dua hakkında kullanılır bir tâbirdir» (Pakalın).

szumucs «sangvisuga (sangsue)» 17<sup>b</sup>

J. Németh le transcrit comme *sul[«m»]uç* «Blutegel» et y cherche une contamination de *sülük* «Blutegel», *sümük* «Rotz» et *sümüklü böcek* «Schrecke».

Mais il semble que *sumuç* en turc bosnien et *sümük* en turc des Turcs est authentique et remonte au verbe turc *süm-* «sosat' i golovoj udarit' vym'a (o molodyh životnyh) saugen und mit dem Kopfe gegen den Enter stossen (von jungen — Thiren)». On peut accepter que *süm-* a donné *sümük* qui par suite de la délabialisation consonantique devient *\*sünük* et de là la forme moderne *sülük*. Ou bien *sümük* < *\*sümmük* < *\*sümlük* > *\*sünlük* > *sülük*. Ou encore le verbe *süm-* anciennement était *\*sün-* et le substantif *\*sünük* «sangsue» devient d'une part *sümük* (parallèlement avec le verbe *\*sün-* > *süm-*) et d'autre part *\*sünük* > *sülük*; cf. anc. uigur *sünük* «os» (Radloff) et osm. *sümük* «os» (Radloff).

seher «oppidum (ville)» 13<sup>a</sup>, 51<sup>v</sup>

Il y a encore une autre forme graphique de ce mot. C'est *szeher-*: *szeherde* «in ciuitate» 44<sup>r</sup>, lesquels J. Németh lit comme *şehir* «Stadt». Cela peut être juste. Car chez Samy-Bey on a précisément *chéheur* et *chehr* «ville; cité § La ville de Constantinople», 635. Mais il semble que l'on y a précisément la forme *şehar*, attestée encore dans le livre de Nagy de Harsány *seher//şehar* (Hazai), dans les monuments turcs en caractères grecs, appelés *karamanlis şehir* (Eckmann, 179, 185), azerb. *şähär* id., en serbocroate *šëher//šeer//šer* id. (Škaljić). Voilà pourquoi nous estimons que «seher» doit être lu comme *şehar*, qui, dans la prononciation des Turcs, pouvait s'entendre comme *şehär*.

seideildur «malus (mauvais)» 7<sup>a</sup>

J. Németh le lit comme *ei deildur* et la place dans l'article de *ei* «gut, wohl» : «(s)eiðeildur».

Nous y trouvons *şey deildur* «ce n'est pas une chose (précieuse)» c'est-à-dire «c'est mauvais». La même expression se trouve dans le livre de Nagy de Harsány : *şej degil* : *derlerki* : *şej degil*, *tembel*, *akilbiz*, *zalumdur* etc. «on dit qu'il (le grand vizir) est mauvais, paresseux, imprudent, tyran etc. (en latin: *illum nullius momenti hominem*, *pigrum*, *imprudentum* & *tyrannum* dicent & c.)» (Hazai). Cette expression existe encore dans la langue *şey değil* «cela ne vaut pas grande chose ; c'est mauvais».

suun etmek «faire l'honneur» 87<sup>r</sup>

Ce verbe se trouve dans le passage suivant : *Sen olun. Suru eileun. bir iszi suun etmek gýerek . . . /Şen olun. Şuru eyleun. birisi şuun etmek cerek,* / «Soyez gais ! Commencez (à manger ! ) Il faut que quelqu'un fasse l'honneur (de commencer)», où *şuun* (azerb. *şüun* «les honneurs») est le plur. arabe de *şan* (ar. *şu'ün*). Chez Samy-Bey *şuün* (plur. de *şā'n*) «nouvelles faces ; nouvelles choses & accidents ; nouvelles», 635.

J. Németh a corrigé «suun» en *şurü* «Beginnen».

*talumhana* «velli fatio (lieu propre aux exercices militaires ; champ-de-mars ; champ-de-manceuvres)» 12<sup>a</sup>

J. Németh l'a partagé en *talum* et *hana*, et *talum* fut transformé en *tulum* «Schlauch» : «ta[u]lmhana»

Nous estimons qu'ici on a *talumhana*, ancienne forme de *ta'lîm-khâné* «lieu propre aux exercices militaires ; champs-de-mars ; champs-de manœuvres» (Samy-Bey, 336). Le mot *tulum* dans le manuscrit d'Illésházy s'écrit comme *tulum* : *aiak tulum*, *meher tulum*.

*talungýszi* «equorum instructor (écuyer)» 15<sup>b</sup>

J. Németh partant de la signification latine, transforme ce mot en *tavlac*''i «Stallmeister, Stallknecht» : «tal[u]n[a]gýszi».

*Tavlac* s'écrit dans le manuscrit comme *taulagý* «stabularius». Alors que *talancisi* est indiqué comme synonyme de *sarakor* < *sārahor* «écuyer» (du pers. *sār* «tête ; chef» et pers. *ahor* «écurie» : *sārahor* «lit. : chef de l'écurie»). Dans *taluncisi* nous voyons une construction d'izafet turc *at taluncisi* < *at talumcisi* (Voy. plus haut *talumhana*). L'alternance de *m* avec *n* est un phénomène très fréquent dans le

manuscrit d'Illésházy. *Taluncisi* est précédé de *atlanmak* «conscendere equum». Il est possible que dans la conscience linguistique du Bosnien il fut associé mécaniquement avec ce verbe qui contient de même le mot *at* «cheval». En tout cas, il est incontestable qu'il s'agit ici de *at taluncisi*.

te «voilà! tiens!» 85<sup>r</sup>

Cette particule se trouve dans la phrase suivante: «oilete iakandur». /*oyle te yakandur*/ «Voilà, le midi est proche». *Te* est une particule très répandue dans les parlers turcs balkaniques, en bulgare et en serbocroate. Le même élément se trouve dans *ište* «voilà!; tiens!»

J. Németh a lu «oilete iakandur» comme *oyleye yakandur*. «Es ist nahe dem Mittag.» Mais pourquoi *oyleye*? On a l'expression *öyleye yakın* «vers midi», mais *öyleye yakındır* nous paraît bizarre.

vel «ou» 22<sup>b</sup>

Cette conjonction sert à indiquer la synonymie entre les expressions suivantes: *szaktarafa vel szakgyani bone /sak tarafa vel sak canibone/* «ad dextram (à droite)» et *szolgyani bone vel szol tarafa /sol canibone vel sol tarafa/* «ad sinistram (à gauche)», envers laquelle J. Németh ne prend pas une attitude. Serait-elle un mot turc ou se rapporterait-elle au latin *vel* «ou»? Les mots latins *vel* «ou», *seu* «ou» sont assez souvent employés dans le livre de N. de Harsány, mais en cursives. Une seule fois *vel* y est employé en caractère non cursifs et fut corrigé par G. Hazai en *ve* «und» (en latin *ac* «et»).

Pour «ou» dans le manuscrit d'Illésházy on emploie une abréviation. I. En relation de ce signe J. Németh écrit ceci: «Die Verkürzung s. = *seu* «oder» wird oft «I» geschrieben» (p. 22). Mais il faut faire attention que dans tous les cas la lettre *I* est précédée d'un point, qui peut bien marquer l'absence du commencement d'un mot, qui serait précisément *vel* «ou». Alors on peut dire que les synonymes y sont séparés par *I* (< *vel* «ou») et deux fois par *vel* «ou».

Si *vel* était turc on serait porté à le prendre pour une forme réduite de l'osm. *velehu*, chez Samy-Bey: *vé-lé-hu /velehü/* «idem, par le même. On en fait usage pour indiquer le commencement d'une autre stance du même poète» 1157 qui est d'origine arabe. Mais *vel* y serait latin.

iurtlerum — iurtum «fabrico» 24<sup>b</sup>

Pour J. Németh *yurtlerum* est un mot inconnu.

La signification de *fabrico* est large «façonner, faire, travailler, confectionner, forger, bâtir, construire». Les verbes *yurtlerum*, *yurtum* sont différents: *yurtlerum*

remonterait au tc. *üyürtlerüm* «je choisis» avec la chute de *ü* initiale. Son sens régional serait un peu changé et devenu «? je façonne, je fais, je fabrique»; *yurtum* ne serait pas le passé défini de *yurtle-* qui donnerait *yurtledum*, mais de tc. *yürüt-* «faire marcher; mettre en mouvement»: *yurtum* < tc. *yürttüm* < *yürüttüm*.

La traduction d'un verbe latin avec deux verbes différents turcs n'est pas rare dans le manuscrit d'Illésházy: cf. *ardisora gyderum* — *gyetistum* servent à traduire latin *sequor* 26<sup>b</sup>, où *ardi sora ciderum* s'associe avec *git* — «aller; partir» et *cetiştum* — avec *yetiş* — «arriver; parvenir; atteindre».

*yurtmatluk* «aedificium (édifice)» 12<sup>a</sup>

J. Németh le laisse tel quel, en y ajoutant *yuzt* + *tam*, auxquels nous n'avons pu donner aucune explication (*yuzt* serait pour *yurt* — faute d'imprimerie?).

Il est évident qu'on y a le mot bien connu *yurt* «habitat». Ensuite vient *mat* qui remonterait à l'osm. *mahatt* «habitat» (ar.) et le suffixe *-luk*. Donc, *yurtmahatluk*// *yurtmahattluq* > *yurtmātluk* > *yurtmatluk*.

## CONCLUSION

Nous venons de réhabiliter quelques mots seulement. Il y en a d'autres, dont plusieurs ne sont pas encore explicables, mais avec le temps et l'application des turkologues ils seront documentés et expliqués. Nous sommes loin de prétendre que nos explications sont toujours justes, équitables. La plupart des mots repris par nous ne sont pas encore prouvés, mais seulement «expliqués», «étudiés» autant que nos forces et l'appareil lexicologique dont nous disposons nous l'ont permis. Mais nous avons voulu attirer l'attention sur l'authenticité du manuscrit d'Illésházy et d'écarter le scepticisme un peu trop sévère de J. Németh.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- IA — *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Istanbul 1940.  
OT — M. N. Özön, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Sözlük*. Istanbul 1965.  
Redh. — Redhouse, James W.: *A Turkish and English Lexicon*. New Impression. Constantinople 1921—1968, Redhouse Press.  
RSKNJ — *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog i narodnog jezika*. Beograd 1959.  
SDD — *Türkiyede Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi*. Istanbul 1939—1947.  
TTS — *XIII. Yüzyıldan Günümüze kadar Kitaplardan Toplanmış Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*. I—IV, Istanbul—Ankara 1943—1957.

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| ar.    | — arabe,          |
| azerb. | — azerbaidjanais, |
| bulg.  | — bulgare,        |
| osm.   | — osmanli,        |
| pers.  | — persan,         |
| scr.   | — serbocroate,    |
| tc.    | — turc.           |

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## MARGINAL SITUATIONS ARISING FROM THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND PRAGMATIC PATTERNS OF THINKING

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Interaction, i.e. mutual causation, may be considered an objective way of explaining phenomena. Communication tends to be more subjective by introducing concepts like communicator, communicatee, code, strategies of communication. Various languages and cultures have their particularities. The present paper investigates the problems of interaction-communication in an African bilingual set-up.

### Motto:

"Here we stand  
Infants overblown,  
Poised between two civilizations,  
Finding the balance irksome,  
Itching for something to happen,  
To tip us one way or the other,  
Groping in the dark for a helping hand  
And finding none."

Mabel Segun: "Conflict"  
Nigerian poetess

"Les mots sont des totems sous toutes les latitudes,  
Qui murmurent des secrets aux oreilles initiées,  
Les éperviers dans le ciel dessient des hieroglyphes,  
Les sources chuchotent des chants cabalistiques."

François Sengat-Kuo: "Collier de Cauris"  
Cameroun poet

### INTRODUCTION

The Yoruba language<sup>1</sup> reveals various aspects of popular psychology. It has been geared to express traditional beliefs and patterns of life with corresponding attitudes

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<sup>1</sup> Biobaku, S. O.: *The Origin of the Yoruba*. Lagos, Nigeria, University of Lagos 1971, p. 23. The



toward reality. Thus, the language imposes a certain spell on those who have grown up in the traditional Yoruba set-up.

Educated Yorubas are bilingual, they speak both their ethnic language and English which is the national language of Nigeria. In the family the husband has a better chance to have got also a non-traditional education; on the other hand, the influence of the mother on the physical and mental development of the child is predominant mainly up to the age of six. Even non-educated Yorubas have occasionally to speak English in towns and they do it by blending languages. The situation between traditional and national patterns of thinking and acting may become a marginal one with side-effects on personality formation. The English language with its attitudes to reality adds a dimension to personality: it is being acquired mainly at schools along with literacy, while the mother tongue is not; the former is often accompanied by different aspirations, status, and attitudes of the mind.

The National Technical Teachers College, Lagos-Yaba, Nigeria, is an institution originally sponsored by UNESCO. Its aim is to raise technically-skilled secondary-school teachers. During the period 1969—1971 the College had 250 students from all parts of Nigeria, part of them in their twenties attending three-year courses, and others in their thirties and forties attending one-year in-service courses. One third of the students were Yorubas, ten per cent of the students were women. Each case was treated as unique, all put together were investigated as to common features, the Yoruba, in this case, having to demonstrate the problem.

The method was one of participant observation for a period of 28 months and years of subsequent study of the results. We had to keep in mind the students' home-education, their future careers, their learning situation at college in its classrooms, workshops, during industrial and teacher-training practices. Papers of students amounting to one thousand were perused and subsequently revised, formulations in English and Yoruba related to behavioural patterns and the working of the languages. This helped us to gain an insight into the way reality was approached in the national and traditional set-ups, the various value-judgements, the skills needed, the tensions arising.

There can be little doubt that the other language is "ever present" with bilingual students and speakers. This becomes clear from occasional errors, pronunciation,

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author characterizes the Yorubas as polytheistic in religion, of artistic culture, urbanized farmers with political institutions of small chiefdoms and large kingdoms practising a monarchical democracy.

Fedipe, N. A.: *The Sociology of the Yoruba*. Ibadan, Nigeria, Ibadan University Press 1970, p. 7: "Yoruba belongs to the Sudanic family of languages, the vocabulary of which is built largely of monosyllabic words, and of words which can be broken into their monosyllabic elements. This places it in the same group of isolating languages as Chinese and makes it of necessity a tonal language."

Joseph Greenberg (*Studies in African Linguistic Classification*) classifies Yoruba as belonging to the Niger-Congo family, the Kwa subfamily of languages.

ways of formulating ideas. It was our aim to develop a sense of meaningful coherence between the national and traditional aspects of life, to raise a skilful and balanced personality.

In a bilingual set-up, where two languages relate to marked backgrounds, the mind moves on various occasions in a marginal area. In an effort to cope with the situations, different configurations develop. The process includes certain dangers: strains, complexes may develop; on the other hand, the process enhances a certain flexibility of the mind, the inevitable adaptation to the needs of a growing and developing society. That is why the investigation of the process seems to be so important in the field of personality development, language, education, and nation-building at large.

## INTERACTION BETWEEN MOTHER AND CHILD AND COMMUNICATION

The Yoruba culture and language have a common denominator: they reveal similar attitudes of the mind. Both have to be considered open, not closed systems. The Yoruba language reflects particular experiences of a sensitive mind with a powerful imagination.

The pattern of interaction-communication between mother and child during the first years of its life is such an experience. The Yoruba mother carries her baby strapped to her back for many hours a day when she works, trades, makes visits. Breastfeeding lasts about three years and during this time sexual intercourse with the husband is prohibited in traditional families. The mother devotes all her attention to the child, the resulting attachment between mother and child is deep and lasting.

The child strapped to its mother's back communicates with her in a way which reminds in some respect of the prenatal pattern: the child is "unseen, unheard", intensely perceived by contact of bodies and there is a constant flow of communication between mother and child. The child is in "full possession" of the mother's body, perceives reality through her and the mother feels what the child wants or needs. Both are in mutual rapport while the child sleeps or is in a state between dreaming and waking. The child is thus encouraged to a certain non-verbal communication; later, this skill is developed and has a bearing on language.

To understand what a word means it is necessary to relate it to the situation of daily life, customs, beliefs, ways of speaking. The world is conceived by the Yorubas as a real and spiritual phenomenon, a stage crowded with beings both real and spiritual who perform activities: real, symbolical, spiritual. This conception and language are related.

Let us give an example for this inner coherence. The relation between mother and child is reminiscent in the traditional society of that between a king and his people. The people is spiritually owned by the king who lives "unheard, unseen" in the

palace. Customs differ somewhat, but this seems a general rule. The word for king is *oní*, from the verb *ní* which means it is/it was, to possess, *ní* (with high tone) means to say, to be in, to possess, to own. The prefix may have come from *ó* which means he/she/it; the high tone not being admitted in a prefix, it disappeared here.

All these are ideas expressing the spiritual power of the ruler and his spell. The Oni of Ifé is the spiritual ruler of all Yorubas, he lives in Ilé Ifé town, a place sacred to the Yorubas as the one where original creation of all mankind is supposed to have taken place in times of mythology. The Oni of Ifé may mean literally the “owner of the place of love, marriage”.<sup>2</sup> The *oni* is both the spiritual father of an ideally conceived polygynous family and the image of the child conceived by the mother. The father has the power to start the process of reincarnation of the ancestral spirits, and the first cry of the newborn child announces their arrival. Similarly, the king is supposed to be in contact with superior beings, he speaks with their voice.

Equivalent words for oni-king, owner, are Yoruba prefixes *ẹl/ọl/al*. Thus, the sea is owned by the sea-god Olokun, the sky by the sky-god Olorun, the soul by Eḽemi. The concept of ownership spread into daily life, the owner of a car is *onímótò*, the dancer is *oníjò* (the owner of dancing), the householder *onilé*.

## POPULAR FESTIVALS

The students seemed to enjoy describing various popular festivals, their accounts were often remarkable by the vivid description and a deep attachment: fathers, relatives, they themselves had to play a role in the festive activities. These festivals were occasions when myths were and still are enacted by symbolic gestures. Let us examine one such festival which commemorates the exploits of the iron-god Ògún. The festival takes place each year in the town of Ire and has been described by one of the students, a native of the village-township.<sup>3</sup> First, the student describes who Ògún was: he is supposed to have been a superior being who descended from the sky on the thread of a spider. This may be an allusion to a child hanging on the umbilical cord. Later, he cut his way through the jungle with a giant cutlass and took possession of the earth. Again this may be understood in symbolic language: the farmer cuts down the bush and tills the earth, he “marries” her like a woman. Heaven and earth

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<sup>2</sup> Ilé Ifé, the spiritual capital of the traditional Yoruba culture, may be interpreted as follows: *lé* is a verb meaning to be own: and Geoffrey Parrinder (*African Mythology*, p.20) interprets *ifé* as “wide”, from the verb *fẹ* — to be broad, but a more adequate verb seems to be *fẹ*, which has the same high tone, and means to want, to love, to woo, to marry. The prefixes give the verb a meaning between a noun and a pronoun-predicate. Freely interpreted the meaning is “the place of marriage, creation”. This corresponds to beliefs.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the student is Olatunji, Wealth has been Awaken — hinting toward the beliefs that children are reincarnations and the most precious property. Similar meanings of names are widespread.

are linked up intimately to the life of the farmer. Ògún clad in iron garment stained with blood is a third manifestation of the god, the warrior, hunter, maybe a far-off reminiscence of an old migration.

The festival lasts 7 days, each day one of the chiefs has to cut 7 sacrificial articles in two halves by a single stroke. The stroke must be perfect. Ògún may be interpreted as “the striking one”, from *gún* — strike, pound, stab. The chief administering a perfect stroke may claim to possess the qualities of the god, otherwise he is doomed and in the past had to die. The perfect stroke of Ògún is always just, the god does not tolerate injustice, he is the personification of justice; the ineffective stroke is unjust, against the fundamental conceptions of the traditional society.

Ògún is the god of farmers, warriors, the protector of healers, those who cut ritual face-marks, who wield iron tools, drive cars, he is invoked as witness by those who in good faith kiss an iron cutlass, his symbol. During the festival, worshippers adorn themselves with palm-fronds which convey the idea of trust. Palm fronds and other objects convey messages from man-to-man, from spirits and superior beings to man and the other way round. The world is perceived as full of wonders, signs and meanings. The attachment to traditional values strengthens the power of symbols over the individual. Festivals have to upgrade these values, confirm the symbols, restore traditional order within society and the minds of the participants.

## THE CONCEPTION OF THE SELF AND SELF-REALIZATION

The Yoruba conception of the self consists of a set of shrewd observations and symbolic allusions. The self consists of parts: the physical body called *ara*, the heart-soul called *okan* which is the seat of action and thought, indestructible, transmitted from generation to generation. Modern scientists would attribute this role to the genetic code and to the “id” in the Freudian sense. The “superego” is conceived in Yoruba as *Èlèmi*, the “owner of spirits”.<sup>4</sup> Other parts of the self are *eye* — the source of rational acts, *inú* — the mind,<sup>5</sup> *ojiji* — the shadow<sup>6</sup> which watches over man and accompanies him through life. The self is thus conceived as a dynamical system, those who understand the working of the system and the symbolic language can give advice, guide and explain in a way remotely hinting toward psychoanalysis.

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<sup>4</sup> *Èmi* means life, spirit, *Èl-èmi* is the Owner of Life and the Spirit of Life. It may be interesting to note that *èmi* with a middle tone at the end means I, me, it is an emphatic pronoun, *mi* being an unemphatic pronoun.

<sup>5</sup> *Inú* means inside, belly, contrasted with *ara*, the physical body, *inú* is the mind and hints toward a mental state.

<sup>6</sup> *Ojiji* — the Shadow contains the verb *jí* which means to wake, to waken, but also to do something stealthily. The verb is repeated and prefixed to make a noun of it.

Names are considered as part of the self. They indicate a certain image of the self, its status and mission. The *orílẹ̀* — name<sup>7</sup> originally indicated the totem of the individual and group, e.g. the elephant was the totem of a noble family. The *àbísọ* — name<sup>8</sup> hinted to events, visions, divination, e.g. the name Babátúndé meaning 'Father has returned' and is given to those who were born after the death of the father or grandfather and are supposed to be their reincarnations. The names of the students offered an interesting insight how their self had been perceived in their homes and that roughly corresponded to their self-image. When the individual loosened his ties with the home, the image was weakened and a dimension was lost to him, reminiscences, nevertheless, remained.

Self-realization is achieved by *àláfíà*, which may be freely interpreted as the owner of goodness, of what is good. *Àláfíà* is a state of harmony and prosperity within the extended family, a state of maturity, wisdom, peace, of having lots of children, relatives, enjoying the favour of superior beings. The festivities in honour of Ògún, mentioned above, are also supposed to contribute to this state of *àláfíà* by promoting peace within the community, gaining the favour of superior beings, enhancing the fertility of women. *Àláfíà* has some resemblance with *salam* or *shalom*, the Hausa *ş' alafia ní* — peace be with you. Disease destroys *àláfíà* and is a sign of the loss of favour of superior beings, of witchcraft and bad magic. The process of healing is the recuperation of *àláfíà*. While some may ask the doctor to find for them the right treatment for a given disease, others may ask for an advice how to restore *àláfíà*, some may ask for both.

Moral principles vary. The character of animals reflects the code of conduct: the wisdom of the tortoise, the fighting spirit of the lizard; toward superior beings the conduct is of a higher order.

The Yoruba mind is a complex one ranging from insight to credulity. The ifa-divination system, e.g., is based on a pun. The story reports that the *orí*, which means head/fate (from *rí* = to see), is made of clay by the potter-god who leaves on it some cracks. The wise ifa-priest has a way of finding out how to remedy them. There are 4096 ifa stories which the priest must learn by heart. The stories contain the bulk of traditional wisdom and myths of the Yorubas, a considerable amount to be learned. The figure equals  $2^{12}$ , a rather sophisticated mathematical concept. Divination uses a board and palm kernels which are arranged in pairs on the board. Each arrangement of bits — pairs means a story out  $2^{12}$ . The correct interpretation of the story for a given case is the content of divination. The method of arranging pairs seems haphazard, but the system suggests some former skill used for other purposes, maybe technical.

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<sup>7</sup> *Orílẹ̀* is composed of *orí* — the head/fate and *ilẹ̀* — ground, land. Freely interpreted: Where the Fate has its Root.

<sup>8</sup> *Àbísọ* given at birth, from *bí* — to bear and *sọ* — to pronounce, the name pronounced at birth.

There are other indications that in the past the Yorubas disposed with skills passed into oblivion. The statues unearthed by Leo Frobenius at Ilé Ifé show examples of art hardly surpassed in history in their perfection. They may be thousand years old or even more, and differ from contemporary art in the Yorubaland.

Such phenomena remind us of the multiple dimensions of the Yoruba mind and its peripeteia in the course of history.

## LANGUAGE AND LOGIC

The spell of the Yoruba language on the traditional society is powerful thanks to the coherence between traditional beliefs and the way the language operates. The spell is more effective when accompanied by moods and procedures which are characteristic for the traditional society and may diminish when this is not the case. One aspect of such common link between tradition and language is the anthropomorphic conception of the world which permeates the language.

Familiarity with beliefs and customs is inevitable for an understanding. To give an example: *kú* means to die/be dead, the Yoruba greeting is *okú* — luminous spirit. The belief is that a person which lived a worthy life becomes a luminous spirit after death, just the thing people wish each other when they greet, and *kú* means also be greeted. Such a greeting makes death less threatening in a country where the death rate used to be high. The greeting may thus have also a psychological effect.

Ideas are expressed in Yoruba along lines in which they are perceived. Emotions and sensations are commonly expressed as if they descended upon man from without. The idea "I am cold" is formulated "cold catches me" (*òtútù mú mí* — literally: which is cold catches me; from *tutù* — to be cold, the one-syllable verb is repeated with tone modification). Similarly "I am surprised" is formulated "it opened my mouth". Reality may be perceived as states of one's own body: "I am happy" is "my body is sweet".

All this confirms that language expresses a stream of imagination working within the framework of tradition, both being conditioned by each-other. Attitudes of the mind, customs, beliefs find an adequate expression in language. Those ideas which seem vague and diffuse gain an appropriate meaning within the framework of traditional life, customs, beliefs. The national language works along different lines; it is being acquired along with literacy, it lacks some of the memories of childhood and the intimate relationship with traditional life. Literacy is acquired with the skill of abstract, analytical thinking along general terms. This pattern of thinking inculcated together with literacy is based on the principle that each word can be reduced to simple sounds, each sound having an abstract sign and being generally accepted not as a shared and guarded secret of the local community, but as a tool of a large-scale, impersonal social body. The same system is being applied to deal with mathematical,

physical, chemical phenomena by formulae; the same procedure is used in legal or administrative matters, medicine etc. Concepts are arranged systematically into categories; quantities, qualities, time acquire particular meaning.

The system of signs used by the preliterate society in the form of carvings, masks, etc. portrayed beings, their power, status, activities and were intended to convey demands from people to superior beings and vice versa, to explain natural and other phenomena largely through signs and portents.

## MARGINAL SITUATIONS

Some of the differences between traditional values and ways, on the one hand, and the more pragmatic national ones, on the other, are given in Table 1. Life reveals many more every day. The limits are not always clear as there are several layers of tradition and pragmatism.

Our college was one of those places where both systems had to be meaningfully integrated to become ultimately part of the student's self. To achieve this was a challenge for the individual student himself, what we could offer was insight, encouragement and help in the understanding of the issue.

It seems evident that the use of the English language and the acquisition of pragmatic attitudes leads to a personality change. New aspirations, new skills, and a new status is gained. To reconcile them with the traditional world is not always easy. The task for further generations may become easier. Unfortunately, an integration is not always being achieved: there are too many dropouts from schools, unemployed youths with no proper qualifications and no prospect of a steady job; they are rejected by the traditional community and can find no place in the modern social structure, they are often exposed to crime. The traditional forms of mental stresses have been dealt with by traditional "treatment"; as to the new forms, there seems to be sometimes no way of approaching them.

The encounter between traditional and pragmatic outlooks was commented by students in their papers. Let me quote some of the students' statements verbatim: "... one is scientifically minded, technologically advanced, moneyed, dynamic; that of the Nigerians is leisurely, traditional and above all, mystical. One is based on individualistic, impersonal and abstract relationships, the other on more personal and comprehensive relationships based on kinship and tribal associations. One of the attractions of the first was that it offered an easy escape from the stringent demands of the indigenous moral code, in the long run more far-reaching demands are put than indigenous cultures had ever done." It was not only the "stringent demands of the indigenous moral code", but a pragmatic thinking, "liberated", as another student put it, "from fears of all things around, even darkness". One student expressed the quite common opinion that the result of the encounter is a "demoral-

Table 1

| Traditional Yoruba Community   | The Pragmatic National Structure  |
|--|---|
| The dyadic relation between mother and child is a powerful psychological factor. Among the mother's main concerns is the fertility of her body and the preservation of the life of her child. The dyad has an impact on social institutions.                           | The life of the child is less threatened. The main concern of the parents is to develop the faculties of the child's body and mind.   |
| Breastfeeding is prolonged for years, the child is carried on the mother's back for many hours a day. Communication between mother and child is largely nonverbal, the child is "unseen", "unheard", but intensely perceived, there is a constant flow of information. | Time of breastfeeding is reduced. There are no postnatal sexual taboos for the period of breastfeeding. The baby is placed in a pram, its movements are free, it is encouraged to manipulate with toys and to develop language. |
| Nonverbal communication operates with real perceptions which gain communicative value. A movement, a sign is part of a context. This aspect of language may play a role in the "magic" aspect to speech.   | Oral communication draws a more marked line between the perceived and the told. They are interrelated, but at the same time held apart.   |
| Language operates with anthropomorphical notions. The body of the mother is the medium through which the world is perceived and approached.  | Reality is approached more directly, subjective attitudes and objective reality are separated gradually.  |
| Communication conveys ideas in words, symbolic action, gestures which have meaning within the framework of tradition.  | Language is being acquired largely along with literacy skill which teaches how to operate with abstract, analytical, generally accepted signs used by an impersonal society.  |
| There is a feeling of exposure to the manipulation of superior beings and that tradition has a key how to handle all situations.   | Activities and states are perceived as if emanating from the individual self, from its group. They explore the world and master the world by understanding its objective laws.  |
| Society is conceived as eternal without substantial change. Time is cyclical with reappearance of seasons, life is moving along cycles of terrestrial life, spiritual life and reincarnation.  | Society is conceived as moving along linear time toward progress in a sequence of historical events in which the individual has a role to play, however modest it may be.   |
| The local community is the centre of the universe with its supreme gods, loyalties. Some such entities merge into higher units.  | The local community is subordinated to impersonal principles with certain freedom of choice for the individual and groups.  |



| Traditional Yoruba Community   | The Pragmatic National Structure   |
|--|--|
| Health and wealth are conceived along terms of harmony with superior beings, fertility, prestige. To achieve success, shrewdness and loyalty to tradition are necessary. | Health is conceived along terms of a normal state and functioning of body and mind; wealth along terms of a consumption society.                           |
| The ideal form of life is one of tradition, harmony, growth of life, favour of superior beings.  | The ideal form of life is the development of individual faculties of each generation. Life of each generation is supposed to differ from the previous one. |

ized breed of young, lost in the ways of life" hinting at unemployment among the young, crime in the cities and a crisis of values. Statements like the following may appear strange, but were quite common: "In the traditional society, criminals were despised. Nobody cared to look into the causes of the crimes, but the criminals were unanimously condemned and received punishment in proportion to the offence." There were positive evaluations of the encounter between tradition and pragmatic outlooks. Some were critical toward tradition: "The young generation is not only questioning the authenticity of established beliefs but tends to reject them. It is no longer tenable to attribute the cause of poor crops to, say, the god of farming"; others felt that the encounter between tradition and modern outlooks would lead to a beneficial state for both, if only the problem was understood by the old and young generations when explained to them in the right way.

As far as language was concerned, the opinions ranged from one claiming that "attempts to develop a non-technical language into a technical one will retard the pace of development, bring about a state of confusion and make education a difficult process", to the opinion that the traditional languages and English should be held apart, each fulfilling its particular role, and the opinion that with the process of development, the indigenous languages must also adapt themselves to the tasks of promoting development, transmitting ideas to those who speak only the native tongue.

The students' attitudes carried some of the marks of a marginal personality between tradition and pragmatic, national outlook. When attitudes toward the two were constructive and balanced, with no aggressiveness and prejudice in one or the other direction, tensions were reduced, the ability to understand and cope with the situation was improved. Those who were able to handle such marginal situations in a constructive way proved to be very useful. The Yoruba author T. M. Aluko has dealt with similar problems in his novels and has shown that the absence of such characters was a hindrance to development and caused a lot of damage.

Many more comparisons could be added, e.g. the pattern of face-to-face communication conveyed in a small-scale society by words of mouth, symbols and symbolic action, as opposed to communication by the printed word. In the first case, memory must rely on information it can store, which limits its scope, in the second, the mind is free to draw from stored information accumulated during centuries and not dependent on the spell of the present ; information can be drawn from sources spread over vast areas of a large-scale society.

To make the encounter between tradition and a forward-looking, constructive, and pragmatic mind fruitful may be one of the major tasks of developing countries. An understanding of the implications of the process includes a psychological aspect, to cope with the situation goes beyond psychology and the results will have a bearing on daily life.

During many hours of group discussion and interviews it became clear that the students have interiorized, to various degrees, two attitudes of the mind: the ethnic-traditional one and the national-pragmatic one. One interiorization was supported by home education, loyalty to customs and beliefs, often women being more exposed than men. The other interiorization was supported by school education and new aspirations. In daily life both often clashed. They used different languages geared to various skills, neither being able to express the other's ideas fluently and adequately.

During the teaching-learning process and on other occasions, ideas had to pass from one area into the other. Sometimes they failed to do so. They exercised their spell from one area as the others exercised theirs from the other area. There existed double standards within the same mind with corresponding patterns of behaviour. In other cases skills were developed to express in the native tongue what had been mediated by English, and the other way round. Different patterns of interaction evolved, various aspects were considered as of higher or lower value, there were feedbacks and new talents grew up. Preoccupation with certain aspects gave way to a mature sense of fairness toward both tradition and national interest.

Language played an important role as the two interiorizations had to communicate ; reduced communication between the two put additional strain on the effectiveness of thinking and action. Gradually the languages adapted themselves to the task. Much of the native tongue may have moved from magic to folklore, as may have happened in the past with European languages, in which we may still find a lot of remnants of olden magic. Such processes may have taken place in Yoruba already in the past, the language is able to cope with a variety of tasks.

The root of the problem was to make out of a marginal mind an effective, balanced and skilful mind able to cope with a situation which has inevitably arisen and draw new strength from it.

## DISCUSSION

Originally, this paper was not meant to be a theoretical discussion on language structure, perception of reality, culture. There was a very real experience that during the educational process and beyond it students, whether consciously or not, related new experience to two levels of interiorization. Such a task is difficult and conceals dangers. To cope with it demands patience, tact, and understanding. The results are decisive for the success of the educational process and its working within the society.

The two patterns of interiorization correspond to two aspect of society, the traditional and the national one and have to be analysed from the diachronic and synchronic aspects. The problem is of importance because of its educational implications as far as methods, organization of pedagogical work and the functioning of the system are concerned. What seems to be necessary is the educational experience of integrating tradition with the needs of a developing nation, an experience which cannot be mediated merely by words, but must be incorporated into the educational process on various levels, that means, emphasis on functional literacy, applied science, technical skill, meaningful social sciences. Some of the message mediated to the young generation has to reach also the adults, mainly if they work in sensitive positions, sensitive from the point of view of development; they may be active on intermediary, higher or even lower levels of qualification in towns and the countryside. All these considerations go beyond the scope of this paper.

Let me attach a few remarks. To identify the English language as a prototype of pragmatism is not correct, for it has been used for many years by the missionary to carry a very spiritual message; but at the same time, the language has also been a vehicle to mediate science, technology, modern administration, and thus contributed to pragmatic thinking. With changing conditions of life, the widely spoken African languages will inevitably have to follow these changing patterns, some of the magico-mystical allusions have already lost their spell and have fallen into oblivion, some have preserved much of the spell in certain situations. My impression after my arrival to the country was that the term "primitive" culture sometimes used is not adequate, it would be more appropriate to speak about an older culture somehow arrested in its development. The very climate encouraged life of many forms, like a humid and hot greenhouse, but simultaneously destroying some of these forms, as if following a whim. A sensitive mind interpreted this in "signs" and made this experience part of its self. Placide Tempel's *Bantu Philosophy* may have followed a similar line.

Investigations into the ways of other ethnic groups show differences in early child-rearing practices, structures of ethnic groups, customs, beliefs, language, which, all put together, belong to a meaningful whole. This coherence may not be found among those former Africans who live in various parts of the world to a degree found in their original homes. This paper tried to demonstrate the problems of

a mind dedicated to tradition and faced with the inevitable consequence of growth, development, modern science and technology. An experience from a distant country may have a more general validity and we may encounter similar situations also within developed countries, we may find some analogies within one culture and the realition between two cultures.

Some concepts need revision, e.g. intelligence has sometimes been equalled with performance; the performance of the marginal mind has to be appraised in connection with the obstacles it has to overcome, operating under specific conditions and having to develop specific techniques. It may fail, or it may gain inspiration.

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## LE PROGRAMME ET LES FONDEMENTS IDÉOLOGIQUES DU RASSEMBLEMENT DÉMOCRATIQUE AFRICAIN (RDA)

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Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA) a été un grand et important mouvement politique africain de la libération nationale des populations africaines dans les colonies françaises en Afrique Noire après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Le programme et les fondements idéologiques du RDA étaient expliqués dans le Manifeste du RDA à Paris en septembre 1946 et dans les documents officiels du mouvement, acceptés par RDA dans les années suivantes. Le RDA était un front national africain de l'Afrique Noire Française plus qu'un parti politique. Mais le RDA comme un front national avait beaucoup de particularité en comparaison avec les fronts nationaux dans les pays de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale dans la deuxième moitié de la quatrième décade de notre siècle.

Le programme politique du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA) a été expliqué d'une part dans le primordial Manifeste fondamental du RDA (Paris, septembre 1946),<sup>1</sup> d'autre part dans les documents programmatiques suivants,

<sup>1</sup> Le **Rassemblement Démocratiques Africain (RDA)** a été fondé le 18 octobre 1948 à son Congrès constitutif à Bamako, où plus de 800 délégués du *Soudan Français*, de la *Côte d'Ivoire*, de la *Guinée Française*, du *Sénégal*, du *Dahomey*, du *Niger*, du *Caméroun Français* et du *Tchad* participaient aux travaux du Congrès. La publication du Manifeste du RDA en septembre 1946 avait devancé le Congrès constitutif en octobre de la même année à Bamako. Les représentants des nations coloniales de l'Afrique Noire Française dans leur Manifeste du RDA ont convoqué le Congrès du RDA originellement pour les jours 11, 12, 13 octobre 1946 à Bamako. Les représentants politiques africains suivants étaient les *signataires du Manifeste du RDA* (Paris, septembre 1946): *Félix Houphouët-Boigny*, Député de la Côte d'Ivoire; *Lamine Guèye*, Député du Sénégal-Mauritanie; *Jean Félix-Tchicaya*, Député du Gabon-Moyen-Congo; *Sourou Migan Apithy*, Député du Dahomey-Togo; *Fily Dabo Sissoko*, Député du Soudan-Niger; *Yacine Diallo*, Député de la Guinée; *Gabriel d'Arboussier*, ancien Député du Gabon-Moyen-Congo. *Léopold Sédar Senghor*, Député du Sénégal, qui n'avait pas été à Paris au temps de la signature du Manifeste du RDA, a joint sa signature sous le manifeste ultérieurement. — Le Manifeste du RDA, renfermant les principes du caractère programmatique, a tourné l'attention vers les tentatives des forces réactionnaires dans les milieux politiques français de saboter la réalisation des libertés démocratiques que la première Assemblée Constitutive française d'après la deuxième guerre mondiale avait placées dans le projet de la Constitution nouvelle. Le Manifeste du RDA était la réponse décisive aux intrigues réactionnaires de milieux colonialistes dans les colonies africaines de la France. Il a demandé «égalité des droits politiques et sociaux, libertés individuelle et culturelle, Assemblées locales démocratiques et Union librement consentie des populations d'Afrique et du peuple de France». (Voir: *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*. Paris, s.a., p. 23.) La thèse principale du Manifeste du RDA a été la tendance clairement proclamée de former l'unité politique d'Africains en Afrique Noire Française.

acceptés après l'inauguration officielle du RDA au Congrès constitutif à la ville soudanaise Bamako en octobre 1946.

C'est la résolution de la quatrième commission du Congrès constitutif du RDA d'octobre 1946 (le président : Félix Houphouët-Boigny, le rapporteur : Gabriel d'Arboussier)<sup>2</sup> qu'on peut considérer comme un document du caractère de programme le plus important. La critique de la loi électorale coloniale constituait la position fondamentale du programme du RDA, exposée dans cette résolution. Mais en même temps la résolution proposait de profiter des possibilités de cette loi électorale pour obtenir le plus haut nombre de mandats dans le Parlement français pour les députés africains démocratiques et progressistes, recevant de cette façon la possibilité définie d'exprimer la volonté réelle des populations africaines de l'Afrique Noire Française. «Convaincu que, seule, l'union pourra permettre aux peuples d'Outre-Mer en général et aux populations africaines en particulier de triompher de la réaction, le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain s'engage à soutenir des listes uniques et s'engage au nom de ses futurs élus à maintenir au Parlement l'union scellée à Bamako et à réaliser le groupement le plus efficace pour lutter contre la réaction colonialiste.»<sup>3</sup> En même temps la résolution s'est exprimée pour la formation d'un parti démocratique africain et d'un Comité de Coordination avec le but d'atteindre l'organisation des futurs rassemblements africains et «pour réaliser l'unité des partis politiques au sein des territoires et préparer leur fusion dans un mouvement africain unique».<sup>4</sup>

Par conséquent, la directive politique programmatique fondamentale de la résolution du Congrès constitutif du RDA en octobre 1946 incorporait les efforts :

premièrement, pour élargir et consolider le RDA ;

deuxièmement, pour exploiter la loi électorale française existante afin d'obtenir des mandats au Parlement français pour les députés africains démocratiques et progressistes ;

troisièmement, pour former un groupement homogène des députés africains au Parlement français qui pourrait y lutter pour les droits des Africains et contre le colonialisme français.

Il en résulta que le RDA justement constitué comme le représentant du mouvement de la libération nationale des populations africaines de l'Afrique Noire Française s'était orienté vers le combat **politique** contre les piliers du colonialisme français en Afrique Noire Française, mais aussi dans la métropole française. Il importe spécialement de souligner ce fait, parce que le combat **armé** d'Africains contre le colonialisme en Afrique Noire Française s'était ultérieurement développé

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<sup>2</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*. Paris, s.a., pp. 25—26.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, pp. 25—26.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, p. 26.

seulement dans les deux sections territoriales du RDA (au Caméroutn et au Niger).<sup>5</sup>

Le document programmatique suivant du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, c'était la résolution adoptée unanimement par le Comité de Coordination dans sa session du 3 octobre 1948 à Dakar.<sup>6</sup> Dans ce temps, le Comité de Coordination représentait dix sections territoriales du RDA.<sup>7</sup>

De prime abord, la résolution a rappelé aux lecteurs les principes fondamentaux du RDA :

« — **Lutte pour l'émancipation politique économique et sociale de l'Afrique dans le cadre d'une Union Française** (souligné en italique par moi — J. P.) **fondée sur l'égalité des droits et des devoirs.**

— **Union de tous les Africains** (souligné en italique par moi — J.P.) **quelles que soient leurs conceptions idéologiques et religieuses, leurs origines, leurs conditions sociales dans leur lutte contre le colonialisme** (souligné en italique par moi — J.P.).

— **Alliance des forces démocratiques africaines et des forces démocratiques et progressistes du monde entier et, en premier, avec celles du peuple français dans leur lutte commune contre l'impérialisme** (souligné en italique par moi — J.P.).<sup>8</sup>

Les idées de la fraternité d'Africains avec les forces démocratiques françaises dans leur combat commun contre la réaction, contre l'impérialisme et contre le colonialisme constituaient une orientation constante de toute la résolution. L'idée de la nécessité de la victoire de la démocratie et du progrès dans la métropole française revenait maintes fois dans ce document du programme du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain avec la constatation naturelle que cette victoire du peuple français aiderait la libération des peuples africains au cadre de l'Union Française et avec le rôle actif de la France progressiste.

Pour cette raison le *leadership du RDA*, représenté par le Comité de Coordination, a proposé la devise du combat pour le *gouvernement d'Union démocratique et anticolonialiste*. « Il faut en particulier renforcer l'action de masse, afin de provoquer le renversement nécessaire de la politique des Gouvernements successifs dirigée à la fois contre la classe ouvrière et les classes moyennes françaises et contre les peuples d'Outre-Mer, et afin d'aboutir à la constitution d'un Gouvernement d'Union démocratique et anticolonialiste s'appuyant à la fois sur les démocrates français de

<sup>5</sup> Poláček, J.: *Dějiny Afrického demokratického sdružení a současnost Černé Afriky*. Mezinárodní vztahy (Praha), 1971, No 1, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, pp. 75—78.

<sup>7</sup> Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA) est devenu la première organisation politique interterritoriale de la population africaine de l'Afrique Noire Française. Le RDA était le front africain de la libération nationale au caractère anti-impérialiste et anti-colonialiste. Il ne pouvait pas être formé par territoire qu'un seul parti, qui en dehors de son appellation locale, portait la mention « *Section du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* ». Les sections territoriales du RDA étaient fondées au fur et à mesure dans 11 de 14 colonies de l'Afrique Noire Française (*Côte d'Ivoire, Sénégal, Guinée Française, Soudan Français, Haute-Volta, Niger, Dahomey, Caméroutn, Congo Français, Tchad et Gabon*).

<sup>8</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, p. 75.



toutes conditions et sur les peuples d'Outre-Mer. Ce renversement de la politique gouvernementale est dans la période actuelle la condition primordiale de la reprise de notre marche en avant vers la liberté et le progrès.»<sup>9</sup>

*Il est évident que les démocrates et nationalistes africains étaient convaincus de la victoire finale des forces démocratiques progressistes de la France dans leur combat contre la réaction bourgeoise française.* Mais on ne peut pas oublier que la résolution dakaroise du RDA a été adoptée en automne 1948, c'est-à-dire, au temps quand la réaction française avait atteint son but — la sortie des représentants du Parti communiste français (PCF) du gouvernement français.

Donc, comment expliquer la position du leadership du RDA, publiée dans la résolution de Dakar de 3 octobre 1948, puisque ce leadership savait que la France était déjà presque une année et demie sous le contrôle continuellement plus grand de l'impérialisme américain après le 4 mai 1947 quand la grande bourgeoisie française avait écarté les ministres communistes du gouvernement ?<sup>10</sup>

Probablement, *les leaders démocratiques africains du RDA ont pris en considération l'influence grandissante du mouvement communiste en Europe Centrale et Orientale.* Cette influence a été en relation étroite avec le commencement de la formation du système socialiste mondiale, *un processus accompagné par une série de victoires du socialisme mondial, parmi lesquelles la victoire du peuple travailleur tchécoslovaque sur la réaction bourgeoise interne, en février 1948, a été la plus importante.* Si nous tenons compte du fait que le régime bourgeois démocratique, le niveau du développement économique et le niveau de vie en France et en Tchécoslovaquie avant la deuxième guerre mondiale ont été analogues, alors il n'est pas difficile de comprendre l'importance des événements tchécoslovaques en février 1948 et leur influence sur les pays capitalistes de l'Europe Occidentale avec le mouvement communiste fort, comme c'était le cas, par exemple, en France. *L'exemple positif de la Tchécoslovaquie communiste était le facteur mobilisant des mouvements communistes et tout progressistes démocratiques en Europe Occidentale capitaliste, parce que la Tchécoslovaquie avait suivi son propre chemin de l'édification du socialisme comme le premier des pays déjà développés dans l'ère du capitalisme.*

Dans ce contexte historico-politique il est nécessaire de comprendre aussi la position des démocrates africains envers la France. Les forces démocratiques du RDA se sont faites une idée de la solution de la question africaine dans le cadre de l'Union Française démocratique et progressiste. La possibilité de la formation d'une telle Union Française se présentait pour les forces démocratiques du RDA désormais pleinement réelle.

Ce sont les conditions pour lesquelles le *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*

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<sup>9</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, pp. 77—78.

<sup>10</sup> *Histoire du Parti communiste français*. Paris, 1964, p. 501.

s'est orienté en ce temps vers le Parti communiste français avec sa politique de combat contre les forces de la réaction française. C'était la politique réalisée au cadre du Parlement français. Les fractions parlementaires du RDA et du PCF ont collaboré dans ce combat commun parlementaire au nom du progrès social et national de la France et de l'Union Française. En ce temps le leadership du RDA comprenait que la théorie de la soi-disante «troisième force» avait éprouvé une défaite totale en face de la réalité du monde divisé en deux camps hostiles. Et pour cette raison, les représentants démocratiques africains ont de nouveau approuvé son libre choix du camp des exploités et des opprimés, du camp de la démocratie et du progrès auquel appartient le futur de l'humanité.<sup>11</sup>

Le leadership du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, réuni à sa session le 3 octobre 1948, a pleinement approuvé la politique de la collaboration des fractions parlementaires du RDA et du PCF.

Les principes politiques fondamentaux du RDA ont été déclarés dans la résolution dakaroise en enchaînement avec la décision du Comité de Coordination du RDA pour les formes d'action de représentants du RDA au Parlement de la métropole.

Les formes d'action des élus du RDA consistaient :

**«1° Dans la constitution dans chaque Assemblée métropolitaine, d'un groupe du R.D.A., marquant ainsi la personnalité du mouvement, sa base nationale, et réalisant un groupement homogène et efficace conforme à notre principe de l'union des Africains, fondée sur des principes éprouvés et pour l'application d'un programme de réalisations concrètes ;**

**2° Dans l'appareillement de ces groupes au groupe communiste de chaque Assemblée, en application de notre principe de l'alliance fondamentale du prolétariat français et des peuples dépendants ;**

**3° Dans la participation de ces groupes du R.D.A. au Comité de Coordination des élus démocrates et anticolonialistes, participation qui témoigne de notre solidarité agissante avec tous les peuples opprimés.»<sup>12</sup>**

Le caractère généralement démocratique de l'orientation politique fondamentale du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain a été nettement exprimé aussi dans les phrases finales de la résolution dakaroise :

**«Vive le R.D.A.**

**Vive l'Afrique Noire.**

**Vive l'Union fraternelle et démocratique du peuple de France et des peuples d'Outre-Mer.**

**Vive la solidarité agissante des forces de paix et de progrès du monde entier.»<sup>13</sup>**

Les succès du RDA sur le front du combat politique avec le colonialisme et avec

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<sup>11</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, pp. 75—76.

<sup>12</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, p. 76.

<sup>13</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, p. 74.

l'impérialisme en Afrique Noire Française ont été conditionnés par l'influence bienfaisante de tous les contacts étroits, existants entre le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, d'une part, et le Parti communiste français et les organisations progressistes démocratiques internationales, d'autre part.

Le vice-président du RDA Gabriel d'Arboussier a consacré une grande attention à la question de la collaboration politique du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain avec le Parti communiste français et a souligné l'importance grave de cette collaboration. Il a déclaré dans son rapport, présenté le 2 octobre 1948 au Comité de Coordination du RDA, entre autre, les mots suivants :

« Notre alliance ne résulte pas d'une attitude sentimentale ou autre, mais d'une nécessité politique, car nous ne saurions nous bercer d'une illusion « isolationiste » dans un monde où l'interdépendance est la règle de vie des peuples.

Nous savons que, dans le monde entier et chez tous les peuples, il y a des forces de progrès et les forces de réaction, et que les premières sont les alliées naturelles des peuples dépendants, car cette dépendance n'est que la conséquence du développement tentaculaire d'un régime qui asservit également dans les pays industriels une masse d'hommes que l'on nomme la classe ouvrière.

Nous nous relient, quant à nous, à toutes les forces démocratiques qui luttent contre les intérêts égoïstes et en premier lieu aux forces démocratiques françaises qui subissent l'assaut des mêmes forces impérialistes qui asservissent les Africains.

**Nous entrons cependant dans cette alliance avec des moyens, des méthodes et des buts propres à notre mouvement, car nous savons que l'intérêt commun de la France et de l'Afrique n'est point fait de l'identité des moyens et des buts, mais plutôt de leur interdépendance née de conditions politiques et économiques données.**»<sup>14</sup>

Et Gabriel d'Arboussier a souligné ci-après : « **L'apparement marque le libre choix du camp dans lequel nous désirons combattre avec nos buts et nos méthodes propres : le camp des exploités et des opprimés, le camp des démocrates et des hommes de progrès, qui représente l'avenir de l'humanité.** »<sup>15</sup>

La définition philosophique de la relation mutuelle, des rapports mutuels et du conditionnement mutuel de la base économique et de la superstructure idéologique est le point initial de toutes les recherches scientifiques marxiste-léninistes. Aussi les recherches consacrées au RDA, à sa théorie et à sa pratique, à ses fondements idéologiques ne peuvent pas être une exception de la règle.

L'analyse scientifique de la structure sociale, économique, politique, ethnographique et culturelle de la société africaine en Afrique Noire Française confirme que dans la société africaine de ce temps a existé toute une série de différences de la structure et des traits de la société européenne en France. Il n'est pas possible ne pas se rendre compte de ces différences non seulement dans la science, mais aussi et

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<sup>14</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, p. 50.

<sup>15</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, p. 62.

avant tout, dans la politique, parce que la politique est, ou plus précisément doit être, un baromètre qui montre la situation réelle de la société. Or, la politique reflète la situation réelle, parce que les dispositions de l'humeur apparaissent dans celle-ci.

La non-différenciation de classe, c'était le trait caractéristique de la société africaine dans les colonies françaises de l'Afrique Noire. Au temps de la formation du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, les populations africaines n'avaient pas encore passé par cette étape du développement socio-économique que les pays européens avaient déjà traversé dans les XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles, c'est-à-dire par l'étape de la concrétisation de la société bourgeoise, par l'étape de la formation des nations européennes bourgeoises.

La formation des nations africaines dans les conditions du régime colonial présentait une affaire très difficile. Si au cours du développement de la société africaine dans quelques colonies les symptômes de la nation commençaient à apparaître peu à peu, alors l'administration coloniale française faisait tout pour que dans une telle nation en formation se développent les traits bourgeois, pour que la nation africaine soit du même type que la nation bourgeoise française. L'administration coloniale de l'Afrique Noire Française, en réalisant «l'Administration directe» de ses colonies, influençait celles-ci avec sa politique assimilatrice nominalement dans ce sens.

Cette situation socio-politique a imprimé son influence forte aussi au programme et aux fondements idéologiques du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain. En ce temps, le leadership du RDA poursuivait son idéologie et sa politique à partir d'intérêts communs de toutes les classes et couches de la société coloniale africaine qui s'orientait contre le colonialisme dans sa formation. En conséquence de cette situation, le leadership du RDA a caractérisé la structure sociale de la société africaine des pays de l'Afrique Noire Française en 1948 ainsi : «Du fait du retard économique considérable des territoires africains, le prolétariat de ces pays est extrêmement faible. Par conséquent, plus encore que dans les autres pays coloniaux, la question coloniale en Afrique Noire Française est, quant au fond, une question paysanne.<sup>16</sup> De plus, par suite du caractère absolument mercantile de l'exploitation

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<sup>16</sup> Il est à noter que la question agraire en Europe et en Afrique se manifestaient différemment ; si la question agraire en Europe était toujours conjointe avec le problème de la terre, alors en Afrique (j'ai en vue l'Afrique au sud du Sahara) la faim sociale pour la terre n'existe pas en substance. La question agraire en Afrique Occidentale est conditionnée par les problèmes de la fertilité de terre, de la cultivation primitive des terres cultivables, des pillages de la part des monopoles de l'Ouest capitaliste. Contrairement à quelques pays d'Afrique Orientale du type de Kenya, en Afrique Occidentale il n'existait pratiquement pas de plantations et de fermes des colonialistes blancs. C'était en liaison avec le climat d'Afrique Occidentale, un fait catastrophique pour les Européens («*L'Afrique Occidentale c'est la tombe d'homme blanc*»). La question agraire en Afrique Noire était conditionnée par la réalité que les paysans formaient la majorité absolue de la population africaine dans les colonies des métropoles européennes. Dans cette situation en Afrique Noire consistait la conjonction de la question coloniale avec la question agraire.

des populations et du fait aussi des méthodes d'administration directe utilisées par le colonialisme, toutes les classes, y compris la jeune bourgeoisie de nos pays, et les cadres traditionnels, supportent plus ou moins impatiemment le joug impérialiste qui pèse sur eux. D'ou, en Afrique Noire, les objectifs essentiels actuels sont communs à toutes les classes et couches de la Société.»<sup>17</sup>

L'approche des leaders du RDA à la question des différences de milieux sociaux africains et européens était très élastique. En même temps ils motivaient ainsi leur refus d'exploiter en Afrique Noire les formes organisatrices du combat, exploitées par le prolétariat dans la société européenne. Ils faisaient aussi une tentative de l'élaboration de leur modèle propre de l'organisation politique pour la réalisation de la libération des populations coloniales dans des conditions africaines spécifiques.

Ce modèle comportait les éléments principaux suivants :

a) L'organisation de l'union de toutes les classes, et non d'un parti politique, expression de telle ou telle classe ;

b) la création d'un mouvement de masse très large qui soit à la fois l'expression de la masse et la masse elle-même, et non d'un parti politique d'avant-garde ;

c) la reconnaissance pour les divers territoires, régions et sections locales, d'une large autonomie, tant dans les formes d'organisation que dans l'orientation et l'action du mouvement.»<sup>18</sup>

La libération des colonies françaises de l'Afrique Noire du joug colonial par l'affirmation de leurs individualités politique, économique, sociale et culturelle a été déclarée comme le but essentiel du RDA. L'émancipation des nations de l'Afrique Noire Française a été alliée du côté du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain avec la possibilité de se joindre librement à l'union des nations et des peuples «francophones», fondée sur l'égalité.

Ce serait la solidarité de tous les peuples de l'Afrique Noire Française, non seulement des peuples des colonies africaines de la France, mais des nations de l'Union Française en général, qui était un des traits caractéristiques du RDA. La solidarité, déclarée par les leaders du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, était par ceux-ci comprise dans la mesure mondiale comme la solidarité du RDA avec toutes les forces démocratiques du monde entier. Le vice-président du RDA — de ce temps-là — Gabriel d'Arboussier a écrit : «*Le R.D.A. a la prétention d'avoir une politique qui découle de l'étude objective de la réalité africaine, mais aussi de celle de la réalité mondiale.*»<sup>19</sup>

Le leadership du RDA dans sa politique envers la métropole sortait de la thèse que le progrès de la démocratie en France correspond positivement au développement

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<sup>17</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, p. 47.

<sup>18</sup> *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, pp. 47—48.

<sup>19</sup> *La Voix du R.D.A.*, juillet 1947. Citation d'après : *Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste*, p. 49.

socio-économique des territoires d'Outre-Mer, cependant que la retraite de la démocratie en France évoque le renforcement de l'exploitation et de l'oppression dans les colonies françaises d'Outre-Mer. Cela signifie que la direction du RDA se rendait compte des aspects positifs et négatifs de développement de la politique intérieure de la France et aussi de l'influence de ce développement sur la situation dans les colonies françaises.

En ce qui concerne la position décisive de Gabriel d'Arboussier comme étant celle du politicien et idéologue du RDA de ces temps, il n'est pas sans intérêt de présenter la comparaison suivante des rôles de la France et de l'Afrique dans la réponse de Gabriel d'Arboussier à Léopold Sédar Senghor :<sup>20</sup>

*«La France est un pays dont le peuple a réalisé son unité et son indépendance nationales, qui vit d'une économie industrialisée, dont le développement a conduit chaque jour davantage à la division de la société en deux classes principales : capitalistes et travailleurs, qui se disputent le pouvoir politique et la direction économique.*

*L'Afrique, en revanche, est constituée de pays et de peuples divers n'ayant réalisé ni leur unité ni leur indépendance nationales, vivant d'une économie agraire, et dont la société est divisée en couches et classes très diverses.*

*Alors qu'en France les travailleurs, dont l'intérêt de classe coïncide avec l'intérêt national, se groupent chaque jour davantage dans leur lutte contre le capital, en Afrique les différents peuples comme les différentes classes et couches sociales se groupent dans leur lutte contre le régime colonial qui, dans une certaine mesure, a réalisé leur unité.*

*Ainsi, alors qu'en France l'intérêt particulier des travailleurs, qui constituent la classe essentielle, se trouve coïncider avec l'intérêt national et justifie leur lutte contre le capitalisme, en Afrique l'intérêt particulier de chaque classe et couche sociale est dominé par l'intérêt commun de l'ensemble de la population soumise au régime colonial.*

*On comprendra maintenant pourquoi nous avons appelé notre mouvement : Rassemblement Démocratique Africain.*

*On comprendra pourquoi nous avons affirmé et affirmons qu'il ne saurait être une section d'un parti métropolitain, dont les Africains ne sauraient aujourd'hui épouser complètement la cause, car tout parti métropolitain est organisé et agit selon la loi fondamentale de la lutte des classes.*

*La position de notre mouvements à l'égard de ces partis est déterminée, d'abord, par l'intérêt des masses africaines, solidaires, certes, de toutes les masses opprimées, mais dont les intérêts ne sont pas identiques.*

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<sup>20</sup> La Voix du R.D.A., 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1947. Citation d'après : Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dans la lutte antiimpérialiste, pp. 48—49.

*Quant à nous, nous ne nous payons pas de mots, nous ne sommes pas un parti prolétarien, mais une organisation démocratique, correspondant à la base économique et sociale de l'Afrique, au sein de laquelle les hommes de toutes origines, de toutes conditions, de toutes conceptions philosophiques ou religieuses ont leur place, et qui a un programme de réalisations concrètes.»*

Dans cette citation de Gabriel d'Arboussier l'indétermination de classe du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain est démontrée très expressivement. Aussi l'indétermination idéologique du RDA qui est cohésive avec son indétermination de classe (conditionnée par la structure sociale existante de la société coloniale africaine qui devenait la base de la construction organisatrice et du contenu idéologique du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain) résulte de la situation ci-dessus mentionnée.

Seuls les leaders du RDA refusaient la caractéristique du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain comme le parti politique en général et comme le parti politique de l'avant-garde en particulier. La direction du RDA a caractérisé son organisation interterritoriale comme le mouvement de masse africain des populations de l'Afrique Noire Française.

Après l'analyse des fondements idéologiques du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain nous passons vers la caractéristique générale de ce mouvement de masse politique africain.

### **Les particularités du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain comme un front national africain de l'Afrique Noire Française**

Le RDA était devenu le premier front interterritorial africain de la libération nationale en Afrique Noire Française. Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain était devenu le mouvement de l'émancipation sociale, politique, raciale, culturelle et religieuse de la population africaine dans les colonies françaises de l'Afrique Noire.

L'africaniste soviétique Prof. Dr. G. Y. Skoroff, dans son livre *L'impérialisme français en Afrique Occidentale* avait écrit la caractéristique suivante du RDA : « Le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain a été fondu non pas comme le parti, exprimant les intérêts d'une classe, mais comme l'organisation de masse politique du type de front national. Le leadership du RDA a tombé, en somme, entre les mains d'éléments bourgeois et d'intelligence locale, joints aux notables féodaux et tribaux, en conséquence du petit nombre et d'expériences politiques insuffisantes de la classe ouvrière. Par suite de cela, les possibilités les plus riches, consistant dans la forme seule du front national, n'avaient pas été exploitées dans une pleine mesure aux intérêts du combat antiimpérialiste. Mais le seul fait de la création de l'organisation politique de masse a été l'indicateur des changements qui s'étaient produits dans la conscience des nations de l'Afrique Occidentale, et ensemble avec tout cela c'était

un facteur important du réveil des grandes masses d'Africains pour la vie politique active.»<sup>21</sup>

Quand nous parlons pour le front national de la population africaine dans les colonies françaises en Afrique Noire en connexité avec le Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, la nécessité est pleinement compréhensible de faire *les différences claires entre le caractère du front national dans les pays européens de la démocratie populaire de la période 1944—1948 et le caractère du front national dans les colonies africaines de la France après la deuxième guerre mondiale.*

*Premièrement*, le front national dans les pays de la démocratie populaire en Europe Centrale et Orientale se distingue du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (comme d'un mouvement caractérisé par le terme «front national») dans les colonies françaises de l'Afrique Noire d'autant plus, que le front national dans les états européens de la démocratie populaire tirait son origine de la base d'une claire différenciation de classe à la différence du caractère non-différent de la structure sociale des territoires coloniaux de l'Afrique Noire Française ;

*deuxièmement*, les fronts nationaux en Europe Orientale et Centrale, formés comme le résultat du combat de nations entières contre le fascisme allemand agressif et pillard, avaient pris naissance comme organisateurs du combat armé des nations européennes opprimées contre le fascisme. Contrairement à cette situation, dans le mouvement politique africain du RDA il n'était pas question d'un combat armé contre l'impérialisme et le colonialisme français, mais d'un combat avec les moyens paisibles, entre autre, avec l'utilisation des institutions parlementaires de la démocratie bourgeoise française tant dans la métropole, que dans les territoires coloniaux français ;

*troisièmement*, si le combat des fronts nationaux populaire-démocratiques en Europe Centrale et Orientale se développait dans les conditions d'hégémonie de la classe ouvrière et de son avant-garde — du parti communiste, ou dans la situation quand le développement dans les démocraties populaires d'Europe se dirigeait vers cette hégémonie, alors le parti communiste ne jouait pas le premier rôle dans le front national du RDA parce que le parti communiste africain n'existait pas même dans aucune des colonies françaises de l'Afrique Noire. L'influence du Parti communiste français — ainsi que les influences d'autres partis politiques métropolitains — se réalisait dans les colonies africaines seulement par médiation et elle se limitait surtout à la population blanche et aux individus ou petits groupements de la population africaine ;

*quatrièmement*, si l'activité des fronts nationaux dans les démocraties populaires d'Europe était caractérisée avant tout par le passage du capitalisme au socialisme, alors le front national en Afrique Noire Française n'était pas encore parvenu à tracer l'édification de la société socialiste comme son but. La non-différenciation de la

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<sup>21</sup> Skorov, G. J. : *Francuzskii imperiaizm v Zapadnoï Afrike*. Moscou 1956, pp. 188—189.



structure de classe en Afrique Noire Française a conduit à la situation où les exigences du front national africain étaient limitées par l'élimination des manifestations les plus grossières du colonialisme français en Afrique Noire ;

*cinquièmement*, si le combat des fronts nationaux dans les pays de la démocratie populaire européens se passait au temps de l'occupation allemande-fasciste avec les exigences de restauration de l'indépendance des pays opprimés en Europe Centrale et Orientale (les exigences accompagnées par le combat armé), alors le combat du front national africain du RDA se limitait seulement par la simple exigence d'autonomie des territoires africains dans la cadre de l'Union Française ;

*sixièmement*, la présence d'unités de l'Armée Rouge dans quelques pays de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale (Allemagne, Pologne, Hongrie, Roumanie) — dans la période suivant la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale — était comme un certain catalyseur positif du processus de la socialisation dans les pays européens de la démocratie populaire, parce que la présence de l'armée de l'URSS rendait impossible la résistance armée de la réaction locale battue dans les pays populaire-démocratiques. Contrairement à cette situation, les territoires de l'Afrique Noire Française étaient occupées par les unités de l'armée et de la police françaises et ces territoires étaient considérées comme une partie intégrale de l'Union Française.

Donc, *les activités du front national en Europe Centrale et Orientale s'effectuaient dans des conditions sociales, économiques, militaires et aussi culturelles, différentes de celles du front national du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain en Afrique Noire Française*. Les faits et les conclusions citées témoignent que pour juger de la situation politique et sociale en Afrique généralement, et en Afrique Noire notamment, il n'est pas possible de concevoir mécaniquement les termes particuliers des sciences politiques dans leur contenu adéquant européen. Au contraire, il est nécessaire de tenir compte non seulement de ressemblance de la forme, mais aussi de la différence du contenu. Cette différence s'écoule, comme on l'a déjà dit, des différences des structures de classe de la société européenne et de la société africaine. Et surtout de différence de la structure de classe de la société africaine dans les pays de l'Afrique Noire, qui sont — en comparaison aux pays européens — caractérisés par leur sous-développement social et économique.

Une autre approche de conception et de caractéristique de la réalité africaine socio-économique dans la période après la deuxième guerre mondiale conduirait vers les fautes grossières, vers la vulgarisation dogmatique, étant dans une pleine contradiction avec la thèse léniniste que toutes les nations arriveront au fur et à mesure au socialisme et au communisme, par leur propre chemin avec l'utilisation de toutes leurs conditions nationales spécifiques.

De même que l'histoire, aussi bien le présent montrent qu'il n'y a pas encore inutile répéter de nouveau et de nouveau ces mots vivants léninistes :

**«Toutes les nations viendront au socialisme, cela est inévitable, mais elles n'y viendront pas toutes d'une façon absolument identique, chacune apportera son**

**originalité dans telle ou telle forme de démocratie, dans telle ou telle variété de dictature du prolétariat, dans tel ou tel rythme des transformations socialistes des différents aspects de la vie sociale. Rien n'est plus indigent au point de vue théorique et de plus ridicule au point de vue pratique que de se représenter à cet égard, «au nom du matérialisme historique», un avenir monochrome, couler de grisaille : ce serait un barbouillage informe, et rien de plus.»<sup>22</sup>**

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<sup>22</sup> Lénine, V. : *Œuvres*. Tome 23. Paris et Moscou 1959, pp. 75—76.

## REVIEW ARTICLES

## PHILIPPINE STUDIES IN THE SOVIET UNION: PART II

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Although systematic research in the domain of Philippine philology was formally inaugurated in Moscow in 1956, and in Leningrad in 1967, it might prove of interest to cast a retrospective glance at preceding investigations or efforts along this line and to review the existing data relating to the languages and the ethnography of the Philippine Islands.

One of the earliest if not the very first works on Philippine languages in Russia may be taken to have been the outstanding study by P. S. Pallas, *Sravnitelnye slovari vseh yazykov i narechii . . . Otdelenie pervoe, sodержashchee v sebe evropeiskie i aziatskie yazyki* (Comparative Dictionaries of All the Languages and Dialects . . . Part One, Comprising European and Asian Languages) (St Petersburg 1787). Mention is here made also of three Philippine languages (Pampango, Tagalog and Magindanao), although the material is very sporadic and incomplete: for instance, of 130 words of the Russian vocabulary, no more than 19 are given the corresponding Tagalog equivalents.

At the beginning of the 19th century, a Russian citizen, the American Peter Dobell came into contact with the Tagalog language on his repeated business visits to the Philippine Islands during the years 1812—1814. After passing into the Russian public service and having been given the title of Councillor, he became the first accredited Russian consul in the Philippines. His work in two volumes *Puteshestviya i noveishiya nablyudeniya v Kitae, Manille i Indo-Kitaiskom arhipelage . . .* (Travels and the Latest Observations in China, Manilla and the Indo-China Peninsula . . .), anonymously translated into Russian from his unpublished English original that appeared in St Petersburg in 1833, comprises, besides diverse data of a general character, also noteworthy observations on the Tagalog language and its affinity to Malay. Peter Dobell also compiled a vocabulary of the Tagalog language, but in all probability, this has not been preserved.

Towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the famous Russian Slavist and expert on general and comparative linguistics, a historian of Russian linguistic thinking, Professor at the St Petersburg University, S. K. Bulich (1859—1921) often dealt with Philippine and other Austronesian languages. He wrote several studies for the popular *Encyclopaedic Dictionary* edited by F. A. Brockhaus and I. A. Efron, e.g. *Tagalskii yazyk* (The Tagalog Language) (1901),

*Filippinskaya ili tagalskaya gruppa malaiskikh yazykov* (Philippine or Tagalog Group of Malay Languages) (1902) etc. The articles clearly show signs of having been compiled, but what is far worse, Bulich failed to grasp the specificity of the morphological composition of the Tagalog word.<sup>1</sup>

During the 19th century, a number of data on languages, the linguistic situation and ethnography in the Philippines appeared in several travelogues or reports by Russian travellers. The Negritos on the Luzon Island were described by the prominent Russian ethnographer N. N. Miklukho-Maklai.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, the first Russian article appeared on the culture in the Philippines, consisting of a concise note on folk dramatic performances on the Luzon Island.<sup>3</sup>

During the early post-revolutionary years, E. D. Polivanov, the author of the manual *Vvedenie v yazykoznanie dlya vostokovednykh vuzov* (Introduction into Linguistics for High Schools of Oriental Studies) (Leningrad 1928) in which he made ample use also of examples from Tagalog, often referred to facts of this language. Using material of Tagalog and old-Japanese forms which he reconstructed from that material, he devised a hypothesis of a protolinguistic affinity between Japanese and Malayo-Polynesian languages.<sup>4</sup>

The *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (Great Soviet Encyclopedia) has published several extensive articles devoted to the Philippines, their history, geography, ethnography and culture (First Edition, Vol. 57, 1936, columns 362—378; Second Edition, Vol. 45, 1956, pp. 96—106). Unfortunately, none of these gives satisfactory data on Philippine languages or Philippine literature. These shortcomings have been remedied in the latest edition (Third Edition, Vol. 27, 1977, columns 1174—1202 or pp. 396—405).

During the period of 1931—1940, R. F. Barton published special ethnographic articles in various periodicals.<sup>5</sup>

A systematic study and investigation of Philippine languages, primarily of Tagalog, was begun in the Soviet Union in the second half of the fifties and at the same time this language was introduced as a subject of the curriculum at the Institute

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also his article, Bulich, S.: *Malaiskii yazyk* (The Malay Language). In: *Entsiklopedicheski slovar* (Encyclopaedic Dictionary). Edited by F. A. Brockhaus and I. A. Efron, Vol. 18, St Petersburg 1896, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> See our article in *Asian and African Studies*, XIV, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Muzyka i teatry na Filippinskikh ostrovakh* (Music and Theatres in the Philippine Islands). In: *Repertuar i panteon* (Repertoire and Pantheon). Book 2, 1855, pp. 49—51.

<sup>4</sup> Polivanov, E. D.: *Odna iz yaponno-malaiskikh parallelei* (One of the Japanese-Malay Parallels). *Izvestiya Akademii nauk* (Reports of the Academy of Sciences), Series VI, Vol. 12, 1918, No. 18, pp. 2283—2284.

<sup>5</sup> Barton, R. F.: *Ifugao, malaiskoe plemya nagornoj chasti Filippin* (Ifugao, a Malay Race of the Mountainous Part of the Philippines). *Sovetskaya etnografiya* (Soviet Ethnography), 1931, Nos 1—2, pp. 116—149; see also other articles published in the same journal and written by him.

of Nations of Asia of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and also at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. The first to teach Tagalog at the latter Institute was the Filipino Manuel Cruz (Teodocio Lansang), then, since 1960, by S. P. Ignashev (born 1938) and I. V. Podberezhskii (born 1937). Since the year 1960, Tagalog is also being taught at the Institute of Asian and African Countries at the Moscow State University (until the year 1972 known as the Institute of Oriental Languages), with lectures being read by V. A. Makarenko (born 1933). In Leningrad, Philippine studies were started in 1967 at the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the Leningrad State University; the reader G. E. Rachkov (born 1929) then began to train the first undergraduates (he had begun his own research of Tagalog and of Philippine literature back in 1965). G. E. Rachkov used to give all his readings on the language and literature himself; now he is assisted by his former students T. Pozdeeva and E. Samoilova. All this has helped to train a certain number of experts in the domain of Philippine studies and to prepare the first aids in Russian for the study of the Tagalog language.

At the beginning, some of the works by Philippine pedagogues were printed in a restricted number for internal purposes. Soon, however, the first Tagalog dictionaries appeared in the Soviet Union.<sup>6</sup> The Tagalog-Russian Dictionary by M. Cruz and S. P. Ignashev brings the most commonly used expressions in contemporary Tagalog, numbering some 20,000 entries, and is supplemented with a list of Tagalog geographical terms, a table of Philippine (Tagalog) weights and measures, money units and an index for searching root words in irregularly formed words.

At the end of the dictionary (pp. 331—382) there is a concise outline of Tagalog grammar by M. Cruz — written with the help of V. A. Makarenko — which is in fact the first systematic description of the Tagalog language in Russian. It is only natural that certain deficiencies and inaccuracies should have crept both into this outline and the dictionary itself, but this is understandable as there is question here of the first work of its type. All in all, it might be stated that the dictionary and the grammatical treatise have played a positive role in the study of Tagalog in the Soviet Union.

The Russian-Tagalog Dictionary by the same authors, M. Cruz and S. Ignashev, comprises some 23,000 entries representing the most current words from contemporary political and economic domain of the Russian language, as well as the most important scientific-technical, sports, military and other terminology. The dictionary is intended for users of Russian and Tagalog and for this reason the preface as well as the section on compilation of the dictionary are given both in Russian and Tagalog. This dictionary, too, is provided with geographical terms and place names.

<sup>6</sup> Cruz, M.—Ignashev, S. P.: *Tagalsko-Russkii Slovar* (Tagalog-Russian Dictionary). Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo inostrannykh i natsionalnykh slovarей 1959, 388 pp. Cruz, M.—Ignashev, S.: *Russko-tagalskii slovar* (Russian-Tagalog Dictionary). Moscow, Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya 1965, 760 pp.

Much of the editorial work on these dictionaries was done by V. A. Makarenko. At the present time, the same author has completed preparatory work on a "Bibliography of Tagalog Linguistics" going up to 1965 and comprising about 2,000 sources.

Later, a manual of Tagalog written by I. V. Podbereskii<sup>7</sup> also became available to students; this is the first manual of the Tagalog language prepared in the Soviet Union. The subject-matter is planned for a two-year course, lessons 1—14 and the Introductory Phonetic Course being meant for the first, and lessons 15—24 for the second year. During this period, students are expected to become familiar with some 3,500 lexical items (1,500 in the first and 2,000 in the second year of study). The grammar is explained systematically at the end of the manual and is presented condensely and clearly. The manual is truly an excellent aid to anyone studying Tagalog through Russian.<sup>8</sup>

At the same time, *Wikang Pilipino* appeared, compiled by V. A. Makarenko;<sup>9</sup> this is an aid consisting in fact of a reader with exercises, meant for third year students of the Philippine Department of the Historical-Philological Faculty of the Institute of Asian and African Countries at the Moscow State University. It comprises 10 lessons and a Tagalog-Russian glossary containing some 1,800 words. Each lesson brings Tagalog texts of a different nature, as well as subjects for conversation and materials for translation into Russian, always introduced by a brief note of the compiler on the relevant topic. This electrographic edition, of which only a restricted number of copies appeared and which might be considered to be in some measure a continuation of Podbereskii's *Uchebnik tagalskogo yazyka*, is likewise a welcome and appropriate aid to students to extend their knowledge of Tagalog or Pilipino, the national language of the Republic of the Philippines.<sup>10</sup>

Among monographs, special mention should be made of the work by M. Cruz (born 1918), and L. I. Shkarban (born 1937) on the Tagalog language<sup>11</sup> which appeared in the series Languages of Asian and African Nations. It explains the fundamental issues of lexicography and orthography, phonetics and morphology, syntax and history of the research into Tagalog, for the most part according to data of well-known Philippinists, particularly of L. Bloomfield and F. Blake. But many of the sections are original and of great value, viz. the part titled Certain Aspects of the

*Tagalog Language* (The Tagalog Language).

<sup>7</sup> Podbereskii, I. V.: *Uchebnik tagalskogo yazyka* (Textbook of the Tagalog language). Moscow, Nauka 1976, 480 pp.

<sup>8</sup> See also my review on Podbereskii's work in Asian and African Studies, XIV, pp. 202—203.

<sup>9</sup> *Wikang Pilipino. Tagalskii yazyk* (The Tagalog Language). Compiled by V. A. Makarenko. Moscow, Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet imeni M. V. Lomonosova, Institut stran Azii i Afriki, kafedra filologii stran Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii, Korei i Mongolii ISAA pri MGU 1976, 195 pp.

<sup>10</sup> See also my review in this volume of Asian and African Studies, pp. 211—212.

<sup>11</sup> Cruz, M.—Shkarban, L. I.: *Tagalskii yazyk* (The Tagalog Language). Moscow, Nauka 1966. 103 pp.

Phonological System in the Tagalog Language (pp. 17—21) and the materials on certain morphophonemic changes in the part Sandhi (pp. 22—26) in the chapter Phonetics, certain theses in the section Problem of Parts of Speech (pp. 38—44), the general rules for differentiating names and verbs with the aid of stress patterns (pp. 48—50) and the various characteristics of the verb and noun in the chapter Morphology. M. Cruz also wrote about the mutual interrelationships between Tagalog and other major languages of the Philippines, about research into national minorities and about the linguistic policy.<sup>12</sup>

A noteworthy monograph is also the book by V. A. Makarenko on word-formation in Tagalog.<sup>13</sup> It is the first systematic description of word-formation in the contemporary Tagalog language. The author first introduces the reader into the phonology, for a thorough analysis of Tagalog morphological word-formation cannot dispense with a survey of the phonological system. The next three chapters then deal with morphological elements of the word, affixation, and composition and reduplication in contemporary Tagalog.<sup>14</sup>

Another systematic study which will undoubtedly arouse interest not only among Philippinists but also other linguists, will treat of grammatical phenomena in Tagalog. It comes from the pen of the Leningrad Koreanist and Philippinist G. E. Rachkov and at the time this is being written, it is in press. Its title is to be *Vvedenie v morfologiyu tagalskogo yazyka* (Introduction into the Morphology of the Tagalog Language).

Considerable attention is devoted to Philippine languages in V. D. Arakin's works dealing with certain general problems relating to Indonesian languages (unfortunately, some inaccuracies and errors are to be found in the book Indonesian Languages with regard to the Philippine material).<sup>15</sup>

An evident increase in the number of works concerned with diverse issues of the Tagalog language, with a comparative research of Philippine and Indonesian languages, as also such as deal with the linguistic situation in the Philippines, may be noted to have taken place from about the mid-sixties and in the seventies. The field of survey became extended and in recent years it has come to cover not only Tagalog phonology, morphology and syntax, but also various aspects of typology, semantics

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<sup>12</sup> Cruz, M.: *Yazyki i dialekty Filippin i ikh rasprostranenie* (Languages and Dialects of the Philippines and Their Expansion). In: *Yazyki Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Languages of Southeast Asia). Moscow 1967, pp. 73—80.

<sup>13</sup> Makarenko, V. A.: *Tagalskoe slovoobrazovanie* (Tagalog Word-Formation). Moscow, Nauka 1970. 170 pp.

<sup>14</sup> For more details, see my review in *Asian and African Studies*, X, Bratislava (1974) 1975, p. 199.

<sup>15</sup> Arakin, V. D.: *Tipologicheskie osobennosti slovoobrazovatelnoi sistemy v nekotorykh yazykakh indoneziiskoi gruppy* (Typological Peculiarities of Word Formational System in Some languages of the Indonesian Group). In: *Yazyki Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii*, Moscow 1967, pp. 193—212; *Indoneziiskie yazyki* (Indonesian Languages). Moscow, Nauka 1965.



and translation. There is every reason to expect that monographic works summarizing the results of linguistic researches by Soviet Philippinists will now be appearing in greater numbers.

Less attention has thus far been paid to phonology of the Tagalog language, two major exceptions here being the works by I. V. Podberezskii<sup>16</sup> (at present he has ceased to pursue linguistics and devotes himself practically exclusively to literature), and those by L. I. Shkarban.<sup>17</sup>

The greater majority of studies are concerned with the morphological structure of the Tagalog word, various ways of word-formation and peculiarities of Tagalog agglutination.<sup>18</sup> Valuable works on these problems have come from the pens of V. A. Makarenko,<sup>19</sup> G. E. Rachkov,<sup>20</sup> L. I. Shkarban<sup>21</sup> and I. V. Podberezskii.<sup>22</sup> The last

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<sup>16</sup> Podberezskii, I. V.: *Fonologicheskaya sistema tagalskogo yazyka* (Phonological System of the Tagalog Language). Uchenye zapiski MGIMO, Moscow 1969.

<sup>17</sup> Shkarban, L. I.: *Zamechaniya o tagalskoi fonologii v svyazi s izucheniem morfologicheskoi sistemy tagalskogo yazyka* (Notes on Tagalog Phonology in Connection with a Study of the Morphological System of the Tagalog Language). In: *Ocherki po fonologii vostochnykh yazykov* (Studies on Phonology of Oriental Languages). Moscow 1975, pp. 240—259.

<sup>18</sup> See some works by N. F. Alieva, e.g. *Nekotorye osobennosti indoneziiskoi agglutinatitsii* (Some Peculiarities of Indonesian Agglutination). In: *Morfologicheskaya tipologiya i problema klassifikatsii yazykov* (Morphological Typology and Problem of Classification of Languages). Moscow 1965, pp. 292—297 (on verbal affixation in Tagalog and Indonesian).

<sup>19</sup> Makarenko, V. A.: *Tagalsko-indoneziiskie slovoobrazovatelnye paralleli* (Tagalog-Indonesian Parallels in Word-Formation). In: *Voprosy filologii stran Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Questions of Philology of Southeast Asian Countries). Moscow 1965, pp. 25—46; *K probleme morfologicheskogo slovoobrazovaniya v sovremennom tagalskom yazyke* (On the Problem of Morphological Word-Formation in the Contemporary Tagalog Language). In: *Tezisy dokladov na "Lomonosovskikh chteniyakh" 1965 g.* (Theses of Reports on "Lomonosov's Readings" 1965). Moscow 1966, pp. 57—64; *General Characteristics of Filipino Word Formation*. Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez. Essays in honor of Cecilio Lopez on his seventy-fifth birthday. Quezon City, Linguistic Society of the Philippines 1973, pp. 196—205.

<sup>20</sup> Rachkov, G. E.: *K voprosu o grammaticheskikh kategoriakh tagalskogo glagola* (On the Grammatical Categories of the Tagalog Verb). In: *Tezisy konferentsii po istorii, yazykam i kulture Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Theses of a Conference on the History, Language and Culture of Southeast Asia). Leningrad, LGU 1967; *O dvoistvennom chisle v tagalskom yazyke* (On Dual in the Tagalog Language). In: *ibid.*, Leningrad 1969; *Tagalskii benefaktiv* (Tagalog Benefactive) (in collaboration with T. Pozdeeva). In: *Filologiya i istoriya stran zarubezhnoi Azii i Afriki* (Philology and History of Asian and African Countries), Leningrad, LGU 1972.

<sup>21</sup> Shkarban, L. I.: *Opyt sistematizatsii nekotorykh slovoobrazovatelnykh protsessov v tagalskom yazyke* (An Attempt at Systematization of Some Word Formational Processes in the Tagalog Language). In: *Spornye voprosy stroya yazykov Kitaya i Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Open Questions of Structure of the Languages of China and Southeast Asia). Moscow 1964, pp. 174—186; *O nekotorykh morfologicheskikh svoistvakh tagalskogo glagola* (On Some Morphological Features of the Tagalog Verb). In: *Yazyki Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii*, Moscow 1967, pp. 160—178; *Problemy izucheniya kategorii zaloga v tagalskom yazyke* (Problems of the Category of Voice in the Tagalog Language). In: *Yazyki Kitaya i Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii*, Moscow 1967, pp. 160—178; *Problemy izucheniya kategorii zaloga v tagalskom yazyke*

two authors have also made a multifaceted study of the problem relating to a differentiation of parts of speech in Tagalog.<sup>23</sup>

Problems of syntax find a reflection primarily in the works of G. E. Rachkov who has elaborated in detail questions concerning the syntactical functions of the auxiliary word (*ay*) and the function of the so-called noninflectional verbs *may* and *wala*.<sup>24</sup> Syntax has also been dealt with in some measure by I. V. Podberezskii,<sup>25</sup> while semantics was touched upon in a somewhat marginal way by L. I. Shkarban.<sup>26</sup>

G. E. Rachkov began to pursue certain aspects of translation from Russian into Tagalog.<sup>27</sup>

Since the beginning of the seventies, V. A. Makarenko has devoted consistent

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(Problems of the Category of Voice in the Tagalog Language). In: *Yazyki Kitaya i Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Languages of China and Southeast Asia). Moscow 1974, pp. 224—244.

<sup>22</sup> Podberezskii, I. V.: *Morfologicheskaya struktura slova v tagalskom yazyke* (Morphological Structure of Word in the Tagalog Language). In: *Yazyki Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii*. Moscow 1967, pp. 213—224; *Udvoenie v sovremennom tagalskom yazyke* (Reduplication in the Contemporary Tagalog Language). In: *Voprosy yazyka i literatury* (Questions of Language and Literature). Moscow 1968, pp. 155—171.

<sup>23</sup> Shkarban, L. I.: *O chastyakh rechi v tagalskom yazyke* (On the Parts of Speech in Tagalog). In: *Voprosy teorii chastei rechi na materiale yazykov razlichnykh tipov. Tezisy dokladov* (Questions of the Theory of Parts of Speech on Material of Languages of Various Types. Theses of Reports). Leningrad 1965, pp. 52—55; *O printsipakh vydeleniya klassov slov v tagalskom yazyke* (Principles of Word Class Definition in the Tagalog Language). In: *Voprosy teorii chastei rechi* (Questions of the Theory of Parts of Speech). Leningrad 1968, pp. 318—328. Podberezskii, I. V.: *Sintaksicheskaya kharakteristika chastei rechi v tagalskom yazyke* (Syntactical Characteristics of Parts of Speech in the Tagalog Language). *Uchenye zapiski MGIMO*, Moscow 1967, pp. 164—196.

<sup>24</sup> Rachkov, G. E.: *Konfiguratsii s nespriyagaemymi glagolami v tagalskom yazyke* (Configurations with Noninflectional Verbs in the Tagalog Language). In: *Filologiya i istoriya stran zarubezhnoi Azii i Afriki*. Tezisy dokladov. Leningrad, LGU 1966; *Sluzhebnoe slovo ay v tagalskom yazyke* (Auxiliary Word *ay* in Tagalog). In: *Issledovaniya po filologii stran Azii i Afriki* (Investigations in the Philology of Asian and African Countries). Leningrad, LGU 1966, pp. 89—94; *Predikativy nalichiya v tagalskom yazyke* (Existential Predicatives in Tagalog). *Vestnik Leningradskogo universiteta* (Bulletin of the Leningrad University), 2. Istoriya, yazyk, literatura (History, Language, Literature), Jan. 1967, pp. 110—114; *Slozhnye predlozheniya s pridatochnym opredelitel'nyim v tagalskom yazyke* (Complex Sentences Including Determinative Clause in Tagalog). 15-ya nauchnaya konferentsiya po istorii, yazykam i kulture Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii (15-th Scientific Conference on History, Languages and Culture of Southeast Asia). Leningrad, LGU 1972; *K kharakteristike tagalskikh dvusostavnykh opredelenii* (On Characteristics of Tagalog Binomial Attributes). *Vestnik Leningradskogo universiteta*, 1973, No. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Podberezskii, I. V.: *Dvusostavnoe predlozhenie v sovremennom tagalskom yazyke* (Binomial Sentence in Contemporary Tagalog). In: *Voprosy yazyka i literatury*. Moscow 1968, pp. 155—171.

<sup>26</sup> Shkarban, L. I.: *K semanticheskoi kharakteristike passivnykh zalogov v tagalskom yazyke* (Semantic Characteristics of the Passive Voice in the Tagalog Language). In: *Problemy semantiki* (Problems of Semantics). Moscow 1974, pp. 196—213.

<sup>27</sup> Rachkov, G. E.: *Nekotorye voprosy perevoda s russkogo na tagalskii* (Some Problems of Translating from Russian into Tagalog). V-ya nauchnaya konferentsiya po istorii, yazykam i kulture Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii. Leningrad, LGU 1974.

attention to the linguistic situation prevailing in the Philippines and has written two studies on this topic.<sup>28</sup> His most recent contribution to this subject is both the most comprehensive and the best as regards form, content and presentation.<sup>29</sup>

The problem of loanwords in Tagalog was not bypassed either. It was dealt with by V. A. Makarenko in his monograph<sup>30</sup> and by S. Ya. Turina in her short paper.<sup>31</sup>

V. A. Makarenko made an analysis of the origins and evolution of old Philippine syllabic writing; his article involves a hypothesis on Dravidian sources of this form of writing,<sup>32</sup> and recently he has again taken up this topic after a lapse of several years.<sup>33</sup>

Diverse problems pertaining to Philippine languages, particularly that of a national language, issues of mutual relations between national language and the major languages, etc. have been the object of investigation of several general and nonspecific Philippinistic studies<sup>34</sup> as well as of works relating to questions of ethnolinguistics.

The study of Tagalog has borne fruit also in the domain of translation: works from Philippine literature written in Tagalog have already appeared in Russian editions. In 1962, S. P. Ignashev published Philippine tales.<sup>35</sup> In a slim little booklet he

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<sup>28</sup> Makarenko, V. A.: *Razvitie sovremennoi yazykovoi situatsii v Filippinskoi respublike i ee osnovnye tendentsii* (Development of Contemporary Language Situation in the Republic of the Philippines and Its Main Trends). In: *Problemy izucheniya yazykovoi situatsii i yazykovoi vopros v stranakh Azii i Severnoi Afriki* (Problems of the Study of Language Situation and the Language Question in Asian and North African Countries). Moscow 1970, pp. 156—170; *Yazykovaya situatsiya na Filippinakh v proshlom i nastoyashchem* (Language Situation of the Philippines in the Past and Present). *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Nations of Asia and Africa), Moscow 1970, No. 5, pp. 123—135.

<sup>29</sup> Makarenko, V. A.: *Yazykovaya situatsiya i yazykovaya politika na Filippinakh (osnovnye problemy issledovaniya)* (Language Situation and Language Policy in the Philippines (Main Problems of Research)). In: *Yazykovaya politika v afro-aziatskikh stranakh* (Language Policy in Afro-Asian Countries). Moscow, Nauka 1977, pp. 150—172.

<sup>30</sup> See Note 13.

<sup>31</sup> Turina, S. Ya.: *Ob ispanskikh zaimstvovaniyakh v tagalskom yazyke* (On Spanish Loanwords in the Tagalog Language). In: *Vostochnoe yazykoznanie* (Oriental Linguistics). Moscow, Nauka 1976, pp. 113—119.

<sup>32</sup> Makarenko, V. A.: *Some Data on South-Indian Cultural Influences in South-East Asia*. The History of the Origin and Development of the Old Filipino Script. *Tamil Culture*, XI, 1964, No. 1, pp. 58—91.

<sup>33</sup> Makarenko, V. A.: *Osnovnye problemy issledovaniya drevnefilippinskogo pisma* (Main Problems of Research in the Old Filipino Script). *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, 1973, No. 2, pp. 42—50.

<sup>34</sup> From a number of works, we mention here those by Levinson, G. I.: *Filippiny mezhdru pervoi i vtoroi mirovoi voynami* (Philippines between the First and Second World Wars). Moscow 1958, especially pp. 154—155. Baryshnikova, O. G.: *Filippiny. Ekonomiko-geograficheskaya kharakteristika* (Philippines. An Economico-Geographical Characteristic). Moscow 1960, especially pp. 55—56. Podberezskii, I. V.: *Strana semi tysyach ostrovov. Ocherki o Filippinakh* (A Country of Seven Thousand Islands. Essays on the Philippines). Moscow, Mysl 1970, 160 pp.

<sup>35</sup> *Filippinskie skazki i legendy* (Philippine Folk Tales and Legends). Moscow, Izdatelstvo vostochnoi literatury 1962, 48 pp.

presents 28 tales from the abundant Philippine oral tradition. In 1975 a comprehensive publication on oral lore of the Philippine nations appeared with a foreword by B. B. Parnickel. It was compiled and translated from English and Tagalog by R. L. Rybkin (born 1934) who also provided the annotations.<sup>36</sup> It is intended for adults and comprises the impressive total of 182 tales and legends introduced under the headings of the different nations and nationalities.

The multilingual Philippine literature is proportionally represented in Russian translations: there are translations from three principal branches of Philippine literature, namely, that written in Tagalog, in Spanish and in English (in the post-war years only two have remained, for works in Spanish occur sporadically only and Spanish as a literary language is dying out). The first short stories from Tagalog were translated by S. P. Ignashev in 1962. The first Russian translations from English-written Philippine literature appeared already in the fifties, but their numbers increased particularly in the sixties. The present survey, however, will not enumerate all these various translations that appeared for the most part in diverse journals, but will concentrate rather on book publications.

During the past fifteen years, several anthologies of Philippine short stories appeared in Russian as translations from Tagalog and English originals, as well as novels translated from Spanish, English and Tagalog. Collections of poems translated from these languages have also been published in Russian.

The genre most developed in Philippine prose is that of the short story. One of the first attempts at translating Philippine short stories into Russian dates from the year 1969, the anthology being compiled by S. Ignashev and the foreword written by V. Makarenko.<sup>37</sup> This comprises 17 stories translated from English and Tagalog (by G. Golovnev, S. Ignashev and I. Podberezskii). Three further anthologies appeared at fairly short intervals. The first was compiled by R. L. Rybkin who also wrote the preface and provided annotations about the authors.<sup>38</sup> He himself translated the greater number of the 22 stories included (the rest was translated by G. I. Golovnev, G. E. Rachkov, V. A. Makarenko, I. V. Podberezskii, and L. I. Shkarban); the translations are from English and Tagalog. The second anthology comprising 14 stories was compiled and translated likewise from Tagalog and English by V. Makarenko who also provided the notes on the authors.<sup>39</sup> The third anthology is dedicated to the works of one of the most prominent contemporary Philippine writers, N. V. M. Gonzales. It was compiled by R. L. Rybkin, translated into Russian

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<sup>36</sup> *Skazki i mify narodov Filipin* (Folk Tales and Myths of Philippine Nations). Moscow, Nauka 1975, 429 pp.

<sup>37</sup> *Rasskazy filippinskikh pisatelei* (Short Stories of Philippine Writers). Moscow, Progress 1969, 166 pp.

<sup>38</sup> *Deti zemli* (Children of Earth). *Novelly filippinskikh pisatelei* (Stories of Philippine Writers). Moscow, Nauka 1970, 174 pp.

<sup>39</sup> *Filippinskie novelly* (Philippine Stories). Alma-Ata, Zhazushy 1973, 159 pp.

by a team of translators and the epilogue was written by I. V. Podberezskii.<sup>40</sup> This anthology comprises the novel *A Season of Grace* and 12 stories. The above anthologies present a very good cross-section of the work on Philippine short story.

A Russian translation has also been made of the works of José Rizal, a classic of Philippine literature, primarily his novels *Noli me tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* from Spanish.<sup>41</sup> Also several special works in Russian are devoted to this Philippine national hero<sup>42</sup> and at the present time, I. V. Podberezskii is working on a monograph about José Rizal. Another novel that has been translated is *The Bamboo Dancers* by N. V. M. Gonzalez dealing with problems of the intelligentsia.<sup>43</sup> From novels in Tagalog, the work of the eminent poet and prose writer Amado V. Hernandez, *Mga Ibong Mandaragit* (Birds of Prey) has been published in the translation by S. Ignashev and V. Makarenko, with a preface by the latter.<sup>44</sup> The novel is dedicated to the memory of the tragic days of occupation of the Philippines by the Japanese and the first post-war years in Manila and the provinces. The latest novel to have appeared to date is that by Francisco Sionil José, *The Pretenders*. This novel was published together with three stories treating of a topic close to that of the novel, viz. *The Exile*, *The Cripples*, and *Two Interviews*. This was compiled and translated by I. V. Podberezskii who also wrote the epilogue; but there is also an epilogue to the Russian translation written by the author himself.<sup>45</sup>

In 1971 the first collection of poems of Amado V. Hernandez appeared in Russian, compiled by S. Ignashev and V. Makarenko who also provided literal translations of the texts and the annotations. The preface is by V. Makarenko.<sup>46</sup> Another anthology brings information of twentieth century Philippine poetry, likewise compiled by the above two scholars who also provided the notes on the

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<sup>40</sup> Gonzalez, N. V. M.: *Pora blagodatí. Povest i rasskazy* (A Season of Grace. A Novel and Short Stories). Moscow, Nauka 1974, 304 pp.

<sup>41</sup> Rizal, José: *Ne prikasaisya ko mne*. Translation M. Bylinkina, Introduction A. Guber. Moscow 1963; *Filibustieri*. Translation and postscript D. Vygodskii. Leningrad 1937; *Filibustieri*. Translation E. Lysenko, Foreword M. Kolesnikova. Moscow 1965; *Izbrannoe* (Selected Writings) (Translation from Spanish and Tagalog). Moscow 1961. A new edition of Rizal's novels is due to appear in 1979.

<sup>42</sup> Guber, A.—Rykovskaya, O.: *José Rizal*. Moscow 1937; Akopova, M.: *José Rizal* (1861—1896). *Vostochnyi almanakh* (Oriental Almanac), vyp. 4, pp. 304—307; Borisov, B.: *Slavnyi syn filippinskogo naroda (K 100-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya J. Rizalya)* (Famous son of the Philippine nation (100 Years from the Birthday of José Rizal)). *Inostrannaya literatura* (Foreign Literature), 1961, No. 6, pp. 219—221.

<sup>43</sup> Gonzalez, N. V. M.: *Tantsorys bambukom* (*The Bamboo Dancers*). Moscow, Khudozhestvennaya literatura 1965.

<sup>44</sup> Hernandez, Amado: *Khishchnye ptitsy* (Birds of Prey). Moscow, Khudozhestvennaya literatura 1976, 350 pp.

<sup>45</sup> José, Francisco Sionil: *Izbrannoe* (Selected Writings). Moscow, Nauka 1977, 343 pp.

<sup>46</sup> Hernandez, Amado V.: *Zerna risa* (Grains of Rice). Moscow, Khudozhestvennaya literatura 1971, 223 pp.

authors, and V. Makarenko wrote the epilogue.<sup>47</sup> This is the first anthology of Philippine poetry written in Tagalog, English and Spanish, to appear in a Russian translation and comprises the selected works of 35 poets, for the most part our contemporaries. The most comprehensive poetical collection so far has been compiled by V. A. Makarenko who also wrote the preface to it.<sup>48</sup> This anthology of Philippine poetry presents works of very different genres and from various periods, from old folk songs down to the latest poems. It contains verses by some one hundred Philippine poets writing in Tagalog, Spanish and English.

As regards the literary-scientific domain, mention should be made of the works by M. Cruz (alias A. Santos) that appeared between the years 1958 and 1967.<sup>49</sup> With one single exception (a booklet by A. Santos), they were all short articles. The time factor did not permit them to analyse the last 10—15 years and precisely this period is marked by momentous changes and unusual results, for development in this field on the Philippine Islands proved extraordinarily dynamic. These works were probably useful in their day, but today they have been outdated. Their great disadvantage was their excessive conciseness and often also their oversimplifying conclusions. For example, the booklet by A. Santos, referred to above, is also of a pocket format and has no more than 93 pages. The gap in the description of the recent years of literary life in the Philippines is to a considerable extent filled by V. A. Makarenko's study which presents a deeper insight into this literature.<sup>50</sup>

The present review, of course, makes no claim whatever to being an exhaustive study; its aim was not to enumerate everything that relates to Philippine culture, languages or literature and that appeared in a Russian translation, but rather to underline the most important results achieved in Soviet Philippine studies in the field of culture, and especially in that of linguistics and literature up to the year 1977.

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<sup>47</sup> *Sovremennaya filippinskaya poeziya* (Contemporary Philippine Poetry). Moscow, Progress 1974, 312 pp.

<sup>48</sup> *Bambukovaya fleita* (The Bamboo Flute). Moscow, Nauka 1977, 293 pp.

<sup>49</sup> Cruz, M.: *Literatura Filippinskoj respubliki* (Literature of the Republic of the Philippines). *Inostrannaya literatura*, 1958, No. 10, pp. 196—200; *Razvitie literatury i kultury na Filippinakh* (Development of Literature and Culture in the Philippines). In: Tashkentskaya konferentsiya pisatelei Azii i Afriki (Tashkent Conference of Writers of Asia and Africa). Tashkent 1960, pp. 89—97. Santos, A.: *Puti razvitiya filippinskoj literatury* (Ways of Development of Philippine Literature). *Problemy vostokovedeniya* (Problems of Oriental Studies), 1960, No. 2, pp. 61—69; *Segodnyashnii den nashei kultury* (Our Culture Today). *Aziya i Afrika segodnya* (Asia and Africa Today), 1962, No. 9, p. 29; Santos, A.: *Filippinskaya literatura* (Philippine Literature). Moscow, Nauka 1965, 93 pp. Cruz, M.: *Blizhe k chayaniyam naroda* (Closer to the Desires of the people). *Aziya i Afrika segodnya*, 1967, No. 6, pp. 46—47.

<sup>50</sup> Makarenko, V. A.: *Osnovnye cherty poslevoennoi filippinskoj literatury* (Main Features of Post-War Philippine Literature). In: *Literaturny zarubezhnoi Azii v sovremennuyu epokhu* (Asian Literatures in the Contemporary Period). Moscow, Nauka 1975, pp. 171—201.

I am greatly indebted to V. A. Makarenko and L. L. Taivan whose works are referred to in Part I of my study. In addition, I am particularly grateful to V. A. Makarenko who read my manuscripts and offered me valuable advice.

## ETHNOGRAPHIC PUBLICATIONS OF THE ATATÜRK UNIVERSITY IN ERZURUM

XÉNIA CELNAROVÁ, Bratislava

The publications edited over the past few years by the Atatürk University in Erzurum include also several ethnographic works that deserve the attention of those investigations folk culture in the Near East and within wider comparative connections.

These authors focused their interest on eastern Anatolia where Turkish folklore has best preserved its originality and diversity and by its wealth provides ethnographers with a wide sphere of action.

Two publications devoted to folk customs and superstitions in the Erzurum Province resulted from several years of field work carried out perseveringly by Assoc. Professor Dr. Zeki Başar. The first one<sup>1</sup> investigates the traditions connected with places of pilgrimage in the Erzurum region. The author describes two hundred places of pilgrimage represented by crypts, tombs, tomb stones, ruins, caves and the like which he himself has visited and investigated and documents his description with photographic material. He sets down the causes leading countryfolk to visit these places, analyses the superstitions attached to the sites. A place of pilgrimage is always linked to the name of some personage, whether it be an historical person or one just living in folk tradition. The author records the manner in which pilgrims turn to the persons truly or only supposedly buried at the various places of pilgrimage for help. In some cases, these sites have already lost their original function and today serve only as the goal of festive excursions by inhabitants of nearby environs.

Partial results of investigations of places of pilgrimage are met with also in Z. Başar's second work, of a broader design, concerned with the customs and superstitions associated with popular healing and mysticism.<sup>2</sup>

Z. Başar encompassed a countryman's entire life into his surveys of customs and superstitions, beginning with his birth right up to his death. His classification of superstitions and customs starts from the wedding ceremony as the first precondition for the advent into the world of the newly-born man. The wedding customs are

<sup>1</sup> Başar, Z.: *İçtimai adetlerimiz-inançlarımız ve Erzurum İlindeki ziyaret yerlerimiz* (Our Social Customs-Superstitions and our Places of Pilgrimage in the Erzurum Province). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 222. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1972. XIV + 226 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Başar, Z.: *Erzurum'da tıbbî ve mistik folklor araştırmaları* (Medical and Mystic Folklore Studies in Erzurum). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 217. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1972. XVII + 271 pp.



portrayed here with all their multifarious complexity, beginning with the first visit of the female relatives of the prospective bridegroom to the family of the selected girl, up to customs of the first post-wedding days. Then follow superstitions associated with pregnancy, the birth and care of the newborn, and the woman in travail. As illustrative examples of customs and superstitions relating to childbirth, the author has included also a few folk lullabies. Similarly, he has supplemented the customs and superstitions around man's death with lamentations.

Z. Başar has collected customs and superstitions connected with man's everyday life in his relation to nature and social connections in a separate chapter. Besides regional variants in customs and superstitions, the author points, in a few cases, also to their original character among ancient nomadic Turks.

The author devotes exceptional attention to all aspects of material and spiritual culture associated with mystic folklore, which, in eastern Anatolia, used to be powerfully influenced by mysticism, which is understandable seeing the close vicinity of this region with Iran, the cradle of Islamic mysticism.

Finally, the results have been compared with those of tribe of Kazakh Turks that have been officially settled in Istanbul-Zeytinburnu area during 1953.

The reviewer regards as a shortcoming of this publication that the author does not indicate the location of various superstitions and customs.

As the topic dealt with in these two publications has so far remained marginal to the interest of Turkish ethnographers, Z. Başar's work may be valued as a meritorious pioneering act.

Folk tales represent an important part of the cultural heritage of the Turkish nation. Despite their significant position in Turkish folklore, they have not been given as yet the attention they rightly deserve. The greatest credit for spreading the knowledge of the Turkish tale incontestably goes to the foremost Turkish folklorist P. N. Boratav who, through his valuable publications of Turkish Tales,<sup>3</sup> and their typologization in co-operation with W. Eberhard,<sup>4</sup> has stimulated interest on the part of experts and of the wider cultural public in this as yet little researched domain of Turkish folklore.

P. N. Boratav's merits in the investigation of Turkish folk tales is also underlined by Dr. Saim Sakaoglu in the introductory part of his broadly conceived scientific treatise on tales from the Gümüşhane Province,<sup>5</sup> lying to the northeast of Erzurum.

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<sup>3</sup> Boratav, P. N.: *Contes Turcs*. Paris 1955. 220 pp. Boratav, P. N.: *Zaman zaman içinde* (In Times Long, Long Gone By). Istanbul 1958. 224 pp. Boratav, P. N.: *Türkische Volksmärchen*. Berlin 1967. 360 pp. Boratav, P. N.: *Azgittik, uzgittik* (We've Gone Near, We've Gone Far). Ankara 1969. 432 pp.

<sup>4</sup> Eberhard, W.—Boratav, P. N.: *Typen Türkischer Volksmärchen*. Wiesbaden 1953. XI + 506 pp.

<sup>5</sup> Sakaoglu, S.: *Gümüşhane masalları. Metin, toplama ve tahlil* (Stories from Gümüşhane. Text, Collection and Analysis). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 298. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1973. XVII + 700 pp.

Of the 182 tales which S. Sakaoğlu had collected from ninety-three informants, he included seventy in the text of the work under review and subjected them to a thorough analysis. The author's approach to the problem testifies to his solid theoretical knowledge, as is also borne out by the introductory section giving a general overview of the problem relating to folk tales. However, a work of prime importance for an investigation of folk tale, viz. that of V. J. Propp,<sup>6</sup> has, inexplicably, escaped the author's attention. Attention might also be drawn to his somewhat oversimplified approach to a comparison of the tale genre with other genres of folk literature (pp. 10—13) as a result of which, the conclusion derived from his comparison has only a schematic character.

In classifying tales from Gümüşhane, S. Sakaoğlu adheres to the classification set up by Antti Aarne — Stith Thompson,<sup>7</sup> while in comparing the motifs, he takes into account both these two authors and also the typology of W. Eberhard—P. N. Boratav. Some of the Gümüşhane tales have no parallel in these catalogues.

While investigating the plot of the tales from Gümüşhane, S. Sakaoğlu came to the conclusion that everyone of them expresses one of the fundamental moral values, and in virtue of this finding assigns tales into three groups. The most numerous group A (41 tales) comprises plots in which the hero through his own efforts achieves a higher social position, obtains success or escapes danger. Plots of group B (9 tales) involve defence or loss of one's honour. Group C (17 tales) is represented by plots with a classical idea of reward of good and punishment of evil.

When analysing the legendary characters, the author devotes special attention to personages of rulers. He justifies their great frequency in the tale plots by the naturalness of human psyche. The notion of a paradisaean bird that can make a ruler of a simple man, afforded the people at least a modicum of consolation in their harsh conditions of life. Therefore, in the popular image, the ruler remains endowed with the same traits of character as any other man from the people (p. 214).

In his analysis of personages the author arrives at yet another interesting concept, namely, that the figure of the Bald Head (*Keloğlan*), which represents one of the most popular heroes of Turkish folklore, loses its typical signs in some of the Gümüşhane tales (p. 226).

Having analysed the environment into which the people had set their heroes, S. Sakaoğlu goes on to deal with the forms of the Gümüşhane tales. He considers the

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<sup>6</sup> Propp, J. V.: *Morfologiya skazki* (Morphology of the Folk Tale). Leningrad 1928. The latest English edition: Propp, J. V.: *Morphology of the Folktale*. Second Edition. Revised and Edited with a Preface by Louis A. Wagner, New Introduction by Alan Dundes. Austin — London, University of Texas Press 1968.

<sup>7</sup> Aarne, A.: *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*. Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 3. Helsinki 1911. The latest edition: *The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography* Antti Aarne's *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* (FFC No. 3). Translated and enlarged by S. Thompson. Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 184. Helsinki 1964.

occurrence of lyrical insets in some of the tales as a purely fortuitous fact. The Turkish folk tale is a prosaic creation and verses penetrate it solely in the performance of a folk story-teller (*halk hikâyecisi*) or a folk poet (*âşık*).

Through the publication of the texts of seventy as yet unpublished tales and their scientific analysis, S. Sakaoğlu has the credit of having made a new step forward in promoting knowledge of the Turkish tale.

Turkish folklore and to a certain extent also the literary science in the domain of folk culture devote most attention to the creation of folk poets and stories (*hikâye*) associated to them.

One of the Atatürk University's publications<sup>8</sup> deals with the character of the folk poet and legendary hero Koroğlu who has come to be the subject of epic tradition not only of the Turks, but also of the other — even non-Turkish — nations of the Near East, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Siberia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan.<sup>9</sup> The book under review does not constitute a scientific treatise on the Koroğlu epos, but brings its transcribed text as presented by the folk narrator Behçet Mahir. The unique aim of the compilers viz. Mehmet Kaplan, a professor at Istanbul University and Mehmet Akalın and Muhan Bali, lecturers at the Atatürk University, was to preserve in the most complete form possible, the epic event, handed down for centuries by folk story-tellers, in the shape in which it has been fixed in one of the greatest contemporary Turkish popular story-tellers,<sup>10</sup> and has thus become a permanent part of modern Turkish folk literature.

The edition prepared by Prof. M. Kaplan and his team represents the most comprehensive variant of the Koroğlu epos as yet, with the greatest number of episodes.<sup>11</sup> The nature of our present paper does not leave us the scope critically to evaluate the text, and thus we must satisfy ourselves with the observation that Behçet Mahir's narration represents the connecting link between the Turkish and the Azerbaijani variant of the Koroğlu epos.

Behçet Mahir's narrative art was subjected to a critical investigation by M. Bali in

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<sup>8</sup> Mahir, B.: *Koroğlu destanı* (Koroğlu Epos). Compiled by Kaplan, M.—Akalın, M.—Bali, M. Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 314. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1973. IV + 615 pp.

<sup>9</sup> The author of the most comprehensive scientific treatise thus far on the Koroğlu Epos is the Soviet folklorist B. A. Karryev, in his *Epicheskoe skazanie o Ker-ogly u tyurkoyazychnykh narodov* (Epic Narration about Ker-ogly in the Turkic Nations). Moscow 1968. 258 pp. The Central-Asian variant has been discussed by Zhirmunsky, V. M. and Zarifov, Ch. T.: *Uzbekskii narodnyi geroicheskii epos* (Uzbek National Heroic Epos). Moscow 1947. *Gorogly*, pp. 165—279.

<sup>10</sup> Behçet Mahir (born 1910 at Erzurum) is an illiterate; he learned the art of narrating from the story-teller Hafız Mihtat. He began to tell stories at the age of eighteen. His repertoire comprises over fifty stories. Behçet Mahir's language carries traces of the Erzurum dialect.

<sup>11</sup> In addition to popularly adapted editions, the text of the Koroğlu Epos has been published in P. N. Boratav's edition, accompanied with an analysis. Boratav, P. N.: *Koroğlu destanı* (Koroğlu Epos). Istanbul, Evkaf Matbaası 1931, 284 pp.

his scientific work on the Story of Emrah of Erciş and Selvi Han.<sup>12</sup> This is the first monograph work about this story which still commands to this day an immense interest of popular story-tellers of eastern Anatolia and their listeners, and also about the personality of the popular poet from the first half of the 17th century Emrah, identified until recently with his namesake Emrah of Erzurum who lived and was active in eastern and central Anatolia in the last century. M. Bali's monograph deserves the attention of those pursuing research of Turkish folk literature not only on account of this priority, but also because of the results achieved by its authors.

In his monograph, M. Bali analyses five variants of the Story of Emrah of Erciş and Selvi Han and submits them to a reciprocal comparison. Behçet Mahir's narration represents the Erzurum variant of the story and in comparison with that of Âşık Kemal's which also belongs to the Erzurum variant, as also with narratives representing the variants of Çankırı, Erciş, Maraş and Yerevan, is much richer from the content and the formal aspect.

A story taken down from oral tradition is remoulded by every narrator in his own way, therefore one and the same story, as told by different story-tellers, becomes an original work of art possessing its own specificities. In analysing the themes, figures, forms, language and style of the Story of Emrah of Erciş and Selvi Han, the author starts from the most remarkable narrations handed down to this day.

The plot of the story under study shows several essential divergences from that of other Turkish popular stories dealing with the character of folk poets. It is, first, the social origin of the principal hero, then his misunderstanding with his father which in the pre-Islamic period used to come up as a current motif in stories, but is not met with in those originating after Islam came to be accepted. In this connection the author makes a point of the penetration of elements of Islamic religious teaching into the topic of the story under analysis and their effect on the character of the principal hero. In comparison with heroes in The Book of Dede Korkut (*Dedem Korkudun Kitabı*) who always go perseveringly after their goal, Emrah appears to be a very passive character.

The plot of the story is given by the abduction of Emrah's beloved Selvi by the Shah Abbas. While in other folk tales the obstacle between two lovers is represented, as a rule, by the girl's mother, here it is embodied in the historical person of the Iranian Shah Abbas (1587—1628).

The protracted fighting of the Ottoman empire with the neighbouring Iran under the reigns of the sultans Murad III (1574—1595) and Mehmed III (1595—1603), gave rise to several stories, one of which is also that of Emrah of Erciş and Selvi Han.

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<sup>12</sup> Bali, M.: *Erciş'li Emrah ile Selvi Han hikâyesi varyantların tesbiti ve halk hikâyeciliği bakımından önemi* (Determination of Variants of the Story of Emrah of Erciş and Selvi Han and Its Significance from the Aspect of Folk Narration). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 213. Ankara, Baylan Matbaası 1973. 302 pp.

One of the great episodes of the Erzurum variants speaks of the investment of the fortress at Van by Shah Abbas's soldiers, and Selvi was kidnapped during their retreat (p. 30). In the Yerevan version, the attackers are Ottoman armies, hence, the personage of the Shah Abbas does not figure in it, while the Maraş variant, which contains the greatest number of fantastic elements, makes no mention of these historical events at all.

The Erzurum variant, viz. the narration by Behçet Mahir is the wealthiest in events. Behçet Mahir's talk which M. Bali tape-recorded in 1964, lasted eight hours, and when transcribed, takes up 96 pages. However, the frequency of lyrical passages in Behçet Mahir is relatively low in comparison with other folk narrators. As against the forty-nine lyrical insets in Âşık Kemal's narration, Behçet Mahir in his presentation of the Story of Emrah of Erciş and Selvi Han has only twenty-two. But Behçet Mahir's narrative prose is saturated with a musical rhythm. In comparison with other narrators, his language excels with a rich vocabulary and an aesthetic expression. His dialogues have been highly commended and M. Bali gives them as a model of modern Turkish prose.

Âşık Garip's poetry — a folk poet from the second half of the 16th century — and the story related to his person, have been the subject of numerous processings. The great popularity which Âşık Garip enjoys among Turkish nations has given rise to a great number of variants of his story. Dr. Fikret Türkmen in his monograph<sup>13</sup> has subjected sixteen of them to a comparative analysis. They included fourteen Turkish and two Karaim variants. The aim of Türkmen's comparative study, made on the basis of his division of the story into ten episodes, has been to set up the probable original scheme of the story. The resultant scheme achieved by the author on the basis of his comparative analysis is essentially concordant with that derived by the Soviet folklorist Safura Yakubova, who had compared the Azerbaijan and the Central-Asian variants.<sup>14</sup>

F. Türkmen makes a separate analysis and comparison of the lyrical passages in the different variants of the Story of Âşık Garip and investigates them in relation to the ten fundamental episodes. The result of his comparison reveals the lyrical passages to be significantly connected with the plot. Some of them are bound to the context, but many of them may also be perceived as independent meaningful lyrical formations.

In the textual section, F. Türkmen brings the full text of five as yet unpublished variants, two of which come from earlier manuscript records, and three have been

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<sup>13</sup> Türkmen, F.: *Âşık Garip hikâyesi üzerinde mukayeseli bir araştırma* (A Comparative Study of the Story of Âşık Garip). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 357. Ankara, Baylan Matbassı 1974. XXXVIII + 307 pp.

<sup>14</sup> Yakubova, S.: "Ashig Gerib" dastani ve onun bashaga halklarda olan varyantlari (The Epos "Ashig Gerib" and Its Variants in Other nations). In: *Azerbaidzhan shifahi halq edebiyatına dair tedqigler* (Studies on Azerbaijan Oral Folk Literature). Baku 1961, pp. 210—255.

taken over by the author from contemporary narrators — one of them being again Behçet Mahir.

F. Türkmen's monograph, despite the thoroughness with which it analyses and compares the various episodes of sixteen variants of this significant work of Turkish folk literature, may be reproached as a unilateral approach to the problem in hand, without taking into account the broader affinities, resulting in the author's conclusions being oversimplified and hypothetical.

The last of the ethnographic publications to be dealt with here is devoted to the life and work of the folk poet Âşık Şenlik (1850—1913).<sup>15</sup> The author Dr. Ensar Aslan began his work on the monograph by a survey in depth of Âşık Şenlik's native place, Çıldır, lying on the borders of Turkey and the Georgian SSR. Through the intermediary of Âşık Şenlik's descendants and members of the earlier generation who had come with him personally into contact, E. Aslan obtained authentic information on the poet's life and records of his work.

Âşık Şenlik was not a Turk; he belonged to the descendants of the Kara-Kalpaks, who had moved in 1828 from northern Azerbaijan to Kars. As a result, Âşık Şenlik drew principally on the traditions of the Azerbaijanese folk poetry and thereby rendered a significant service to folk poets of eastern Anatolia who, through the intermediary of Şenlik's work enriched their own with new elements. In connection with an evaluation of this fact, the author presents a brief outline of the development of Azerbaijan poetry and appreciates the extraordinary efforts made by the Soviet government to preserve this significant national cultural wealth and to promote its promising growth.

As Âşık Şenlik's personality belongs to a recent past, there has been no time as yet for a story to be woven around it, one that would carry all the signs of an epical cyclization. Nevertheless, certain epic elements typical for stories connected with the personalities of folk poets have succeeded even in so short a time to penetrate into Âşık Şenlik's biography, which E. Aslan presents in a belletrized form in the first chapter of his publication (pp. 8—22). The author sets here side by side as equivalent components, both the concrete facts and realistic episodes from the poet's life, and also the legend about the sudden miraculous awakening of a poetic talent in a fourteen-year old boy.

The essential with which Aslan was concerned in making his survey in the poet's native place were not the facts and legends in his life, but a completization of Âşık Şenlik's work. A positive role in the preservation of Âşık Şenlik's artistic message in its authentic and complete form was indisputably played by the fact that his son and three nephews were also folk poets. They preserved the work of their father and grandfather both in oral tradition, and in written records. Records have been

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<sup>15</sup> Aslan, E.: *Çıldır Âşık Şenlik hayatı, şiirleri ve hikâyeleri* (Âşık Şenlik of Çıldır, His Life, Poems and Stories). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 359. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1975. XLV + 451 pp.

preserved even from Âşık Şenlik's improvisations while participating in contests of folk poets.

E. Aslan analyses Âşık Şenlik's multi-faceted poetry and his three stories that have become an inseparable part and parcel of the repertoire of practically all the folk poets living today in eastern Anatolia. The author has subjected their narrations to an analysis and has come to the conclusion that no differing variants have arisen as yet. He could make a comparative analysis only of the story of Lâtif Şah (*Lâtif Şah Hikâyesi*), of which there exists an Azerbaijan variant. As shown by the results of the comparative study, Âşık Şenlik did start from it, but he simultaneously transformed it and imparted to it the seal of an independent variant.

E. Aslan considers the Story of Salman Bey and Turnatel Hanım (*Salman Bey ve Turnatel Hanım Hikâyesi*), which is the poet's original work, to be the peak of Şenlik's achievement. When analysing it, Aslan draws attention to some similar motifs between Âşık Şenlik's story and The Book of Dede Korkut.

Thanks to E. Aslan's efforts, the all-life work of an outstanding representative of Turkish folk poetry has been published, of which only a part had come out in print till then. In this manner, Âşık Şenlik has stepped out from his involuntary seclusion to which he had been relegated by the fact that, in view of the Terekeme-Kara-Kalpak dialect in his works, he remained unknown to the western region of Turkey.

The publications of the Atatürk University spoken of here represent a new step forward in the field of research into Turkish folklore.

## TWO NEW BOOK ON THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE FROM CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS<sup>1</sup>

VOJTECH KOPČAN, Bratislava

It is a rather rare occurrence for even a great publishing house to publish two books within one year, both dealing with a relatively arduous and knotty topic, even though in one case there is question merely of a reprint of chapters from the publishers' earlier books, principally from *The New Cambridge Modern History* (1957—1966) and *The Cambridge History of Islam* (1970). In addition, these represent the second and third History of the Ottoman Empire to have appeared within a short time lapse in Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> This is undoubtedly the result of an enhanced interest in problems of Ottoman history in the Anglo-Saxon world, particularly in the U.S.A.<sup>3</sup>

Although the two books are concerned with the same topic, yet their conceptions differ. Shaw's book is the first work involving a more extensive history of Turkey and comprises the period between 1280 and 1808, that is, from the origins of the Ottoman principality until the accession to the throne of Sultan Mahmud II, who successfully initiated a modernization of the Ottoman Empire. Stanford J. Shaw's work has a continuation co-written by Ezel Kural Shaw, published under the title *Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808—1975*.<sup>4</sup> This second part embodies attempts at reforms during the course of the 19th century, the

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<sup>1</sup> *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730*. Chapters from *The Cambridge History of Islam* and *The New Cambridge Modern History* by V. J. Parry, H. İnalcık, A. N. Kurat and J. S. Bromley. Edited with an Introduction by M. A. Cook. Cambridge—London—New York—Melbourne 1976. vii + 246 pp.

Shaw, Stanford J.: *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol. I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280—1808*. Cambridge—London—New York—Melbourne 1976. xv + 351 pp.

<sup>2</sup> İnalcık, H.: *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300—1600*. London 1973.

<sup>3</sup> Of the latest books the following are worth to be mentioned here: Vryonis, S., Jr.: *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Through the Fifteenth Century*. Berkeley — Los Angeles 1971. Cook, M. A.: *Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia, 1450—1600*. London 1972. Kortepeter, C. M.: *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus*. New York 1972. Pitcher, D. E.: *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*. Leiden 1972. Thomas, L. V.: *A Study of Naima*. Ed. by N. Itzkowitz. New York 1972. Heyd, U.: *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*. Ed. by V. L. Ménage. Oxford 1973. *The Ottoman State and its Place in the World History*. Ed. by Kemal H. Karpat. Leiden 1974.

<sup>4</sup> Cambridge—London—New York—Melbourne, Cambridge University Press 1977. xxiv + 518 pp.



break-up of the Ottoman Empire as a result of World War I, the rise of the Turkish Republic and its development over half a century.

The book edited by M. A. Cook focuses on a shorter interval of the history of the Ottoman Empire, namely, from its beginning until the end of Sultan Ahmed III's reign (1730). The aim of the book, too, is more modest in scope. As said in the Publisher's Preface, "This book is intended to make available within one pair of covers a number of valuable and enduring essays hitherto scattered in different volumes of the Cambridge Histories and not always readily available to students outside the confines of their libraries."

A certain repetitiveness of the topic notwithstanding, the two books deserve the same attention on the part of readers, for they present different insights, and precisely because of this distinctiveness and dissimilarity, they actually admirably supplement one another.

Perhaps the first point that might be compared in the two works is periodization. The structure of the book edited by M. A. Cook follows the traditional pattern and in its essence derives from the chapters as organized in the original editions: 1. The Rise of the Ottoman Empire; 2. The Reigns of Bāyezīd II and Selīm I, 1481—1520; 3. The Reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent, 1520—1566; 4. The Successors of Sulaimān, 1566—1617; 5. The Period of Murād IV, 1617—1648; 6. The Reign of Mehmed IV, 1648—1687; 7. The Retreat of the Turks, 1683—1730.

Stanford J. Shaw's book, on the other hand, divides the period under study i.e. 1280—1808, into two basic parts and eight chapters: *Part I. Rise of the Ottoman Empire, 1280—1566*: 1. The Turks in History; 2. The First Ottoman Empire, 1280—1413; 3. Restoration of the Ottoman Empire, 1413—1481; 4. The Apogee of Ottoman Power, 1451—1566; 5. The Dynamics of Ottoman Society and Administration. *Part II. Decentralization and Traditional Reform in Response to Challenge*: 6. Decentralization and Traditional Reform, 1566—1683; 7. New Challenges and Responses, 1683—1808; 8. Ottoman Society, Administration and Culture in the Age of Decentralization and Traditional Reform, 1566—1808.

A comparison of the two periodizations reveals Shaw's periodization to derive from an inner development of the Ottoman State — in accordance with the progressive development of its central institutions and leadership, its foreign relations and in accordance with the course of its social and economic changes.

Shaw's periodization differs also from that of İnalcık as outlined by the latter in his book *The Ottoman Empire*. İnalcık sees the decisive milestone in Ottoman history in the 1590s. "From this time onwards Ottoman history is a record of the decayed forms of ancient imperial institutions; or, more correctly, the history of a Near-Eastern state's efforts to adapt itself to the European economic, political and cultural challenge."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Introduction: The Periods of Ottoman History, pp. 3—4.

Similarly, Kemal H. Karpat's periodization, too, comes from the milieu of an American university. This author divides Ottoman history into periods, stages, or phases of development and evolution according to the changes in the land system and the social groups which gained dominance in the government and society largely through their control of land. Thus, this periodization of Ottoman history is based essentially on the organization of the basic economic resource — the land — and the rise and fall of the élites on the basis of their role in its ownership and operation.<sup>6</sup> According to this, Karpat then divides the stages of Ottoman history as follows: 1. The Frontier Marches: Uç beyleri (frontier lords), 1299—1402; 2. The Centralized Quasi-Feudal Stage, 1421—1596; 3. Provincial Autonomy and the Ayans, 1603—1789; 4. The Stage of National Statehood: The Modern Bureaucracy and Intelligentsia, 1808—1918. At the same time, the periods 1402—1421, 1596—1603, 1789—1808 were periods of violence and unrest in the Ottoman State which corresponded to the transition from an old to a new stage. They were also the watersheds for the rise or fall of the leading social groups.

These various periodizations point to different premises in the interpretation of Ottoman history by American Osmanlı scholarship, though Karpat is to be credited with a certain innovation in that he steps outside the traditional classification of Ottoman history into periods of growth or expansion, and stagnation and decline.

The Introduction to *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730* from M. A. Cook's pen (pp. 1—9) may be considered to be a fine summarizing of certain basic issues on this topic. M. A. Cook investigates primarily such questions as the problem of the continuity of the Roman Imperial tradition and the continuity of barbarian conquerors in the history of the Ottoman Empire, and the role of Islam in the Ottoman State and society. Since he considers the Roman Imperial tradition, as also the tradition of the barbarian conquerors, to be of a rather inferior significance, he devotes his principal attention to the Islamic tradition. "The core of the problem lay in the fact that the Islamic tradition, for reasons arising from the history of its foundation, was unsuited to the legitimation of the settled, bureaucratic government of a territorial state. It could aptly legitimate a *ghazi* state, but the Ottoman state soon passed beyond this; it could aptly legitimate the mobilization of tribesmen to conquer a settled state, but that role was arrogated in the Ottoman context by their greatest Muslim enemies, the Safavids" (p. 4). The author shows how tension between the Ottoman polity and its Islamic political values were manifest in three areas. The first was the claim of the Ottoman sultans to be caliphs. The second area of tension was the relative status of the Holy Law of Islam, the *Sharī'a*, and the administrative law of the state, the *Kanun*. And finally the third area of tension was the position of the Islamic scholars, the *ulema*, within the state. This involves the

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<sup>6</sup> *The Stages of Ottoman History. A Structural Comparative Approach*. In: *The Ottoman State and its Place in World History*. Leiden 1974, pp. 79—80.

complex question — though not typical solely for Islamic tradition — that moral purity was required of scholars, untainted by involvement in the corrupting milieu of political power, on the one hand, and on the other, the Ottoman Empire included *‘ulema* in a large measure in its state apparatus.

“In sum,” says M. A. Cook, “the legitimacy force of Islam in the Ottoman polity was a distinctly ambivalent one. Islam provided a clear terminal value for the Ottoman polity in the shape of the Holy War against the infidels, and in consequence it provided also a fairly persuasive instrumental status for the concrete machinery of the state as a means to victory in this struggle. But it was a legitimacy that was very much one achievement rather than ascription: Islam conferred little intrinsic legitimacy on the structure of the state” (p. 6).

M. A. Cook then goes on to take note of certain signs of the Ottoman Empire that saliently differentiated it from contemporary Europe. Among the first such signs he notes an absence of “nations” in the Ottoman context which meant that incorporation into the Ottoman *millet*-system was accompanied by a loss of political and all other institutions. Another contrasting phenomenon was the lack of an Ottoman aristocracy. Hence, while in Europe there existed a fundamental social distinction between noble and commoner, the Ottomans made a fundamental political distinction between members and non-members of the state apparatus.

In addition, in this interesting analysis M. A. Cook underlines that “this combination of absence of nations and aristocracy on the one hand, with the prominence of slaves on the other, meant that the Ottoman state was in a sense the only serious attempt at an absolute monarchy in Europe” (p. 7).

In the conclusion of his Introduction M. A. Cook reflects on question of application of the above principles in the century-long development of the Ottoman empire.

Stanford J. Shaw deals with questions relating to the entrance of the Turks into Islamic history in the first chapter of his book. His next two chapters reach up to the end of the reign of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (1481) and correspond to the first chapter of the book edited by M. A. Cook, written by H. İnalcık under the heading *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. H. İnalcık who is the author of a novel conception of the origin and initial development of the Ottoman state in Turkish historiography, and this conception, dating from the 1950s is evident in both the texts.

A comparison of the two texts reveals that İnalcık takes a closer note of the development in neighbouring Turkoman principalities along the frontiers and devotes attention also to their cultural in parallel to their political development, a fact not lost sight of by Shaw either, but the latter deals with it in separate subchapters. Shaw’s exposition is more detailed as regards the inner-political evolution of the Ottoman principality from its very first inception.

Expansion to the Balkans takes up a relatively considerable place in both the books and here Shaw's statement should be underlined when he correctly remarks that the real founder of the Ottoman empire in the Balkans was Murad I. The authors give different dates of Murad I's accession to the Ottoman throne — Shaw gives the traditional year 1360, while İnalçık states the year 1362.

According to İnalçık three principal directions for Ottoman aggressions were set up already at the time Ottoman armies crossed into European Continent under the command of prince Süleyman, while in Shaw's view this took place only after the year 1366, when three wings were formed along which Ottoman conquests were to proceed: the right wing commanded by sultan Murad I, the left wing under Evrenoz Bey attacked Macedonia and Thessalonica and the central wing under Kara Timurtaş proceeded along the Maritsa valley and conquered Sofia, Nish, and set up bases for raids into Bosnia.

Shaw admits that the Ottomans may have made use of fire-arms — cannons and muskets — against the Karaman principality already in the 1380s, which is rather improbable.

It would of course be impossible to comment or compare all the statements and claims of the authors, consequently, the subsequent part of this review will be confined to remarks on selective statements by the authors and to correction of certain minor errors.

According to Shaw, the proportion of armed strengths at the battle of Kosovo Polje (1389) was strikingly in favour of Tzar Lazar and his allies, the numbers being 200,000 men of the Balkans alliance and 60,000 on Murad's side. In this reviewer's opinion these numbers were considerably lower and their proportion was more balanced.

When characterizing sultan Bayezid I's new invasions of the Balkans, Shaw states that, following acceptance of Ottoman suzerainty by Byzantium, Bulgaria and Serbia, Hungary was the only state that could have resisted the Ottoman progress, but it was undermined by internal divisions between the feudal barons and central government and between the Orthodox peasant and the Catholic nobles and rulers. This, however, does not quite correspond to facts, since king Sigismund had at first to face the pretenders to the Hungarian throne and later to fight with his adherents against other groups of rebel magnates (until the year 1403), so that "central government" is hardly the correct expression. As regards the Orthodox peasants of Hungary, these were settled in regions affected by Ottoman incursions and raids, but their dissatisfaction with the Catholic nobility presented no serious problem to the Hungarian kingdom.

In the Crusade of Nicopolis (1396) Shaw enumerates crusaders from various European countries but fails to mention French and Burgundian detachments which were the most numerous and formed the majority of the foreign troops. It should also

be added that following this battle, Bayezid I gained considerable prestige not only in the Islamic world, but according to H. J. Kissling, the notion of Ottoman invincibility and a dread of the Turks took hold of the European world.<sup>7</sup>

Shaw presents a rather interesting exposition of the interregnum (1402—1413) in which he explains the struggle of Bayezid's sons through a regrouping of the principal power factions of the Ottoman society — Turkish notables, *kapıkulları* and the frontier beys. However, he leaves aside the social movements that became manifest in their full strength precisely during this period, as has been pointed out by Marxist Turkology.<sup>8</sup>

The error on p. 44 is probably due to inadvertence, when Shaw, speaking about the last conquests of Mehmed I, also mentions his annexations of the Aydın principality (1425) and of Menteşe (1426), although this ruler died in 1421 as may be read six lines lower down.

Partial issues reveal that Shaw is dependent on İnalcık's interpretation; for instance he takes over in a considerable measure the conclusions regarding the quick and easy domination of Byzantine and Balkans territories from *Ottoman Methods of Conquest*.

Chapter Four, The Apogee of Ottoman Power, 1451—1566, in Shaw's history is spread over three chapters in M. A. Cook's book. Both studies devote considerable attention to the campaigns led by Mehmed II the Conqueror, but also to his organizational activity in the domain of economics, law, administration, etc. But by a rather strange coincidence, both the authors speak fairly concisely about Mehmed's failure near Belgrade in the year 1456.

On p. 43 İnalcık states that the Hungarians established themselves in Gajče in northern Bosnia . . . In all probability there is question of Jajce (Yaytse).

When dealing with struggles for accession to the throne after Mehmed II's death, Shaw stresses the fact that it was a contest between people coming from *devshirme* and the Turkish aristocracy with Karamanî Mehmed Pasha at its head, while V. J. Parry points to family ties of Bayezid with certain high dignitaries (the janissaries agha and beglerbegi of Anatolia).

The overview of the international situation in Europe and Asia during the period of Sultan Bayezid II's reign appears to be better in the chapter written by V. J. Parry.

Both the history books assign considerable place to the reign of Sultan Süleyman (1520—1566). Shaw endeavours to explain to the reader the importance of the changes that took place in the Ottoman empire precisely during the reign of this Sultan in order that he might the better understand the subsequent transformations of the Ottoman state and society.

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<sup>7</sup> *Türkenfurcht und Türkenhoffnung im 15./16. Jahrhundert. Zur Geschichte eines "Komplexes"*. In: *Südostforschungen*, 23, 1964, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Werner, Ernst: *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht — Die Osmanen (1300—1481)*. Berlin 1966, pp. 180—213. Filipović, Nedim: *Princ Musa i šejh Bedreddin*. Sarajevo 1971.

However, Belgrade did not fall into Ottoman hands on 8th August 1520 as Stanford J. Shaw states on p. 91, but on 29th August 1521. On p. 99 Shaw writes that the Portuguese fleet reached Calcutta, although the town was Calicut or Kozhikode on the Malabar coast (in Kerala), southwest India.

V. J. Parry (p. 95) mentions the second battle delivered by Ali Pasha the beglerbeg of Buda to the imperialists at Füleke in August 1552; the battle in fact took place near Plášťovce (some 70 km from Filakovo—Füleke) on 9th—10th August of that year.

V. J. Parry presents a graphic characteristic of Ottoman domination and the military situation in Hungary, being aware of the importance of this frontier for the Ottoman empire, as well as for the anti-Turkish defence of Europe.

There is no definite evidence for Stanford J. Shaw's claim on p. 111, that the principal target of Süleyman's last expedition was to have been Szigetvár. The fortress was but of local significance, but the heroic defence put up by N. Zrinski held up the Ottoman army longer than had been foreseen and the ensuing death of the Sultan prevented the carrying out of the original designs.<sup>9</sup> The fortress Gyula was not taken by Mehmed Sokollu, but by Pertev Pasha — just to correct another slip in Shaw's book.

A chapter deserving special attention is the one entitled *The Dynamics of Ottoman Society and Administration*, in which Stanford J. Shaw brings detailed information on the structure of Ottoman society — its social classes (governing and serf), on palatial institutions, the tax system and military organization. The closing part of the chapter presents a review of Ottoman literature and historiography. The data on p. 112 that Mustafa Naima was an Ottoman historian of the fifteenth century should be corrected, for he lived in the years 1665—1716, as Shaw himself states on p. 288 and in the index.

The sixth chapter of Shaw's book *Decentralization and Traditional Reform, 1566—1683* included in the second part of the book corresponds to three chapters in the book edited by M. A. Cook (*The Successors of Sulaimān, 1566—1617, The period of Murād IV, 1617—48, and The Reign of Mehmed IV, 1648—87*), the authors being V. J. Parry and A. N. Kurat.

A point worth noting here is the discerning nature of Shaw's remark that already during the greatest days of the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent there was decline, which corresponds to the result of the latest researches by Marxist historians.<sup>10</sup>

Both the authors endeavour to explain the causes and consequences of the decline of the Ottoman empire not only in the political, but also the social and economic domain, Stanford J. Shaw's explication being more modern and more complex than V. J. Parry's. On the other hand, however, V. J. Parry's text and then also A. N. Kurat's provides numerous valuable insights and detailed data that are very brief in

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<sup>9</sup> Káldy-Nagy, Gy.: *Suleimans Angriff auf Europa*. In: *Acta orientalia ASH*, 18, 1974, p. 210.

<sup>10</sup> Káldy-Nagy, Gy.: *Szulejmán*. Budapest 1974.

Shaw's book; e.g. the activities of prince Fāhrūddin in Lebanon, the course of the Venetian-Ottoman war, or the rating of the Ottomans by European contemporaries.

The chapter concerned with Mehmed IV's reign from A. N. Kurat's pen has a superfluously long introduction and deals with issues spoken of also in V. J. Parry's chapters. The explanation, too, is traditional when compared with Stanford J. Shaw's modern views on this period. But again, on many points, especially those of the Ottoman-European relations, it is more detailed and more exact.

Yet, on p. 169, the statement by Kurat that Fazıl Ahmed Pasha set out on his expedition against the Habsburgs in the spring of 1661 should be made to read in March 1663, as is attested to by several Ottoman sources.<sup>11</sup>

The exposition of the war events in Stanford J. Shaw's work is markedly abbreviated and has numerous inaccuracies, for the Ottoman army led by the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha achieved great successes in the summer and autumn of 1663 in northwestern Hungary and took such fortresses as that of Nové Zámky (Uyvar in Turkish), Nitra, Levice, Nógrád and others; hence, these were no mere raids by Tatars into Moravia and Silesia.

Both the publications ought perhaps to have given more attention to the period of the Köprülü, particularly to the successes achieved by the grand viziers Mehmed and Ahmed from the Köprülü family both at home and abroad, but it seems that we shall have to wait for an explanation of the short-lived recovery of the Ottoman empire in the 60s and 70s of the 17th century.

Kara Mustafa Pasha's expedition against Vienna is described far more modestly by Shaw than it is by Kurat. Perhaps new explanations and new stimuli will be brought by works that will appear on the occasion of the approaching tercentenary anniversary of this event.

Shaw follows up the events until the year 1808 in his chapter *New Challenges and Responses, 1683—1808*, while the chapter *The Retreat of the Turks, 1683—1730*, by A. N. Kurat and J. S. Bromley is delimited rather artificially by the end of that period called *Lale devri*. Besides a review of the principal events, both books devote an extraordinary attention to the Ottoman attempts at reforms in the domain of the army. The enhanced interest in events to the north of the Black Sea and in the Balkans, evident in the book edited by M. A. Cook, may be ascribed to A. N. Kurat's special concern in these questions but also to the importance of these regions for the further fate of the Ottoman empire.

Shaw's closing chapter is devoted not only to social changes, but also to cultural development. Shaw pointedly characterizes the specificities of the cultural development: "Political and economic disintegration was not paralleled by a decline in most areas of culture. On the contrary, with the sultans now concentrating their attention on matters that they could promote and practise in their palace without the diversion

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<sup>11</sup> E. g. *Silahdar Tarihi*, *Tarih-i Raşid*, *Tarih-i Gülmanı*, etc.

of military and political activities, and with ministers and governors as always ready to emulate their masters, there rose many leading cultural figures during the long centuries of disintegration, although the vitality of the classical age did, perhaps, lessen as the increasing disorder affected all classes of society" (p. 284).

Many of the data on Evliya Çelebi as given by Shaw (pp. 286—288) have to be taken with a certain reserve. It is rather a pity that among eminent historians of the 18th century Shaw omits the name of Findıklılı Mehmed Ağa Silahdar, although making many references to him in his book.

Since both the books are intended for the university student, they satisfy admirably their design, for manuals of this type are rather rare in the Anglo-Saxon world. The texts in the two books are mutually supplementary and the different interpretation of certain events is conducive to an independent way of thinking by the student.

Both the books have a carefully prepared index and are provided with maps. Stanford J. Shaw's bibliography of the Ottoman history up to the year 1808 endeavours at completeness, principally from the Anglo-Saxon and Turkish fields, but has numerous gaps as regards works in German, Slavonic, Hungarian and Roumanian languages.



## THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF ORIENTAL LINGUISTICS: AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

JOZEF GENZOR, Bratislava

An international symposium of scholars of the socialist countries was held in Moscow, November 22 through 29, 1977, on the topic "Theoretical Problems of Oriental Linguistics". The meeting was attended by Orientalists-linguists representing eight socialist countries: the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

A total of 170 papers were presented at the symposium, both at plenary sessions and in various sections. All-day plenary sessions were held on November 22 and 23, and on the afternoon of November 29. On the remaining days, i.e. November 24—29, the sessions took place in sections, numbering seven, viz. Section 1 — General Problems of Oriental Linguistics; Section 2 — Semitic Languages. Old Languages of the Middle East; Section 3 — Iranian Linguistics; Section 4 — Indian Linguistics; Section 5 — Altaic Linguistics; Section 6 — Languages of the Far East and Southeast Asia; Section 7 — African Languages. Proceedings in the various sections ran in parallel.

The international symposium "Theoretical Problems of Oriental Linguistics" took place for the first time and was attended by some 300 scientific workers Orientalists. The various participating countries were represented numerically as follows: the German Democratic Republic — 9, Poland — 8, Hungary — 4, Mongolia — 4, Czechoslovakia — 3, Korea — 3, Vietnam — 3. It goes without saying that by far the largest number of Orientalists were from the host country, particularly from Moscow and Leningrad where Orientalist research in the Soviet Union is concentrated, but further workplaces of the country were also represented.

A gratifying feature is that all the papers submitted to the editorial board will appear in the language in which they were presented, within two or three years.

The papers presented at the Plenary Sessions were of a general orientation, but also such as dealt with the state of Orientalist research in the countries of the participants. In papers of the former group, interest was centred on the significance of research of Oriental languages for the promotion of general linguistics, sociolinguistic researches in Soviet linguistics, typology of word order and certain other aspects.

The individual sections were concerned with these topics:

Section 1 — Problems of a general character were often demonstrated on concrete material from numerous Oriental languages and this from the domain of morphology, phonology and phonetics, typology, syntax etc.

Section 2 — The topics dealt primarily with Arabic and its dialects both as regards various grammatical phenomena and problems of mutual relationships between the language and local variants. Some measure of attention was also devoted to old languages of the Near East (Hurrite dialects, Hittite, Hittite-Luvian languages).

Section 3 — Concentrated on lexicography of several Iranian languages, on their phonological, semantic and syntactic aspects, and on general problems (state of linguistic research in Tadzhikistan, roles of Afghan philology in the USSR, Iranian linguistics in Georgia and some other problems).

Section 4 — Dealt with word classes and grammatical categories of Indian languages, with the principles of lexicography (Sanskrit-Russian dictionary, historical dictionaries), with loanwords and terminology formation in Urdu, etymology of Tamil(ian) and Dravid(ian), as well as with the linguistic problems of Hindi, Bengali, Vedic and Santal.

Section 5 — Here, as in section 6, the number of papers was substantially higher than in the other sections. This is understandable, for the greatest number of speakers came from the host country where research of the relevant disciplines enjoys a long-standing tradition. Most attention went to Turkic and Mongolic languages from diverse grammatical aspects; some of the papers dealt directly with Turkish. Papers were also presented on Tunguso-Manchu languages and Japanese, especially in a comparative reference to Mongolic languages.

Section 6 — Concentrated on Southeast Asia, devoting the greatest attention to Indonesian languages, their typology, verb structure and grammatical categories; the problem of classification of Austronesian languages and of Polynesian linguistics was also dealt with; but questions relative to languages of continental Southeast Asia, viz. Vietnamese, Laotian, Old Khmer, Burmese, also came in for their share of attention, and Philippine studies, too, were represented. As regards the Far East, the various papers were practically unanimously concerned with Chinese (verbs, predication types, phonology, diachronical problems, etc.).

Section 7 — Discussed the linguistic policy of the present Ethiopian government, the classification of Ethiopian languages, formation of words in Somali; as regards West Africa, papers were presented on grammatical aspects of Yoruba, Fula and Mande, while several others dealt with Bantu languages.

It might be of interest to give here the full text of the suggestions and proposals as elaborated by the participants motivated by an endeavour to extend and deepen co-operation among scientific and pedagogical institutions of the socialist countries in the domain of investigation of modern and old Asian and African languages. (The proposals are to be submitted for study to the direction of the scientific and

pedagogical institutions in which the participants work.) The proposals are as follows:

1. To promote an exchange of scientific information (in the form of book exchange and other materials) in the domain of Asian and African linguistic studies among Orientalist institutions of the socialist countries.

2. To extend the practice of mutual reviews of works on Asian and African linguistics with the aim of a global propagation of achievements by scholars from the socialist countries.

3. To intensify contacts among scholars of the socialist countries, especially as regards more frequent or prolonged stays of study, exchange of visiting scholars for lecture tours, provision of consultations, expertises and exchange of experiences.

4. To provide mutual help in the development of branches of Asian and African linguistics inadequately represented in one or another of the countries and which the given country considers desirable to promote.

5. To practise in a wider measure the processing in common of linguistic topics in the form of collective authorship of monographs, proceedings, dictionaries, textbooks and teaching aids.

6. To organize international symposia of scholars from the socialist countries on theoretical problems relating to Asian and African linguistics to be held once every three years always in a different socialist country. The participants were happy to learn that the Polish delegation undertook to hold the next such international symposium.

7. Periodically to convene scholars from the socialist countries for consultations and meetings on various issues relating to the study of Asian and African languages.

8. The participants of the symposium expressed the conviction that the brotherly co-operation among our Orientalist institutions would develop successfully in the interests of science, peace, democracy and socialism.

The participants of the symposium noted with satisfaction that their meeting had been successful as regards exchanges of views on actual theoretical issues of Asian and African linguistics and also of information on the state of research in the domain of the study of Asian and African languages. They also noted that there exists a real possibility of extending and deepening scientific co-operation among experts on languages of these continents and of concentrating the efforts of scholars from the socialist countries to deal with major scientific issues; such possibilities have already been demonstrated by several successful undertakings (e.g. linguists of the USSR and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have edited in common the Great Korean-Russian Dictionary; scholars of the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have published a Vietnamese Linguistic Papers, etc.; studies and reviews of scholars from various socialist countries are being published in several other socialist countries; a regular co-operation has been established among university departments of the socialist countries).

The chairman of the symposium was Professor V. M. Solntsev, deputy director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. On the last day, the chief of each section submitted a report summarizing the proceedings of his group. The closing address was pronounced by Academician A. N. Kononov and was followed by the final document which was duly approved, and the symposium was then declared closed.

The holding of a symposium dealing with theoretical problems of Asian and African linguistics is to be welcomed. This one constitutes a precedent and a symposium of this pattern will now be held every three years. The benefits of such meetings to individual scholars and to linguistics in general hardly need to be emphasized.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Printsipy i metody semanticheskikh issledovaniy* (Principles and Methods of Semantic Research). Edited by V. N. Yartseva. Moscow, Nauka 1976. 380 pp.

This collective monograph is dedicated to a systemic and critical analysis of present-day semantic theories and methods.

In the last decades, the problems of semantics have gradually begun to dominate the foreground of linguistic research and reasoning. Formalism in linguistics has proved to be a failure when the essential features of language, as a means of communication, became the subject of foremost interest. The most detailed analysis of surface structures has turned out to be insufficient and a penetration into the deep structure level is inseparable from semantics. This shift of focus has found a reflection in the present publication. It has been announced as Volume One of a new series prepared by V. N. Yartseva and wholly devoted to the questions of semantics. The subsequent volumes are planned to be published in 1976—1980. Yartseva sees their goal in a reinterpretation of the data amassed in linguistics, in a revision of the nature of linguistic units, as well as in a search for new approaches to the problem of meaning and sense in language.

This volume includes fifteen papers grouped in three parts. Part One (pp. 5—146) discusses meaning from the viewpoint of gnoseology, psycholinguistics and logic. Besides, there are papers dealing with the nature of linguistic sign and with the object of linguistic semantics. Part Two (pp. 147—290) analyses types of meaning in language, namely, lexical and grammatical meanings as well as meaning in speech. Part Three (pp. 291—378) contains studies on three important methods used in semantics, i.e., componential analysis, generative semantics and statistico-distributional analysis.

The aim of this brief annotation is merely informative since only a team of linguists could do justice to a publication of this sort. However, a first glance at this book betrays that it may warmly be recommended to all those who are interested in new paths to future semantics and linguistics in general.

Viktor Krupa

Stepanov, Y. S.: *Metody i printsipy sovremennoi lingvistiki* (Methods and Principles of Contemporary Linguistics). Moscow, Nauka 1975. 312 pp.

Stepanov's work is one of those rare books that may be regarded as first-class contributions to the theory of linguistics. As the author puts it himself, this is no theory of the linguistic method, but rather a systematized survey of particular methods that are used in linguistics (p. 11). Stepanov concentrates his attention upon the so-called internal (pure) linguistics, leaving aside sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and linguistic statistics. Contemporary linguistics is characterized as taking recourse to an extrapolation of methods; thus, a particular method is often transplanted from one domain of a language description into another (p. 12). However, the particular methods are distinguished by Stepanov as primary or secondary. In other words, a particular method may give the best results only in some domains — even while being used in other domains as well (cf. Chapter II, pp. 243—300).

Historical research is regarded as part of present-day linguistics and Stepanov deals with it in Part Two titled The Historical Principle in Contemporary Linguistics (pp. 55—195). A somewhat smaller section of the book discusses the logical principle in linguistics (Part Three, pp. 196—304). In particular, Stepanov analyses and explains the algebraic, distributional, oppositive, functive, generative, and semiotic methods that are based upon sets, distribution, oppositions, function, plication, and representation, respectively. Stepanov searches for the logical basis of linguistics, which enables him to arrive at quite a few original generalizations. From this point of view it is Part Three of the book that may be regarded as the most interesting, at least that is how it appears to the reviewer. Stepanov has been able to survey and generalize a vast material, at the same time rediscovering what is valuable in methods elaborated during the earlier part of this century (e.g., the Russian and Soviet linguistic tradition, Hjelmslev, etc.) for the present-day linguists.

The scope of linguistic data included and used in Stepanov's book is largely limited to the Indo-European languages. However, the author can hardly be blamed for this, since his is a second-level generalization, i.e., generalizations based upon generalizations, which makes him, naturally, dependent upon other linguists, as far as primary data are concerned. There are some points in which the reviewer disagrees with the author, e.g. when he maintains that the category of modality is derived from that of tense.

Due to his inventiveness and vast erudition, Stepanov has succeeded in discovering methodological affinities where few would look for them and his explanation seldom lacks consistency and exactness. Therefore, his book deserves to be studied and restudied.

Viktor Krupa

Zasorina, L. N.: *Vvedenie v strukturnuyu lingvistiku* (An Introduction to Structural Linguistics). Moscow, Vysshaya shkola 1974. 320 pp.

The author's aim has been to furnish students and young linguists with a handbook of one of the most important trends in the history of linguistics. Zasorina's work ranks among those few books that contain comments on virtually all structuralist schools and doctrines, i.e. on the Linguistic Circle of Prague, Copenhagen school, American descriptivism, transformational grammar and formal models.

The background from which structuralism has arisen is discussed in Part I (pp. 5—44). One ought to appreciate that Zasorina does not investigate linguistics in isolation; quite the contrary, she takes into account the general situation in all relevant disciplines of science.

Zasorina defines structure as a whole consisting of interdependent components (p. 5). System is characterized as a set of interdependent elements that are structurally organized (p. 6). It is obvious that Zasorina departs from the generally accepted definitions of these basic ideas according to which system is a whole of interdependent elements where structure is identical with the set of relations that hold among the elements.

The author points out that the structural method had been utilized by K. Marx in his analysis of capitalist society long before it appeared in linguistics. Discussing the difference between traditional linguistics and structuralism, Zasorina believes that the former differs from the latter in one respect: it has evolved no satisfactory method for the analysis of systems.

According to the author, one of the main tasks of modern philosophy consists in the elaboration of a theory of the elements and structures, which is of no small consequence for the methodology of science in general (p. 10). At the same time, Zasorina deems it proper to warn against an absolutization and ideologization of the structural method (p. 10).

Part II (pp. 45—156) is devoted to a discussion of the three main branches of structuralism which are the Prague school, the Danish linguistics and the American descriptivism; this discussion is preceded by a chapter dealing with de Saussure's doctrine.

Much attention is paid to the question of methods in modern linguistics (cf. Part III, pp. 157—290), namely to the distributional analysis, transformational grammar and formal models as a means of linguistic analysis.

Zasorina gives a fair and sober evaluation of the complex and manifold picture of linguistic structuralism and the concluding chapter dares to hint at what the future development is likely to be. Therefore, her book may be recommended to all scholars interested in the theoretical aspects of present-day linguistics.

Viktor Krupa



*Ideologicheskaya borba i sovremennye literatury zarubezhnogo Vostoka* (Ideological Struggle and Contemporary Literatures of Foreign Eastern Countries). Moscow, Nauka 1977. 237 pp.

The complex historical situation in the countries of the East over the past quarter of a century has led to crisis phenomena in the literatures of these lands and this has come to be the subject of an analysis in thirteen papers included in the present collection.

This collective work by Soviet orientalists is aimed at an investigation of the adaptation of modernistic trends against a background of ancient oriental cultures. Alongside socio-historical motivations, this adaptation has also been affected by efforts on the part of writers in the East to master the creative methods of the Western literatures, without, however, distinguishing their positive from their negative features. In this way, along with modern aesthetics, also an existentialist conception of the world together with its dominant motif of estrangement, penetrates into literatures of the East. But as shown by studies of V. N. Kirpichenko (on problems of the so-called "New Wave" in Egyptian short prose, pp. 9—29), S. N. Uturgauri (on modernistic trends in Turkish literature of the sixties, pp. 56—69), A. N. Senkevich, Z. N. Petrunicheva (on avant-gardist poetic trends in India, pp. 82—117) and of L. A. Aganina (on modernism in Nepalese poetry, pp. 135—158), the sharp social conflicts generated by historical reality full of contradictions, penetrate relentlessly into the literatures of the East despite efforts of their authors to impart to them an existentialist character.

Attempts at setting up points of contact between western philosophical movements and the religious-philosophical systems in Turkish and Japanese literatures are subjected to a critical appraisal in the study by S. N. Uturgauri and K. Recho (on modernistic novel in postwar Japan, pp. 184—204). Efforts at resuscitating outdated religious doctrines under the cloak of modernism means not only a brake in the development of a given national literature, but also an opposition to the philosophy of dialectical materialism.

The studies by A. S. Gerasimova (on traditionalism in Afghan short prose at the beginning of the seventies, pp. 45—55), E. Y. Kalinnikova (on the novel of the Indian writer Radja Rao, *A Cat and Shakespeare*, pp. 119—134) and A. A. Dolin (on works of the Japanese writer Yukio Mishima, pp. 205—218), examine the negative influence of traditionalist ideas in literature, their effect on the reinforcement of a feeling of powerlessness and superfluosity in man.

Specific literary production aimed at satisfying the likings of the public at large is dealt with in studies by A. S. Gerasimova and D. N. Voskresensky (on heroic-adventurous prose of the Chinese of Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, pp. 219—237). This literature, originating on the basis of folklore myths, by its world of ideal heroes and

unreal problems, leads away the attention of its consumers from reality with its social and ideological conflicts.

Literary phenomena dealt with in these studies, reflect the ideological crisis that began to penetrate towards the end of the fifties, into the consciousness of part of the creative intelligentsia of the countries of the East. The team of authors of this collection strives not only to capture this crisis in its dynamism, examines not only its origin and evolution, but endeavours also to determine the perspectives of its decline.

*Xénia Celnarová*

*Welt des Islam. Geschichte und Kultur im Zeichen des Propheten.* Hrsg. von B. Lewis. Braunschweig, G. Westermann Verlag 1976. 360 S., 490 Abbildungen, Karten.

Das rezensierte Buch ist die deutsche Übersetzung der englischen Originalfassung von *The World of Islam*, die im Jahre 1975 im Verlag Thames and Hudson erschien. Man kann feststellen, dass, ähnlich wie dies bei der Übersetzung des Buches André Miquel, *Der Islam* (München, Kindler Verlag 1970) der Fall war, deutsche Verlage ihren Lesern die besten Werke aus dem anglosächsischen oder französischen Sprachbereich sehr schnell vermitteln.

Das Buch *Welt des Islam* ist das Werk von dreizehn Fachleuten für verschiedene Probleme der islamischen Welt. Ihre etwa zwanzigseitigen Kapitel (mit Bildbeilage) wurden vom Zusammensteller zu einem hervorragenden Ganzen zusammengestellt. Wie bereits der Untertitel — *Geschichte und Kultur im Zeichen des Propheten* — andeutet, befassen sich die Autoren nicht nur mit der Geschichte islamischer Länder, sondern auch mit den geistigen Erscheinungen der islamischen Völker — mit der Kunst und Literatur, mit der Philosophie und Wissenschaft, oder mit solchen wichtigen Phänomenen der islamischen Welt, wie es die Stadt und das städtische Leben, oder das islamische Militärwesen waren.

In den einleitenden Teilen des Buches — Vorwort, *Islamische Geschichte im Überblick und Einführung* — bringt der Zusammensteller des Buches B. Lewis grundlegende Kenntnisse über die Geschichte und Zivilisation der islamischen Welt.

In der Einführung (S. 11—24), die eigentlich ein kurzer Überblick der islamischen Geschichte ist, weist B. Lewis auf die wichtigsten inneren und äusseren Erscheinungen in der Entwicklung der islamischen Welt hin. Richtig schätzt der Autor die Bedeutung des türkischen Elements in der islamischen Geschichte ein und widmet ihm die ihm gebührende Aufmerksamkeit.

Das erste Kapitel, *Der Glaube und die Gläubigen* (S. 25—56), ebenfalls aus der

Feder B. Lewis stammend, bringt grundlegende Kenntnisse über den Islam als Religion, über den islamischen Begriff des Staates, über das islamische Recht, die soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage der einzelnen Bevölkerungsschichten usw. In einer vielleicht etwas zu kurzgefassten Überlegung über die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen oder vielmehr über das Eigentum des Bodens in der islamischen Gesellschaft, die das Kapitel abschliesst, wehrt sich Lewis gegen die Verwendung der Termini wie Feudalismus und Lehenwesen in der islamischen Welt und stellt fest, „die Verwendung solcher Ausdrücke zur Charakterisierung sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Phänomene des islamischen Nahen und Mittleren Ostens führt bestenfalls zu unlogischen Analogieschlüssen, meist aber zu extremen Missverständnissen“ (S. 39). Wir sind der Meinung, dass der Autor hier wohl etwas zu kritisch war.

Einer der hervorragenden Kenner der islamischen Kunst R. Ettinghausen behandelt die islamische Kunst im Des Menschen Werk (S. 57—88) betitelten Kapitel. Sein Beitrag ist von einem eher synthetisierenden und theoretischen Charakter und stellt die islamische Kunst sowohl in ihrer Einheit, als auch in ihren Unterschiedlichkeiten dar. Ettinghausen führt als vereinheitlichende Elemente der islamischen Kunst erstens die normative Kraft des Islam selbst als Basis der Ganzen Kultur an, zweitens die Tatsache, dass „die islamischen Kernländer mit Ausnahme Arabiens jahrhunderte Teil eines grossen politischen und kulturellen Ganzen, des Römischen Reiches, waren, oder allgemeiner, der Mittelmeerwelt“ und dass „die grosse Mobilität der muslimischen Kultur der dritte Faktor ist, der von besonderer Bedeutung für Angleichung der Künste war“ (S. 59). Besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmete der Autor der arabischen Schrift, da die Kalligraphie zur typischen und weitverbreiteten künstlerischen Form der islamischen Kunst gehörte, und betrachtet auch die islamische Ablehnung der Skulptur — ein ebenfalls gemeinsames Zeichen der islamischen Kunst. Die erwähnte Untersuchung der Einheit und Unterschiedlichkeit in der islamischen Kunst führt uns der Autor anschaulich am Beispiel der Entwicklung der typischen Bauten der islamischen Welt vor — der Moscheen, und zwar im arabischen, persischen und türkischen Raum. Interessant sind auch andere Beobachtungen des Autors, ob nun über die einzelnen Äusserungen der islamischen Welt, oder, in der abschliessenden Betrachtung, über die Einflüsse zwischen Kulturen, wo er die islamische Kunst in einem weiteren Entwicklungsrahmen, die Fragen des Vermächtnisses, der Originalität und der fremden Einflüsse inbegriffen, versteht.

Der städtische Charakter der islamischen Zivilisation war zweifelsohne der Grund das Kapitel Städte und Städter von O. Grabar (S. 89—116) ins Buch einzugliedern. Wie der Verfasser selbst sagt, gilt sein „Hauptinteresse hier der Verbindung des physischen Bildes der Stadt mit dem Leben, Treiben und den Einrichtungen der städtischen Elite. Dabei wird die Betonung immer auf dem Zeitraum von 800 bis 1300 liegen, dem anerkannten Höhepunkt der islamischen Handelsgesellschaft“ (S. 91).

Bei der Charakterisierung der islamischen Bürgertums weist Grabar auf drei Erscheinungen hin, die dafür typisch sind: es ist der grosse Anteil von Kaufleuten, besonders Tuchhändlern, die enge Beziehung zwischen dem Bürgertum und inner-islamischen Sekten- oder Splittergruppen und das Verhältnis einer bestimmten Gesellschaftsschicht zu ihrer Umwelt und zu Besitz und Macht.

Der Verfasser widmet seine Aufmerksamkeit so der physischen Gestalt, als auch dem geistigen und kulturellen Leben der islamischen Stadt, deren Stellung als Verwaltungszentrum und weiteren Faktoren. In der das Kapitel abschliessenden Zusammenfassung betont Grabar gewisse gemeinsame Züge der islamischen Städte, die ihnen in den schweren Zeiten der inneren Konflikten, Invasionen und Plünderungen halfen sich den städtischen Charakter, die Fähigkeit des Widerstands und der Wiedergeburt zu bewahren.

Mit Fragen der islamischen Mystik, der muslimischen Orden und mit weiteren Problemen befasst sich das Kapitel von F. Meier, *Der mystische Weg* (S. 117—140). Auf eine äusserst klare Weise bringt der Autor grundlegende Angaben über die islamische Heterodoxie und Mystik, sowie deren Rollen in der islamischen Welt.

Ein führender Fachmann für arabische Literatur, Ch. Pellat befasst sich im Kapitel *Goldschmiede des Wortes* (S. 141—160) mit den Grundproblemen der islamischen Literaturen, vor allem jedoch der arabischen und persischen. Unserer Meinung nach hätte der Autor zumindest in Umrissen auch auf den Beitrag der türkischen Völker zur islamischen Literatur hinweisen sollen.

Verlässliche Informationen über die Formen des musikalischen Ausdrucks und die Musikinstrumente in der islamischen Welt bringt der Beitrag A. Shiloahs *Islamische Musik* (S. 161—180), wo die Entwicklung der islamischen Musik, ihre Hauptquellen und -formen, ihre Beziehung zur Religion nebst weiterer wichtiger Fragen aufgezeichnet werden.

Es ist allgemein bekannt, welche Rolle die islamische Wissenschaft bei der Vermittlung des Vermächtnisses von griechischer Philosophie und Wissenschaft an das mittelalterliche Europa gespielt hat. Das Kapitel *Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften* (S. 181—200) von A. I. Sabra will nicht so sehr auf das Absorbieren der griechischen und vorderorientalischen (syrischen, nestorianischen) Wissenschaft und Philosophie in das entstehende islamische Denken hinweisen, als eher auf den Beitrag und die Originalität der islamischen Welt für diese Gebiete.

Der militärischen Problematik begegnen wir in Werken über die islamische Zivilisation sehr selten, und auch das lediglich am Rande der politischen Geschichte. Die Tatsache, dass in das Buch das Kapitel *Die Heere des Propheten* (S. 201—224) aus der Feder E. Bosworths eingegliedert wurde, zeugt von einer wohldurchdachten Konzeption des Zusammenstellers des Buches, da der Glaubenskampf (*jihād*) zu den fakultativen Pflichten der muslimischen Gemeinde gehörte. Bosworths Kapitel befasst sich nicht nur mit der organisatorischen Entwicklung der arabischen Heere und dann der islamischen Armeen, sondern auch mit der militärischen Taktik,

Technik und mit den Waffen. Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmete der Autor der Benutzung von Schiesswaffen in der islamischen Welt sowie dem Seekrieg. Auf Seite 220 muss die Angabe unter dem Bild Nr. 22 auf das Jahr 1522 (nicht 1521) berichtigt werden, als Rhodos in osmanische Hände gefallen war.

Die weiteren vier Kapitel sind jeden vier islamischen Ländern gewidmet, von denen drei unter der Führung der türkischen Dynastien eine bedeutende Rolle in der islamischen Welt der nachmongolischen Epoche spielten.

Der Beitrag Maurisches Spanien von E. G. Gómez (S. 225—244) ist durch die Betonung des kulturhistorischen Aspekts des muslimischen Spaniens so im Verhältnis zur übrigen islamischen Welt, als auch zum Spanien nach der Reconquista charakterisiert.

Im Kapitel Land des Löwen und der Sonne (S. 245—272) versucht R. M. Savory die iranischen Eigentümlichkeiten und den iranischen Beitrag zur islamischen Zivilisation hervorzuheben. N. Itzkowitzs Kapitel Das osmanische Reich (S. 273—300) betont die politische Entwicklung und die Eroberungszüge des osmanischen Reiches, wenngleich er sich auch der Frage der Staatsstruktur widmet, und die Kulturgeschichte völlig am Rande steht. Das nächste Kapitel, Muslimisches Indien (S. 301—320) aus der Feder S.A.A. Rizvis hat wieder einen mehr kulturhistorischen Charakter, obwohl es auch politische und soziale Fragen des muslimischen Indiens berücksichtigt. Alle drei Kapitel haben jedoch ein gemeinsames Zeichen, und zwar dass sie eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit dem Impakt Europas auf die einzelnen Länder widmen und, mit Ausnahme von Itzkowitz, auch die Entwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert betrachten.

Das Abschlusskapitel, Der Islam heute (S. 321—344) von E. Kedourie befasst sich mit den komplizierten Fragen des Verfalls der islamischen Länder in den letzten drei Jahrhunderten infolge der Expansion der europäischen Kolonialmächte, der islamischen Resistenz, der Reformen, der Bemühungen um ein Wiederaufleben, sowie infolge der modernen Interpretierungen des Islams in verschiedenen Ländern der muslimischen Welt.

Der Epilog aus der Feder B. Lewis' bringt noch einmal in Erinnerung die entscheidenden Ereignisse in der Entwicklung des Islam, die nicht nur zu dessen enormen Aufschwung in den ersten Jahrhunderten beigetragen haben, sondern auch zu den späteren Stressen, die innere Krise und das Wiederaufleben bis zur Gegenwart, wo ein bedeutender Teil der muslimischen Welt im Vordergrund der Weltaufmerksamkeit steht.

Wir möchten noch einmal hervorheben, dass einem jeden Kapitel 16 Seiten auf hohem professionellen Niveau ausgewählter farbiger und schwarzweisser Abbildungen beigelegt sind, die den Text anschaulich ergänzen und so ein eindrucksvolles Ganzes des geschriebenen und illustrierten Teils bilden.

Ergänzend finden wir im Buch noch die Zeittafel des Islam (S. 348), die Ausgewählte Bibliographie (S. 349—350), den Bildnachweis (S. 351—355) und das

Register (S. 356—359). Unserer Meinung nach hätte die Ausgewählte Bibliographie noch umgearbeitet und dem deutschen Leser angepasst werden sollen, indem sie um deutsche Arbeiten zu den einzelnen Fragen ergänzt würde für den Fall, dass sich der Leser seine Kenntnisse vervollständigen möchte.

Auf hohen fachmännischen Niveau und in einem doch zugänglichen Stil vermittelt das Buch *Welt des Islam* den Lesern komplizierte Fragen der Vergangenheit und der Gegenwart der islamischen Welt.

Vojtech Kopčan

Llamzon, Teodoro A.—Rosario, Fe Laura del—Sanchez, Marinela: *Makabagong Balarila ng Wikang Tagalog* (Modern Grammar of the Tagalog Language). Quezon City (Philippines), Ateneo de Manila Univ. Press 1974, xii, 133 pp. (In Filipino of Tagalog language.)

After World War II much progress has been made in the investigation of the Philippine languages, especially the principal native languages of the Republic of the Philippines. Progress has also been made in the investigation of the so-called small Filipino languages (especially by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics). The young Filipino linguists are the most progressive in Asia now. They are re-examining almost all the previous Filipino investigations. The *Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa* (1940) edited by one of the first professional linguists of the Philippines Lopé K. Santos (1879—1963) was among these as an official grammar of the RP.

The *Makabagong Balarila ng Wikang Pilipino* is not only one of the newest grammars published in the Filipino or Tagalog language in the RP but also one of the first grammars of Filipino to use a transformational analysis of some of the features of the language. A highly appreciative evaluation of this book is in the *Mga Paunang Salita* (Forewords) by Fermina G. Gatal, Chief of the Filipino branch, Bureau of National Schools, Ponciano B. P. Pineda, Director, Institute of National Language, and by Alejandrino Q. Perez, Pres. of the National Ass. of Filipino Linguistics (Pambansang Samahan sa Lingguwistikang Pilipino, Ink.). The authors of the *Makabagong Balarila* emphasize in the *Pambungad* (Introduction) that MB is not a grammar of *Wikang Pambansa* (National Language), but it is a grammar of Tagalog (“Tunay ngang pamagat ng librong into’y *Ang Makabagong Balarila ng Wikang Tagalog* at hindi ng *Wikang Pambansa*” — p. xi).

This new work of T. Llamzon and his colleagues reflects the most contemporary and authoritative investigations of Tagalog linguists. The MB consists of two parts: (1) part presents the phrase-structure rules (*Bahagi I: Mga tuntuning pambalangkas ng parirala*) and (2) part presents the transformational rules (*Bahagi II: Mga tuntuning transpormasyonal*, pp. 59—133). The book is mainly intended for Tagalog-speaking students and linguists but, of course, non-Tagalog linguists can

pick a great quantity of information from it, as well. The architectonics of the MB is very clear. P. I includes three kinds of rules: A. phonological (palatinigan), B. morphological (mopolohia) and K. syntactical (palaugnayan) with different analyses of the noun, verb, adjective and other word-classes in different usages. Usually phrase-structure (PS) rules have been applied on the syntactical level but not on the phonological one which has its own phonological rules. May be it has technical but not theoretical reason here, in P. I. on PS-rules. P.II includes some transformational rules meant to apply to the categories of different Tagalog or Wikang Pilipino classes.

The reviewer feels that a place should have been reserved in the supplement for: (a) A Glossary of Arranged Linguistic Terms in Tagalog, and (b) Selected Bibliography of Tagalog Linguistic Works. Maria Teresita R. Martin-Palo from Ateneo de Manila University presumed that "in spite of the flexibility observed by the authors in their use of the transformational model in the description of Wikang Pilipino, the similarity in the presentation of R. A. Jacobs and P. S. Rosenbaum of some transformational rules in English (*English transformational grammar*. Waltham, Mass., 1968) and that of Llamzon et al. in MBWP (1974) is so great that some portions of MBWP are probably a conservative translations of their equivalent portions in *English transformational grammar*". (Philippine Journal of Linguistics (Manila), 6, 1975, No. 2, pp. 60—61.)

Vladimir Makarenko

Pineda, Ponciano B. P.: *Romualdez at De Veyra: Dalawang Pilipino* (Two Filipinos). Lathala ng Surian ng Wikang Pambansa (Institute of National Language). Maynila, 1976 (1977?), (iv), 17 pp. (In Pilipino or Tagalog language.)

These are two lectures on public and linguistic activity of Norberto Romualdez and Jaime C. De Veyra dedicated to the centenaries of the scholars and now combined in one volume. The author is the director of the Institute of National Language since 1970 and a prominent Filipino linguist. His book is very informative and important because materials and data on the biobibliography of Tagalog and Philippine linguists are very rare now. Both these scholars and public figures took an active part in introducing the National Language (Wikang Pambansa) and in establishing the INL in the pre-war period. It was a period of formation of the Filipino sociolinguistics. The *Language Situation of the Philippine Islands* (1931) by Cecilio Lopez became the first professional landmark of this science in the Philippines.

The book by Ponciano B. P. Pineda consists of two parts: (1) Si Norberto Romualdez: *Ama ng Batas ng Wikang Pambansa* (Father of the National Language Law, pp. 1—10) and (2) Don Jaime C. De Veyra: *Tagapagtatag ng Wikang Pambansa* (Founder of the National Language, pp. 11—17).

Norberto Romualdez (1875—1941) was a Magistrate, Member of the National Assembly, and the Chairman of the National Language Committee during the Commonwealth of the Philippines. The Author analyses some articles and speeches by N. Romualdez, namely: “Pambansang Pagsasadambana ng Wikang Tagalog” (“National Consecration of the Tagalog Tongue”), “Our Common Language”, “Memorandum Tungkol sa Wikang Pambansa” (“Memo on National Language”), “The National Language Problem” and others. Romualdez began his agitational campaign for a National Common Tongue in 1914 as a member of the Academy of Filipino Language. He had phrased his proposals in precise terms for Act No. 184: “The preparation and adoption of a Filipino national language based on one of the existing native languages . . .” (1937). He had proposed this goal for the Institute of National Language according to the Constitution of 1935.

Jaime C. De Veyra (1913—1941), a professor of UP, was the first director of INL in 1937—1941. He was a prominent scholar, philologist, folklorist, linguist, writer, editor. His public activity began in the Society of Tagalists (Samahan ng mga Mananagalog) in 1908 and was continued in the Academy of Filipino Language (1915) and in Balagtasiana (1932). De Veyra had grounded the selection of Tagalog as the basis of the national language of the Philippines in coordination with Lopé K. Santos.

It would have proved very useful to have this book provided with the biodata and bibliography of Romualdez and De Veyra.

*Vladimir Makarenko*

*Wikang Pilipino. Tagalskii yazyk* (The Tagalog Language). Compiled by V. A. Makarenko. Moscow, Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet imeni M. V. Lomonosova, Institut stran Azii i Afriki, Kafedra filologii stran Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii, Korei i Mongolii ISAA pri MGU 1976. 195 pp.

This is a handbook consisting in fact of a reader with exercises, meant for third year students of the Philippine Department of the Historical-Philological Faculty of the Institute of Asian and African Countries at the Moscow State University.

The textbook comprises 10 lessons and a Tagalog-Russian glossary containing some 1,800 words. Each lesson brings Tagalog texts of a different nature, namely publicist, scientific-popular and literary texts, as well as subjects for conversation and translation exercises into Russian. Lessons are always introduced by a brief note of the compiler on the relevant topic. The texts include passages from articles that appeared in the fifties, sixties and seventies.

The bulk of the words and other lexical items of the glossary (pp. 135—170) belong to socio-political semantics. Most of them occur in this textbook for the first time. Loanwords from Spanish and English in an adapted form are given in their



original orthography in parentheses. Internationalisms borrowed mainly through Spanish are not included if they are semantically transparent (e.g. *akadémiko*, *burokrátiko*, *debutante*, *melodya*, *parasitolohiyá*, *raketa*, *tableta*, etc.).

Another useful feature of the book is a list of the most frequent abbreviations in Tagalog texts (pp. 171—180) and a supplement containing topical glossaries (pp. 181—195).

This electrographic edition, of which only a restricted number of copies has appeared and which might be considered to be in some measure a continuation of I. V. Podberezhskii's *Uchebnik tagalskogo yazyka* (reviewed in *Asian and African Studies*, XIV, pp. 202—203) is a welcome and appropriate aid to students wishing to extend their knowledge of Tagalog or Pilipino, the national language of the Republic of the Philippines.

Jozef Genzor

Naerssen, F. H. van—Iongh, R. C. de: *The Economic Administrative History of Early Indonesia*. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Dritte Abteilung, Siebenter Band. Leiden/Köln, E. J. Brill 1977. 120 pp.

The above heading subsumes two chronologically congruent studies, the first of which, having the same title (pp. 1—84), written by the late author F. H. van Naerssen, deals with the period from the paleolithic up to the Hindu-Javanese period. R. C. de Iongh, author of the second study *The Economic and Administrative History of Indonesia between 1500—1630* (pp. 85—105), delimitates already in the title the problems and the temporal span dealt with.

Van Naerssen's contribution is not confined to Indonesia as such, but where necessary, it also takes into consideration further spheres of Indonesian culture. Geographically, the essay covers the territories of present-day Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. The work comprises six chapters, account being taken of the chronological and the geographical aspects.

Chapter I: *The Shaping of the Indonesian Culture Areas* (pp. 3—6) characterizes the pre-historical evolution (paleolithic, mesolithic, neolithic, bronze age, megalithic culture), pointing out the socio-economic phenomena taking place during this period.

The author's references to the term labour distribution (pp. 3 and 11) imply a certain stylistic vagueness if not confusedness. This refers to his use of the conditional "If . . ." in introducing his own view. Labour distribution did exist already in the paleolithic, although as yet only nature-conditioned. Similarly, his characterization of this phenomenon in the neolithic as ". . . may have existed . . ." has an obfuscating ring about it, because at that period there already existed the first,

fully operating social labour distribution in the form of agriculture and live-stock breeding, and thereby also "specialization".

The author simultaneously deals with questions relating to rice growing.

Two special paragraphs are devoted to Borneo (pp. 14—15) and deal also with the Celebes and the Philippines (pp. 15—16).

Considerable attention is devoted to historical periods — Indonesia under Hinduism — in chapters II to VI. Here, the socio-economic and administrative development is pointed out on the basis of preserved documents, beginning with the earliest from the 5th century, up to the last known Hindu-Javanese inscriptions from the 15th century. A significant role is played by *kratons* or *kadatons* — residence of the ruler — as the most important political and economic centre. Chapter II: The Oldest Known Hinduized Kingdoms (pp. 16—28) is divided into two parts: East Borneo (pp. 18—23) and The Rock Inscriptions of West Java (pp. 23—28). Chapter III: The Maritime Powers of Sumatra (pp. 28—36) describes the expansionist policy and the pivotal trade missions of the Śrīvijaya empire. As against this, Chapter IV focuses on The Agrarian Kratons of Hindu-Java and Bali (pp. 36—46) and their socio-economic organization of production and commodity distribution in Hindu-Javanese society. Chapter V: Hindu-Javanese Rulers and Their Realm (pp. 46—59) is devoted to Central and East Java. Chapter VI: Formation and Decline of the Last Hindu-Javanese Kingdom (pp. 59—70) describes, among others, also the contacts of the *kratons* with overseas countries.

The closing part of the contribution consists of appendices. Appendix A: The Religious Centres (pp. 70—74), Appendix B: The Watukura Inscriptions of Copenhagen (pp. 74—76) and Appendix C: The Polengan Inscriptions (pp. 76—81).

The author of the second study, contrary to van Naerssen, does not start from primary sources but essentially takes support in the work by M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs: *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*. The Hague 1962.

In the Introduction he underlines the difficulties of an objective evaluation of history because Indonesian colonial history has been processed from the European point of view and only a few studies are available from the Indonesian side.

Both the chapters, Arrival of the Portuguese (pp. 87—95) and Dutch Activities and their Impact on Indonesian Trade (pp. 95—104), present an outline of historical development, while simultaneously portraying the economic and political significance of the various trade centres, eventually port towns, as well as their mutual contacts and their contacts with merchants from other countries of Asia and Europe.

The relationships between the coastal areas and the agrarian inland are mentioned only in connection with trade contacts. And here the question begging an answer is: What about the other areas of economic relations and economic as such? Or is trade

synonymous with economics? A list of references is appended to each study and an index is provided at the end of the book.

This book, especially its first part, will be of help to experts, but also to interested nonprofessional readers, as a stimulus to a deeper study of the topic.

*Cornelia Trunkvalter*

*Vietnamsky lingvistichesky sbornik* (Recueil linguistique vietnamien). Moscou, Nauka 1976. 269 pp.

Ce premier recueil linguistique vietnamien publié par la Maison d'édition Nauka, comprend une étude introductive par le rédacteur en chef V. M. Solntsev et dix-sept autres études par des auteurs-spécialistes embrassant une portée très vaste de problèmes dans le domaine de la phonétique, la phonologie (5 études), la morphologie (7 études) et la syntaxe (5 études) de la langue vietnamienne contemporaine. En outre des travaux par les vietnamistes soviétiques, le recueil contient aussi quatre études par les linguistes vietnamiens. Un certain nombre des études portent sur des points relativement spécifiques de la grammaire vietnamienne, alors que d'autres sont d'une orientation plus générale et constituent une contribution appréciable à la recherche scientifique dans le cadre de la linguistique comme telle.

Les méthodes de la recherche linguistique employées sont très variées (à partir de l'analyse linguistique traditionnelle, par les méthodes statistiques, jusqu'à l'analyse algébrique-graphique), ce qui témoigne des efforts par les auteurs de faire valoir dans leurs travaux, tant au point de vue de la terminologie que du contenu, les résultats de la recherche linguistique moderne, et dans un sens plus rétréci, les résultats de la vietnamistique contemporaine. Un trait caractéristique pour toutes les études est leur actualité et un effort pour comprendre les phénomènes et les faits de la langue vietnamienne d'une manière objective, sur sa propre base, c'est-à-dire, sans les adapter de force aux catégories d'autres langues (surtout indo-européennes).

V. M. Solntsev relève à juste titre la complexité d'approche à l'analyse d'une langue donnée, dans son article quand il remarque que tout linguiste est déterminé dans une certaine mesure par sa propre idée ontologique de la langue et par une certaine orientation méthodologique de base, ce qui maintes fois (surtout dans le passé) menait les linguistes vers ce qu'on a appelé européanisation. Par contre, il existe des traits essentiels communs à toutes les langues (émanant du caractère international de la pensée humaine) de sorte qu'il est tout à fait logique, selon V. M. Solntsev, d'adapter les concepts et termes linguistiques existant à la description d'une langue quelconque.

Les études du domaine de la phonétique et de la phonologie traitent des lois syntactiques régissant la division des tons (I. S. Bystrov, M. V. Gordina), des

particularités phonétiques dans les dialectes de la province Quang Ngai (M. V. Gordina, I. S. Bystrov), du syllabème vietnamien et sa divisibilité (Nguyen Quang Hong), de la caractéristique quantitative des phonèmes de la langue vietnamienne (V. V. Remartchouk) et d'un essai à dresser une liste des voyelles vietnamiennes en raison de leur fréquence (V. V. Remartchouk, P. P. Makagonov). Une étude intéressante du point de vue de la linguistique générale est celle de Nguyen Quang Hong, *Sur le syllabème vietnamien et sa divisibilité*, dans lequel ce linguiste vietnamien analyse l'important et complexe problème des unités phonologiques de base dans le vietnamien, la relation entre la syllabe et le son. Il comprend le son comme un différentiateur de l'enveloppe sonique de la syllabe (c'est-à-dire du mot ou du morphème). Une base convenable et stimulative pour une recherche phonologique future est son exposé du concept de syllabème (consistant de l'initiale, de la finale, de la médiale et du ton) dans les langues isolantes et sa correspondance au concept de phonème dans les langues indo-européennes.

La seconde partie comprenant des études du domaine de la morphologie de la langue vietnamienne, contient aussi un intéressant essai de classer les mots de cette langue (I. S. Bystrov, N. V. Stankevitch). Ces auteurs caractérisent la langue vietnamienne comme étant monosyllabique en vertu du fait que son unité structurale de base est le syllabomorphème qui, utilisé indépendamment, est identique avec un mot monosyllabique. Quant au problème comment appeler cette unité (morphème ou mot), celui-ci est, à notre avis, du point de vue strictement morphologique, univoque — le terme syllabomorphème doit être préféré. Son identité dans certaines conditions avec un mot monosyllabique tient du domaine lexico-syntaxique.

Cette question est traitée partiellement aussi dans l'étude de I. I. Glebova *Sur la question des morphèmes libres et liés dans la langue vietnamienne*. L'auteresse y fait cas du fait que les linguistes vietnamiens déterminent le morphème tant selon Baudoin de Courtenay que selon L. Bloomfield. L'avis de M. B. Emeneau que les termes «morphèmes» et «mot» ne peuvent être utilisés dans la description de la langue vietnamienne que conditionnellement, est censé être juste. I. I. Glebova constate à juste titre qu'ici «la difficulté principale réside en ce que dans la langue vietnamienne, de même dans d'autres langues isolantes, il existe un grand nombre d'unités matériellement indistinguibles, qui fonctionnent au niveau des mots monomorphémiques et au niveau des morphèmes» (p. 111).

En outre, ce sont des études sur la distribution des morphèmes de service du verbe vietnamien (Y. K. Lekomtsev), sur la statistique des indicateurs du mode et temps du verbe vietnamien (Y. K. Lekomtsev), sur la construction des substantifs avec les unités de mesure (Nguyen Tai Can), sur les mots spatiaux-temporaux dans la langue vietnamienne (V. S. Panfilov) et l'étude par Ho Le sur les particularités morphologiques de la langue vietnamienne.

A juste titre, V. M. Solntsev a qualifié cette dernière étude d'être théoriquement contestable. L'interprétation discutable présentée par l'auteur du concept de la

fonction linguistique, des genres verbaux et du mot, vient inopportunément compliquer la situation dans ce domaine, lors même que dans une interprétation strictement descriptive, son concept du morphème a une certaine justification. Le problème d'affixation dans la langue vietnamienne est de longue date et à notre avis, l'opinion que la langue vietnamienne ne dispose pas d'affixes pures, est toujours valide. Par conséquent, dans cet ordre d'idées, on peut considérer par exemple l'élément *nha* figurant dans les liaisons *nha bao* — journaliste, *nha tho* — poète, *nha van* — écrivain, comme un morphème avec traces d'une signification de renvoi par rapport à son ontologie (morphème sinovietnamien *gia* — personne).

Dans certaines études on rencontre le problème de «grammaticalisation» et de «lexicalisation» (ou «dégrammaticalisation» et «délexicalisation») des phénomènes linguistiques. Il semble que l'état contemporain de la langue vietnamienne vraiment s'efforce à exprimer un maximum d'informations de la manière lexicale et non grammaticale, lors même qu'au point de vue de l'évolution de la langue vietnamienne au passé peu éloigné et en vue des prospects de son développement futur, on peut admettre que le caractère de la tendance déterminante ici est celui d'une «grammaticalisation» des éléments significatifs du vietnamien. Cependant, déterminer la mesure ou le degré de la «grammaticalisation» des divers éléments sémantiques est, de nouveau, une affaire compliquée.

En conclusion, on peut observer que les études du recueil révèlent de divers points de vue la complexité de la structure grammaticale de la langue vietnamienne, le quantité diaprée de ses moyens syntactiques et la spécificité de sa morphologie. Il faut ajouter que ces études résolvent les problèmes posés à base d'une argumentation scientifique, ou du moins contribuent à leur solution. La nature fréquemment polémique de certaines de ces études est au profit de la recherche scientifique dans le domaine de la vietnamistique et, en outre, plusieurs de ses résultats peuvent être appliqués à l'élucidation des questions importantes de la linguistique générale.

Ján Múčka

Nikulin, N. I.: *Vietnamskaya literatura X—XIX vv.* (La littérature vietnamienne du X<sup>e</sup>—XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle). Moscou, Nauka 1977. 343 pp.

Cette publication de format volumineux se distingue par une multiplicité de matériaux étudiés et recherchés à partir des origines de la littérature vietnamienne jusqu'au développement de la littérature du type moderne, en passant par la littérature du Moyen Âge. Elle met en jeu les lois de l'origine de la littérature vietnamienne dans le cadre de ses connexions étendues de la région culturelle entière de l'Extrême-Orient, elle suit les péripéties du développement de la littérature du Moyen Âge et éclaire la période très importante de la transition vers la production

littéraire moderne. Elle se préoccupe de près des traditions artistiques nationales, comme aussi des contacts littéraires et extralittéraires du Vietnam avec les cultures asiatiques et européennes au cours des étapes de l'évolution historique de l'Etat vietnamien. Quant à l'état actuel de la recherches dans la littérature contemporaine, elle présente une caractéristique approfondie de l'évolution compliquée des pensées et notions littéraires-philosophiques et littéraires-critiques.

Le livre comprend une introduction brève et se divise en quatre parties principales, subdivisées elles-mêmes en chapitres individuelles, le tout conclu par une étude finale.

La première partie que l'auteur a appelée La littérature vietnamienne du Moyen Age et la région culturelle de l'Extrême-Orient nous renseigne au sujet des monuments épigraphiques, de la pénétration des cultures différentes au Vietnam et donne une explication fort intéressante de la dialectique qui régit les relations entre ce qui est national et ce qui a été accepté dans la littérature nationale vietnamienne du dehors. Puis l'auteur traite des spécificités de l'origine de la poésie vietnamienne (X<sup>e</sup>—XII<sup>e</sup> siècle) qui a suivi dès ses commencements une tendance vers un droit de la nation de disposer d'elle-même, vers une indépendance spirituelle et politique dans le cadre des influences et contacts fort compliqués avec la culture chinoise alors déjà développée. L'auteur écrit : « En pénétrant sur le sol vietnamien, l'expérience de la littérature chinoise était reçue d'une manière créative et était transformée en harmonie avec les besoins de la société vietnamienne de cette époque. Evidemment, dans cette réception non seulement le côté artistique, mais aussi le côté idéologique et religieux de la création était d'une haute importance » (p. 56).

Dans le XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle la poésie dominait clairement sur la prose. A cette époque la transition à la littérature médiévale était accomplie (un facteur contributif était, entre autres, la création d'une écriture nationale vietnamienne, le *chu nom*, qui amena un développement impétueux de la poésie nationale et de la prose rythmique). N. I. Nikulin distingue deux tendances dans la poésie vietnamienne de cette époque. La première découlait de la manière bouddhiste (*thien*) de regarder le monde et de l'idée bouddhiste de la nature transitoire de tout ce qui existe. Ces auteurs ont écrit des miniatures poétiques — des quatrains et des octastichs. La seconde dérivait de l'enseignement confucien sur la littérature et accentuait le rôle de la littérature dans les affaires d'Etat, et évaluait en premier lieu le sens didactique de la création littéraire.

Le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle était témoin d'un développement important de la production poétique dans la langue parlée et qui avait beaucoup de points d'accord avec la poésie populaire vietnamienne. Cependant dans la deuxième moitié de ce siècle, la production poétique avait acquis un caractère formalisé (sous le règne de Le Thanh Tong). Le trait le plus important de l'esthétique confucienne était le respect pour le canon traditionnel qui conditionnait les thèmes de la poésie, les formes de genre, le choix des moyens de l'imagé, le rythme et la dimension du vers. A cet endroit,

l'auteur s'occupe en plus de détails des œuvres de Nguyen Trai (1380—1442) qui, selon l'opinion des lettrés vietnamiens contemporains, était «en tête de cette tendance de la pensée sociale dans la première moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle qui émanait des conceptions confuciennes dont un trait caractéristique — à côté d'un enthousiasme patriotique — était de se préoccuper aussi de la vie du peuple et de souligner les idées socio-utopiques» (p. 73). Le poète et penseur le plus éminent, qui exprimait les efforts progressifs de la société vietnamienne de ces temps-là, était Nguyen Binh Khiem (1491—1585). N. I. Nikulin le caractérise comme un poète qui évaluait les événements de la vie du point de vue de la morale, alors que l'allégorie traditionnelle acquit chez lui un sens social concret.

Au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle on dévouait une attention augmentée à l'histoire et aux intérêts du passé et de la tradition. Le représentant de cette tendance était le philologue et poète Hoang Duc Luong (1497) dont l'auteur a considéré l'œuvre comme une expression du sentiment de la philologie elle-même.

Dans le chapitre suivant de la première partie N. I. Nikulin traite du problème des concordances typologiques et des connexions ou liaisons génétiques, sur les matériaux de la prose vietnamienne médiévale. Il commence par la prose historique — les chroniques et annales, dont il rappelle à juste titre qu'elles n'avaient pas une mission littéraire, mais fonctionnelle-pratique. L'auteur interprète leur origine et leur façonnement dans les littératures médiévales sans une antiquité développée, schématiquement à deux égards, ou en deux manières. La première est autochtone, quand les formes primitives des œuvres historiques sont créées à partir des contes oraux génériques et du folklore. La seconde manière dont sont les œuvres historiques, est liée à une assimilation intensive de la tradition historiographique d'une culture étrangère en cours de développement ou plus ancienne. Comme exemples, l'auteur rappelle les chroniqueurs médiévaux du Vietnam (Ngo Si Lien) et de la Corée (Kim Pou Sik) et leur relation vers les *Notes Historiques* de S'-ma Tch'ien. Un important rôle y a été joué aussi par le facteur linguistique — le chinois littéraire classique qui avait ses variantes aussi au Vietnam (*hanwan*), en Corée (*hanmun*) et au Japon (*kambun*). En outre, l'auteur s'occupe de la comparaison des proses historiques de l'Europe médiévale (surtout les annales russes) et de l'Extrême-Orient. Il en vient à conclusion que dans la structure compositionnelle de ces monuments il existe une concordance typologique importante (tout particulièrement dans la progression chronologique et la narration de l'action). Des différences existent en ce qui concerne le facteur du temps. Dans la tradition historiographique de l'Extrême-Orient le temps n'est pas vectoriel et unidirectionnel (comme par exemple, dans les annales russes), mais lié aux cycles du calendrier symbolisant l'idée du mouvement dans un cercle, et aux époques du pouvoir des monarques différents. N. I. Nikulin donne une analyse détaillée au point de vue idéologique et formelle des proses historiques de S'-ma Tch'ien, Ngo Si Lien et Kim Pou Sik par rapport aux éléments mythologiques, et fait un point de l'historisation commune des personnages mythi-

ques et folkloristiques, des parallèles typologiques parmi les mythes eux-mêmes, les motifs caractéristiques. Les proses historiques et les récits populaires donnaient naissance dès le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle au genre de la nouvelle médiévale qui faisait usage des traditions. Ces premières nouvelles avaient un caractère didactif et cognitif et leurs représentants principaux étaient Ly Te Xuen, Vu Quynh et Kieu Phu. Étant des proses historiques, ces romans contenaient d'ordinaire les lieux et la date des événements rapportés et reflétaient les sujets mythologiques et les sujets des légendes héroïques. L'auteur de la publication présente une explication intéressante de l'influence des légendes du cycle de Krichna sur la nouvelle vietnamienne du Moyen Âge, ce qui porte preuve à l'emprise relativement forte de la littérature indienne dans le domaine des motifs, images et sujets qui étaient, néanmoins, fortement «vietnamisés».

Une autre étape de développement était représentée par les proses de Le Thanh Tong et de Nguyen Du qui possèdent déjà un niveau artistique supérieur et dans le cas de Nguyen Du, sont d'un style moins pathétiques et moins pompeux.

Dans la deuxième partie de son livre intitulé *Les particularités de l'existence du poème et l'étape initiale de sa formation*, N. I. Nikulin montre l'existence du poème (XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle) dans la littérature vietnamienne comme une singularité dans le cadre des traditions de l'Extrême-Orient, qui consistait dans la création de miniatures lyriques — mais ni la littérature chinoise, ni coréenne, ni japonaise n'avaient pas encore une tradition développée de grandes formes poétiques» (p. 141). La seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle vit surgir des genres différents de poème : le *truyen* — le poème narratif au sujet amoureux-social développé avec une langue plus vivante, souple et plus colorée, le poème philosophique-lyrique et le poème historique-épique. L'auteur analyse les particularités de ces genres, indique les différences les séparant des sujets originels chinois, l'allégories et la pensée philosophique, comme les signes fondamentaux du poème philosophico-lyrique. Il étudie la forme double de l'existence des poèmes — la forme orale et écrite, leurs relations et influence mutuelles, la tradition de «take-over» où l'emprunt de sujets, la «loi du happy end», etc. Au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle on commence à faire prévaloir son propre passé qui est en train de s'idéaliser. Une tendance vers des sujets provenant de l'histoire nationale avait sa réflexion dans la poésie — le genre du poème historique-épique prend naissance (par exemple, le poème anonyme *Le Livre du Sud Céleste*), dont N. I. Nikulin fait une analyse détaillée. Un des traits fondamentaux de ce genre était le syncrétisme religieux.

Dans la troisième partie intitulée *Développement des traditions nationales dans la poésie vietnamienne du XVIII<sup>e</sup> — et commencement du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, l'auteur donne un exposé des significations des poèmes de cette époque (le genre *truyen* et *ngam*) et leur évaluation actuelle, et traite du côté formel de leur vers et de la poésie des petites formes.

Un trait caractéristique de la littérature du XVIII<sup>e</sup> et commencement du XIX<sup>e</sup>



siècle était un intérêt au destin de l'homme et des problèmes de son monde intérieur. Une marque typique des poèmes populaire du genre *truyen* était un effort de romancier basée sur le récit populaire (Thach Sanh). L'apogée dans la production du poème de ce genre est représentée par l'œuvre en vers *Kieu* de Nguyen Du (1765—1820) qui, à présent, a une renommée mondiale. Les représentants les plus éminents du genre du poème lyrique *ngam* étaient Doan Thi Diem (1705—1748) et Nguyen Gia Thieu (1741—1798). N. I. Nikulin caractérise ce genre en ces termes : «Ngam concentre sur la description de l'individu dont le sort est déterminé par le vaste panorama social décrit dans l'œuvre» (p. 187). Au point de vue de l'émancipation de la personnalité, *ngam* est en fait un monologue de l'héroïne exprimant ses sentiments et ses pensées.

D'un intérêt tout spécial est l'approche de N. I. Nikulin vers l'œuvre poétique de Ho Xuan Huong, qui est actuellement un sujet de discussions polémiques. On doit apprécier le regard universel de l'auteur sur sa poésie qui prend pour point de départ les prémisses logiques de sa vie personnelle et des conditions sociales de son temps. Une idée importante et juste à laquelle N. I. Nikulin est arrivé, est que «la poésie de Ho Xuan Huong est le fruit de la culture populaire vietnamienne informelle et que son esthétique «extravagante» existe créativement appropriée dans la même culture populaire» (p. 242). L'auteur exprime de nombreuses pensées stimulantes au sujet de l'œuvre de cette poétesse vietnamienne très éminente (avec un indice toujours présent de tristesse, élément folklorique, théâtre populaire, du comique, de la spontanéité des célébrations populaires).

La quatrième et dernière partie du livre Le développement de la littérature vietnamienne aux temps modernes et les contacts avec l'Europe s'occupe des commencements des contacts culturels avec l'Europe et de leur réflexion dans la littérature vietnamienne du XVIII<sup>e</sup> — première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'auteur commence par les premiers missionnaires européens (qui ont apporté au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle le genre chrétien-religieux d'un drame liturgique au Vietnam), puis continue par l'activité littéraire des catholiques vietnamiens (les œuvres rituels *van te*) et les poèmes vietnamiens avec des sujets bibliques jusqu'aux œuvres anonymes d'un caractère didactique (la plupart d'une orientation anticatholique). Ensuite il parle des œuvres vietnamiennes au «thème occidental», mais avec une approche différente de la part de l'auteur vietnamien (par exemple, Nguyen Van Sieu et Cao Ba Quat). Chez le dernier, l'auteur considère comme un élément nouveau sa critique des dogmes confuciens-féodaux, son orientation anticoloniale et son intérêt dans la culture d'autres nations. Tout cela le rapproche des mouvements des lumières des autres pays de l'Extrême-Orient.

Dans le deuxième chapitre de cette partie N. I. Nikulin s'efforce de relever la formation des idées de lumières et des tendances dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne de la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> et du commencement du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Même s'il

reconnait justement de nombreux motifs subjectifs est leur signification objective qui étaient en jeu dans la littérature éclairée vietnamienne, il considère comme ses marques principales, son caractère antiféodal et son orientation anti-impérialiste. Il soumet à une analyse détaillée l'œuvre de deux poètes satiriques éminents (Nguyen Khuyen, 1835—1909 et Tu Xuong, 1870—1907), et observe que l'image de l'Européen apparaît plus rarement dans leur poésie que dans la poésie satirique folklorique de cette période.

L'action réciproque des cultures de l'Orient et de l'Occident donne lieu à un résultat assez original, c'est-à-dire, elle aboutit à une littérature écrite en langues européennes dans les pays d'Asie. En ce qui concerne le Vietnam l'auteur écrit : «L'histoire des œuvres d'auteurs vietnamiens écrivant en français n'a été jamais étudiée de cet aspect, lors même qu'elle représente un côté important de la culture vietnamienne» (p. 293). N. I. Nikulin fait mention à ce sujet (en outre de l'activité littéraire de Ho Chi Minh) de l'œuvre très intéressante du poète vietnamien en exil (en Polynésie) Nguyen Van Cam (ami personnel de Paul Gauguin), pourtant il se limite à ces deux auteurs.

Les idées éclairées au Vietnam commencent à se manifester pleinement fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> et début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle et cela sous l'influence d'une connaissance des œuvres des illuminés français (Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire) d'un côté, et sous l'influence des idées de la révolution japonaise Meidji et des œuvres des réformateurs chinois (K'an Yeou-wei, Leang Tch'e-tch'ao), de l'autre. En cet endroit, N. I. Nikulin examine la publication programmatrice des illuminés vietnamiens *Reflexion sur la civilisation et l'enseignement nouveau* (1904), le mouvement de «L'Ecole sociale-illuminée de Tonkin» (1907) et les œuvres de base des lettrés-illuminés vietnamiens les plus éminents, Phan Boi Chau (1867—1940) et Phan Chu Trinh (1872—1926).

Dans la partie finale, L'Internationalisme et l'origine de la littérature révolutionnaire au Vietnam, N. I. Nikulin renseigne le lecteur sur la situation compliquée de la vie littéraire vietnamienne dans les premières décennies du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, quand, à côté des mouvements éclairés, une littérature révolutionnaire commence à coexister, une littérature pénétrée de l'idéologie marxiste-léniniste. Sa spécificité est qu'elle prit origine parmi les émigrés politiques vietnamiens en France. Dans l'examen de son évolution ultérieure, l'auteur accentue principalement les contacts littéraires avec les œuvres de la littérature soviétique.

La valeur de l'histoire de la littérature vietnamienne du X<sup>e</sup>—XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, telle que l'a élaborée ici N. I. Nikulin, consiste (en outre de sa propre signification spécifique-professionnelle) surtout dans le fait que l'auteur la met en rapport avec le processus littéraire de l'Extrême-Orient et de l'Europe, ce qui va certainement contribuer à une compréhension plus profonde des lois universellement valides du développement littéraire.

La livre est pourvu d'une bibliographie abondante et d'un index synoptique des auteurs et œuvres cités.

Ján Múčka

*Mon-Khmer Studies VI*. Edited by Philip N. Jenner. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1977. 322 pp.

The contents of the sixth volume in the Mon-Khmer series comprise principally linguistic studies (in keeping with the tradition of the preceding five volumes), but simultaneously provide space also to the other cognate disciplines (particularly oral literature, history, philology). These efforts at broadening the range of scientific research also in the perspective plan is to be welcomed, for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of oriental languages is certainly serious and important. On the other hand, linguistic research contributes in no small measure to a solution of issues in other branches of science. Similarly, the possibility of publishing papers in French and German (beside English) deserves a very positive appreciation.

The sixth volume of the *Mon-Khmer Studies* comprises eleven independent papers by various authors from diverse institutions, who are engaged on work in some aspects of the problem.

The first study by M. Clarke *Ditransitive Goal Verbs in Vietnamese* derives from his doctoral dissertation thesis *Coverbs and Case in Vietnamese*. The author concentrates on coverbs by which he means locational and directional prepositions derived from corresponding homophonous and synonymous verbs. These verbs play an important role and have a wide field of application in Vietnamese (but also in other related languages). The author points out case relations (Agentive, Patient, Dative, Locative) on numerous examples, making a point of their case forms co-occurrences particular to this class of verbs. He presents a rather interesting classification of Agentive Locative Goal Verbs according to meaning, into three semantic groups: (1) Send-type verbs, those whose Agent is the initiator of the movement of the Patient through physical or abstract space without accompanying the Patient (e.g. *goi* — send), (2) Carry-type verbs, those whose Agent is the instrument of locomotion which moves the Patient through space (e.g. *dua* — hand, deliver), (3) Put-type verbs, those which have the inherent feature of (-locomotion) and denote the Patient's being placed by a relatively stationary Agent (e.g. *dut* — insert, *chep* — write down, *de* — put, place). The author divides this group further into three subgroups.

The second paper by G. Diffloth *Mon-Khmer Initial Palatals and "Substratum-ized" Austro-Thai* is concerned with phonological questions in the domain of historical relationships in general, between the Austroasiatic family of languages and the Austro-Thai family. He starts from the work by P. Benedict *Austro-Thai*:

*Languages and Culture* whose conclusions he confronts with his own new linguistic evidence on the Asian languages, and also with that of Y. Mitani's work on Palaungic. On the basis of examples which he supplies, and their phonological analysis, he infers that typological differences between proto-Mon-Khmer and proto-Austro-Thai are much greater than P. Benedict has claimed.

In a brief, but fresh and useful study by M. Ferlus *Etude d'une strate de changements phonétiques dans l'ancien Cambodge* we learn about phonetical changes that took place in the pre-Khmer language and left their traces in the vocabulary of several Southeast Asian languages. In the light of linguistic facts, the author outlines several stimulating ideas for a historical investigation of the given area.

The study *A Pearic Vocabulary* by R. K. Headley brings a division (according to Baradat) of this subgroup of the Mon-Khmer languages into six minor subgroups: Eastern Pear, Western Pear, Pear of Kampong Thom Province, Chong of Thailand, Samre of Siem Reap Province, and Soach of Kampot province. To these geographical groups, there corresponds linguistically four distinct languages: Pear, Chong, Samre and Soach. In addition, the author states the fundamental phonological and lexical deviations in these languages, previous works on their vocabulary, and briefly deals with loans from Khmer and Thai. The study is concluded by the author's own list of Pearic Vocabulary which is arranged in conventional alphabetic order.

The study *Sanskrit Loanwords in Pre-Angkor Khmer* by J. M. Jacob is concerned with an examination of the Sanskrit vocabulary which is evidenced in pre-Angkor Khmer texts, looking at the kind of loanword which was borrowed from a semantic viewpoint; the reasons for borrowing; phonetic and morphological adaptation and syntactic adaptation. In conclusion, the author rightly remarks that "we should remember, too, that this period of Khmer history when the Sanskrit language was admired as the vehicle par excellence of literary expression was not likely to be conducive to experiments in native styles of composition" (p. 167).

P. N. Jenner's study *Anomalous Expansions in Khmer Morphology* deals with a description of a morphological class which the author appropriately terms "anomalous expansions". This involves in fact the problem of derivation which he resolves on the basis of primary wordbases and secondary wordbases on the one hand, and of primary derivatives and secondary derivatives (yield by the incorporation of one affix), on the other hand. He assigns anomalous expansions into three main groups in which he always states the number of members and their phonetic characteristic.

In the historical study *Les chroniques royales khmères*, written by Khin Sok, we may become familiarized with Cambodgean chronicles (only copies are extant) called *rājabaṇisāvatāra* or *rapā khsatra* and some historical works by French authors which always take support in them. The author points to numerous dissimilarities among the various works, quotes numerous extracts, and in this connections, deals

with the problematic factor of time (calendar, temporal cycles, etc.), the question of chronology.

Under the title *Deux extraits du Rāmakerti*, Saveros Pou gives a commented translation of two fragments from the earliest version of the Ramakerti Khmer epos.

L. Rabel-Heymann's study *Gender in Khasi Nouns* follows up gender differentiation in Khasi and the problem how the two genders of Khasi are distributed, reflects on various grammatical criteria and other extragrammatical indications that might play a role in determining gender of nouns, and presents the various semantic classes of nouns grouped according to their appurtenance to a given grammatical gender. As regards loanwords (loans from Hindi and English), he notes that these fit into the Khasi system of gender. In compound words, gender is usually indicated by the first component (headnoun). The author further treats of the changes of gender (by personification), of nouns that have an ambivalent gender and a small number of conflicts of gender.

In a short article, *The Sources of Khmer /ʋə/*, Sakamoto Yasuyuki has collected forty items representing the great majority of Khmer forms containing a vowel /ʋə/. Their examination and comparison lead the author to infer that the vowel /ʋə/ came into Khmer after the Old Khmer period by way of loans from Thai and Vietnamese for the most part (in a single case from Sanskrit).

In his study *Discourse. Elements in a Pacoh Narrative*, R. Watson submits to a detailed analysis the discourse elements in a Pacoh text, *Do An Mmin* (The Industrious Man). He gives the full text and its literal and free translations, concentrating his attention on an examination of these features of the text: a) The use of quotations of the hero's thoughts to describe his character and to represent his actions, b) The importance of three theme-lines (participant theme, event-line theme, concept theme), c) Twelve devices marking prominence. The method of a philological analysis of a literary text as applied by R. Watson points to new possibilities that help in revealing the depth of its structure.

Ján Múčka

Manglapus, Raul S.: *Japan in Southeast Asia: Collision Course*. Washington — New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 1976. vi + 151 pp.

The subject of the book by one of Southeast Asian leading public figures Raul S. Manglapus, deals with the relations between Japan and this region, the overall economic policy, its character, methods and consequences which culminated during Premier Tanaka's good will mission through Southeast Asia in a powerful wave of anti-Japanese demonstrations. This anti-Japanese mood was not merely a reminiscence of World War II, but primarily a protest against the actual presence and the

manner of exploitation of the resources of Southeast Asia, a protest against the economic expansionism of Japanese monopolies.

In his introduction, the author analyses the historical aspects of the Nanshin policy (Southward Drive), the role it played during the war, as well as the novel forms of this programme in the strategy of contemporary Japanese imperialism following its defeat (pp. 1—4).

The dynamic development of Japanese economy, the growth of its industrial production and GNP, its dependence on import of raw materials, the overall structure of its commerce and the role played in it by Southeast Asian countries, all this forms the subject of the second chapter *Dimension of the Presence* (pp. 5—23), supplemented with extensive statistical material and prognoses for the future. A special attention is devoted to Japanese investments in Southeast Asia, their volume, growth rate, structure, that clearly document the neocolonial nature of the policy pursued by Japanese monopolies in this part of the world.

In Chapter Three entitled *How the System Works* (pp. 25—36) Raul Manglapus deals with the economic structure of big business, Japanese Global Enterprise, uncovers the bonds that exist on the one hand between monopolies and the State and this principally in the domain of the overall strategy, or the system of planning, and on the other, among the various monopolies in the domain of co-operation in the investment policy in Southeast Asia. The author devotes considerable space also to questions of Japanese tribalism and paternalism (in the study he terms this system *Vertical Ie*) in relation to the general economic activity.

Paternalism has come to be a macropolitical strategy that has taken root in the entire Japanese society. The author points to certain aspects which this paternalistic system engenders in Japanese society, particularly the growing tendencies to stand up against this reformist system in Chapter Six *Rebels and Dropouts* (pp. 37—41).

The author presents the psychologico-social causes of the collision in the mutual relationships in Chapter Five — *Collision Course* (pp. 42—62). He considers the problem of communication as the most important cause which disrupts mutual relations. Here he has not in mind merely the language barrier, but primarily the socio-cultural differences. In this connection he has some critical remarks to make about personality traits and behaviour of the Japanese in Southeast Asia, especially about their tribalism manifesting itself in their isolation from local culture which makes communication more difficult and provokes anti-Japanese feelings in Asia. The practice of paternalism is unacceptable for Southeast Asia. In everyday life this phenomenon, as the author underlines, is manifested in that the Japanese do not consider Southeast Asia as a equivalent partner, but as “kohai” (a junior colleague). “Japanese have a communication problem because of their clannish vertical system” (p. 58). The paternalistic and neocolonial approach on the part of Japanese monopolies towards countries of Southeast Asia, on the one hand, provokes reminiscences, on the other, it explains a natural antipathy and antagonism or

“anti-Japanese feelings” in the most diverse social groups. The fact that Japanese monopolistic capital looks at Southeast Asia from on high is further documented in this study and the author notes that “in the vertical vision of the Japanese investor, there is no room at the top for the local partner” (p. 52). A further factor that provokes a collision course is, according to the author, the strategy and tactics of influencing local readiness in obtaining concessions, and this principally through various forms of corruption.

These psychologico-social aspects of a Japanese presence in Southeast Asia, together with the policy of expansion of the monopolies, brings about the collision course and jeopardizes Japanese positions. China strives to use not only an ideological penetration, but also to exploit the weakening of Japanese positions to reinforce and extend her economic connections (pp. 63—69).

Through a more detailed analysis of the Japanese economic policy in Southeast Asia, particularly in the domain of her investment policy, whose principal drive aims at resource development and materials processing, and only a negligible quota goes into the development of local economy, the author lays bare Japan’s narrow-mindedness in pursuing purely her own aims and needs. She does not endeavour to promote economy of these countries along modern lines and on modern basis as an “introduction into host country of the consumption ethic” (p. 76). Similar in character is also the so-called economic aid of Japan which “is of course overseas expansion of Japanese business and not aid” (p. 84).

In the years 1973—1974, the anti-revolutionary presence of Japan in Southeast Asia shook the positions of governing circles in various countries of this region as well as Japanese positions which became immediately manifest in a boycotting of Japanese goods and stormy anti-Japanese demonstrations (pp. 86—97).

These events had a powerful impact also on Japanese governing and monopolistic circles. In Chapter Nine — Change from Within? (pp. 98—104), Raul S. Manglapus reflects on a change of tactics by Japanese monopolies in connection with a newly proposed model of monopoly, the so-called Code of Behaviour (officially titled: Guidelines for Investments in Developing Countries). In connection with the crisis in government circles, it speculates with the possibility of a political change with a shift towards the left.

In the concluding chapters Manglapus stresses the urgency of industrial development and economic integration within the ASEAN sphere, so that countries of Southeast Asia might protect and utilize their natural resources for their own benefit and decrease the exploitation of Japanese monopolies which would contribute to a balance of strength (pp. 105—114).

In view of the growing deficit of raw materials in the world, the strategical significance of Southeast Asia is steadily increasing and in this connection the author endeavours to give an answer to the question as to what will be the reaction of the United States of America and primarily of Japan when Southeast Asian countries

acquire the possibility of deciding on the use of their own raw materials (pp. 115—124). The author sees the threat principally to Japan which is dependent in a great measure on foreign raw materials and observes that “rising nationalism and consequent changes in development strategies in Southeast Asia could make Japan feel threatened. However, although Japan’s industry could quickly be transformed to arms production, Japan’s pacifist mood might take more time to change” (p. 119).

He also points to the ongoing remilitarization of Japan, to the growth of Self-Defence Forces (SDF), to the deepening co-operation with and incorporation of the SDF in the U.S. Forces overall strategy concept. In conclusion he adds: “Japan’s dynamism and vulnerability are a rare and explosive combination. In 1941, they took Japan into World War II. Today, they constitute the crisis potential in Southeast Asia” (p. 124).

In the closing chapter *Towards a New Ideology* (pp. 125—131), the author analyses the new forms of co-operation in the development of Southeast Asia and the principles on which it ought to proceed, underlining the inevitable necessity of a change in the monopolistic strategy.

Raul Manglapus added an Appendix (pp. 135—151) *Selections from the Japanese-Thai Economic Interaction* — a study by Prof. Kien Theeravit from Chulalongkorn University on the contemporary Japanese-Thai economic relations with special emphasis on Japanese economic activities in Thailand.

The book under review is a remarkable study of contemporary economic relations between Japan and Southeast Asia and particularly the ASEAN countries. It uncovers the face of Japanese economic expansionism and its imperialist-neocolonialist character and its return to Southeast Asia. Although the author concentrates principally on the economic problems of the first half of the seventies, he starts from the past and presents himself as an expert on Japanese conditions.

*Karol Kufka*

*Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations.* Edited by Akira Iriye. Harvard, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, Harvard University Press 1975. x + 304 pp.

This book is the result of the steadily expanding mutual American-Japanese relations and was published on the editor’s initiative, Akira Iriye, professor of history at the University of Chicago. A total of thirteen American and Japanese scholars contributed to the book and they endeavoured to encompass the entire period of active American-Japanese relations. From the aspect of the overall development of these relations, the present study may be divided into three chronological groups.



The first group comprises three studies from the period of the first mutual contacts up to the year 1917.

Neil Harris, professor of history at the University of Chicago, in his study *All the World a Melting Pot? Japan at American Fairs, 1876—1904* (pp. 24—54) points to the significance of Japanese participation at fairs in the United States of America as a source and a means of forming and modifying images about Japan.

Shunsuke Kamei, associate professor of literature at the University of Tokyo in his article *The Sacred Land of Liberty: Images of America in Nineteenth Century Japan* (pp. 55—72) lays emphasis on the great role played by the first Japanese visitors to the U.S.A. as the shapers of initial images of America.

This group of studies is concluded by the editor's paper *Japan as a Competitor, 1895—1917* (pp. 73—99). It differs from the preceding two in its interpretation, reflecting the growing political, diplomatic and military activity of Japan on the international arena.

The second group covers the period of the twenties and thirties, the period of the coming of fascism up to the hostilities with the United States.

The study by the professor of literature at the University of Tokyo, Shōichi Saeki, *Images of the United States as a Hypothetical Enemy* (pp. 100—114) examines chronologically the evolution of popular images, the possibilities of war with the United States on the basis of various publications and articles that began to make their appearance already towards the end of the last century.

This topic relating to mutual American-Japanese relations is pursued in the study by the professor of history at the Sophia University Institute of International Relations Kimitada Miwa, *Japanese Images of War with the United States* (pp. 115—137), which deals with the views that existed in government circles and in the army.

The third group comprises five studies devoted to the period since the defeat of Japan down to the present time (1975).

Nathan Glazer, professor of education and social structure at Harvard University, in his study *From Ruth Benedict to Herman Kahn: The Postwar Japanese Image in the American Mind* (pp. 138—168), endeavours to outline the entire development and the change in American images of Japan between 1945—1973 on the basis of publications and views of American Japanologists.

The authors of the next study, Michio Nagai and Takeo Nishijima, entitled *Postwar Japanese Education and the United States* (pp. 169—187) examine American influence on postwar Japanese education system during the first years of occupation. Hidetoshi Katō, professor of sociology at the Gakushūin University, in his contribution *America as Seen by Japanese Travelers* (pp. 188—201) writes about the increasing numbers of Japanese tourists to the United States and the wide-ranging spectrum of their images.

An interesting study is that by two American authors, experts on American-Japa-

nese relations, Priscilla A. Clapp and Morton H. Halperin, under the title *U.S. Elite Images of Japan: The Postwar Period* (pp. 202—222) in which they examine the images from the aspect of the inner situation inside the governing circles of the United States and the existing political situation in the world.

Don Toshiaki Nakanishi (third generation Japanese-American), in the concluding study *The Visual Panacea: Japanese-American in the City Smog* (pp. 223—257) publishes the results of an enquiry made in the form of interviews with members of various generations and groups of Japanese in Los Angeles, which reveal a difference of the images among second and third generation Japanese-American.

The book *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations* has an extensive introduction (pp. 1—23) written by the editor, and a conclusion entitled *Some Concluding Remarks: The Turning Mirrors* (pp. 258—268) by Harold R. Isaacs. In addition, it has a well processed reference index (pp. 293—304).

The book under review, a joint work of American and Japanese scholars, is a novelty from the aspect of further research into these relations. It is one of the first attempts at a more rounded processing of the topic how Japanese and Americans viewed one another, and represents an important contribution to a better understanding of the evolution and development of American-Japanese relations and for their deeper investigation.

Karol Kutka

*Bolshoi koreisko-russkii slovar. Chorotaesajŏn* (Great Korean-Russian Dictionary). Ed. by L. B. Nikolskii and Choe Chŏnghu. Moscow, Izdatelstvo Russkii yazyk 1976. 811 and 671 pp.

This bulky dictionary in two volumes contains some 150,000 entries and has been compiled by a staff of linguists from two countries, those of the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Choe Chŏnghu was the responsible editor and head of Korean working team the members of which were Wŏn Ŭngkuk, Ri Seyong, Ko Hyŏn and Kim Hyŏngsu, while the Soviet team was led by L. B. Nikolskii, the responsible editor. The Soviet team consists of She Dyauk, F. B. Malkov, F. Z. Kim, S. F. Kim and V. P. Pak.

The present dictionary characterizes contemporary Korean and also contains expressions from earlier periods, words, phraseologisms typical both for literary as well as everyday language and dialects. It represents a new type of translational Korean-Russian dictionaries. There are numerous phraseological units, metaphors, idioms, proverbs and sayings. Derivative and inflectional grammatical morphemes are also listed in it.

The dictionary is intended to assist in reading contemporary and classic Korean literature, historical materials, socio-political literature as well as scientific and technical texts of a general character. It is destined for Soviet and Korean translators, research workers studying the Korean language, history, economics, literature and culture, for teachers, research students and undergraduates. In comparison with other Korean dictionaries, this monumental work comprises a considerably greater stock of words and lexical units not only from the contemporary language but also from historical periods.

This dictionary is based upon the explanatory Dictionary of the Korean Language (*Chosŏnmalsajŏn*, Pyongyang, Kwahakwŏn 1960—1962, six volumes) which has been considerably revised, corrected and enlarged by the team of Korean scholars.

Korean words are written in Korean script according to the rules of orthography elaborated in 1954 (see *Chosŏnŏch'ŏlchapŏp* (Orthography of the Korean Language), Pyongyang, Kwahakwŏn 1954). In 1966, a restricted orthographical reform was carried through in the DPRK, according to which complex words are taken as lexical units. This principle, however, is not reflected in the present dictionary where the individual components are written as separate words for the sake of convenience. Korean words of Chinese provenance are given with their respective characters.

The transcription used in the dictionary is based upon Russian script elaborated by the late A. A. Kholodovich but, unlike his dictionaries (cf. e.g. his last dictionary *Koreisko-russkii slovar* (Korean-Russian Dictionary), Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannykh i natsionalnykh slovarei 1958, 896 pp.), only the syllable or syllables which differ in pronunciation from the script are given in square brackets, not the whole word. However, in a list of geographical names (pp. 664—671 of the second volume) the authors do not adhere to this rule. Here, they use the transcription rules suggested by the Institute of Geodesy and Cartography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Loanwords are marked as such by an abbreviation of the source language; besides, the source word is given in its original orthography (e.g. English, German, etc.).

Scientific Latin names of plants and animals are also given in parentheses but, unfortunately, in no consistent way.

The reviewed dictionary will also prove of great help to Koreans studying Russian. Naturally, it can be used by any scholar who knows Russian and reads Korean literature.

This excellent and useful work of Korean and Soviet scholars deserves the gratitude of all prospective users and the present reviewer congratulates its authors on this remarkable contribution to Korean studies.

*Jozef Genzor*

Frankel, Hans H.: *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady. Interpretations of Chinese Poetry*. New Haven—London, Yale University Press 1976. 276 pp.

Professor Hans H. Frankel of Yale University, in his latest, and as yet the most extensive and notable work, pursues further his studies of old Chinese poetry published, for example, in *Asiatische Studien*, 6, 1952, pp. 88—115 (*The Plum Tree in Chinese Poetry*), *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 84, 1964, pp. 1—14 (*Fifteen Poems by Ts'ao Chih: An Attempt at a New Approach*), and *The Contemplation of the Past in T'ang Poetry* that appeared in *Perspectives on the T'ang*, edited by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, New Haven 1973, pp. 345—365.

The book under review is a direct continuation of the first one of the above studies, for its opening poem *The Flowering Plum (Mei-hua fu)* is taken over from the 1952 study.

The study from the year 1964 analysing the poems by Ts'ao Chih (192—232), an imperial prince of the Wei dynasty, is a decisive landmark in Frankel's development. Speaking about his approach to this study, Frankel himself wrote that it had been "successfully applied for some time, by the New Critics and others, to Western poetry, and indeed, in isolated cases, to Chinese and Japanese poetry" (*Fifteen Poems of Ts'ao Chih*, p. 14).

Frankel's ultimate concern in this book is the same as in the case of his study devoted to Ts'ao Chih, i.e. "to learn as much as possible about its language in the broadest sense of the word: the literary Chinese of the period and genre, the author's private language where it differs from other poets', the language of allusions and conventions such as were familiar to the author and his audience, and the language of the social and cultural milieu in which the poem was created" (p. x). The same also applies to the formal and nonformal traits of this poetry, to prosody, line length, rhythm, to the syntactic and semantic facets of poetic structure.

The poem *The Flowering Plum* by Hsiao Kang (503—551), who was likewise an imperial prince and who also reigned for a short time as Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang dynasty, not only gives the title to the whole book, but also indicates its orientation. The flowering plum here allegorizes a noble lady. The one and the other is primarily reminiscent of the high, aristocratic traditions of Chinese lyrical poetry, those which Mr. Frankel endeavours to investigate in the first place.

As the author himself remarks, this book cannot be considered as a "general introduction" to Chinese poetry (p. iv), and even less so as a "history" of Chinese poetry. It rather constitutes an elucidation of certain concepts of Chinese poetry and a few basic questions of Chinese poetics.

The majority of 13 chapters deal with such concepts of Chinese poetry as man and nature, his relations with other men, recollections and reflections, love, loneliness, parting, and contemplation of the past. As regards poetics, it makes

a specially detailed analysis of parallelism and antithesis, but speaks less of the other formal and prosodic questions.

A point deserving specially to be underlined is Professor Frankel's comparative approach which, in his scholarly activity, has a tradition of at least fifteen year's standing (cf. his *Poets' Biographies in Provençal and Chinese*, Romance Philology, XVI, 1963, 4, pp. 387—401). This is evident, for instance, in the case of *yüeh-fu* (ballads), where he notes that "Chinese ballads have many features in common with ballads in other languages, without any possibility of mutual influence or cultural contact. This fact testifies to a universal typology of literary genres which transcend national boundaries" (p. 62), and supports his statement with examples from English and Spanish ballads. Here he proceeds according to the method which he made use of in processing other Chinese ballads and in his study *The Abduction, The War, and The Desperate Husband: Three Early Chinese Ballads*, Ventures, V, 1965, 1, pp. 6—14, where he dealt in more detail with the question of typological affinity between ballads of European countries and China. He likewise draws attention to the pathetic phallacy, a poetic device endowing the inanimate world with human feelings, as common to old Chinese poetry and literary writings generally, as being a "universal literary phenomenon" (p. 26). In the chapter entitled *Lonely Women* he takes note of "puns and exploitations of multiple meanings" as common "in Chinese erotic poetry as in Elizabethan English verse" (p. 58) and states that "erotic poetry occupies a less conspicuous place in Chinese than in Western literature" (p. 56). But a paradoxical feature, at least up to a point, is that the poetry of these "lonely women" is exemplified with five poems written by men, and an anonymous poem from the *Shih-ching* (*The Book of Poetry*). This chapter would probably have sounded more convincing had Mr. Frankel chosen poems of true "lonely poetesses" to illustrate his point.

The book is concluded with two appendixes on the poetic forms in old Chinese literature, and on historical and legendary figures and episodes shown in 106 translated poems. A relatively long list of references and an index will certainly be of help to interested readers. And the book will be welcomed particularly by teachers and students of Chinese poetry at universities, but also outside of them.

Marián Gálik

Kubler, Cornelius: *Vocabulary and Notes to Ba Jin's Jia: An Aid for Reading the Novel*. Cornell University East Asia Papers, S. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University 1976. 285 pp.

This work will certainly be welcomed by students of Chinese and by sinologists generally. Pa Chin's (1904—) novel *Chia* (*Family*) belongs among the basic works of

modern Chinese literature of the thirties and is the most important work of this author. In addition, his writings, whether novels or short stories, are easier to read than those of his contemporaries being relatively simple in style and closer to the European-minded reader.

Mr. Kubler has greatly facilitated work to numerous students who will not need to have recourse to a dictionary too often, while reading the *Family*. The vocabulary and notes are arranged in three columns: characters, romanization (according to the Pin-yin system), and gloss or explanation.

Mr. Kubler certainly took great pains in order to ensure the accuracy of the characters and their explanations. The present reviewer has only a few remarks to make that relate to a somewhat wider sinological background, eventually minor inaccuracies.

The original title of Wu Yü's (1872—1949) which Mr. Kubler translates as Cannibalistic Ethical Teachings reads in Chinese *Ch'ih-jen yü li-chiao*, but would be better rendered as Cannibalism and Teaching of Propriety (p. 17).

The expression *ts'ai-tzu chia-jen* which in the book under review is translated as "man of talent, woman of beauty" and is explained as ideal couple, perfect match, has a specific background in Chinese literature. It is a tradition dating back at least to the times of Po Hsing-chien (died 826), brother of the famous poet Po Chü-i (772—846), and his friend Yüan Chen (779—831). The beginnings of the ninth century in China saw the birth of short stories, later also of novels and the drama, portraying talented young men, successful in State examinations who married beautiful young maidens. This gave rise, especially during the period of the Ming dynasty (1368—1644), to a much used, current cliché. The best known of these novels, *Hao ch'iu chuan* (The Story of an Ideal Marriage) has been frequently translated (partly or entirely) into European languages from the early 18th century until the twenties of the present century (p. 40).

The journal Shao-nien Chung-kuo appeared between 1919—1921 and not 1921—1931 (p. 41).

The expression *chien-hsien hsia-ko* which would be best translated as "knights-errant" is a designation for another tradition in Chinese literature and history. James J. Y. Liu has devoted an entire book to this phenomenon under the title *The Chinese Knight-Errant* (London and Chicago 1967) and presents its history from the remotest period until the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty (1644—1911). In contrast to the tradition associated with *ts'ai-tzu chia-jen*, these people were frequently in opposition to the social and intellectual establishment, although, on the other hand, especially in times of a strong intellectual tyranny, they were its willing helpers. During the period of consolidation of the ideological positions of the governing class under the Ch'ing dynasty, numerous works of the type *San hsia wu i* (Three Knights-Errant and Five Fighters for Justice) and its continuations, and *Shih kung-an* (The Cases of Lord Shih) or *P'eng kung-an* (The Cases of Lord P'eng) were

written. A brief though realistic characteristic of these knights-errant in Chinese literature may be found in the Selected Works of Lu Hsün, Vol. 3, Peking 1959, pp. 50—52, or a very detailed analysis of the situation in the fiction of the Manchu period in the book by V. I. Semanov, *Evolutsiya kitaiskogo romana* (Evolution of the Chinese Novel), Moscow 1970, pp. 62—96 (p. 88).

The article by Fu Ssu-nien entitled *Jen-sheng wen-t'i fa-tuan* (Introduction to the Problems of Human Life) did not appear in the journal Hsin ch'ing-nien (New Youth), but in the first issue of the journal Hsin ch'ao (New Tide), in January 1919 (p. 89).

Yosano Akiko (1878—1941) was popular in China during the May Fourth Movement and later, especially thanks to her article On Chastity translated by Chou Tso-jen (1885—1966) and published in New Youth in May 1918. Hu Shih (1891—1962), Lu Hsün (1881—1936) and others reacted to this deep, thought-provoking essay by Mrs. Yosano. As far as we know, only one of her poems was translated into Chinese by Chou Tso-jen and published in the collection *T'o-lo* (A Top) (p. 160). Sometime towards the end of the twenties or beginning of the thirties, a Chinese translation appeared of Yosano Akiko's essays on the woman question (cf. *A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books*, Shanghai 1935, p. 67).

*P'u-sa* (*Bodhisattva*) is not a "Buddhist deity second in importance to Buddha". It is a "Mahayanist seeking Buddhahood, but seeking it altruistically, whether monk or layman, he seeks enlightenment to enlighten others, and he will sacrifice himself to save others; he is devoid of egoism and devoted to helping others" (Soothill, W. E.: *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, Taipei 1976, p. 389) (p. 229).

*Fo-hsiang* (p. 234) means the image of Buddha.

*Hsiao-tzu* (p. 235) in the given context means children attending their parents' funeral. It is intended to imply that they fulfil their duty deriving from filial piety (*hsiao*).

The book is conveniently supplemented with a Comparative Romanization Table destined for those unaccustomed to the Pinyin system and using the Wade-Giles or the Yale system, and then with a Simplified Character-Traditional Character Conversion Table destined for those who have difficulties with simplified characters.

Today it is evidently an established fact that Pa Chin's *Family* is being read on the basis of revised versions, e.g. that published in 1958 as Vol. 4 of *Pa Chin wen-chi* (The Collected Works of Pa Chin). It would certainly have been useful, had the compiler of this vocabulary and these notes consulted the earlier, nonrevised editions of this novel and drawn attention to those "relatively minor stylistic" (p. xi) and some other changes. For example, the revised version on p. 181 makes no mention of Artsybashev's story Happiness which Chüeh-hui, the protagonist of the novel, had read. It was translated into Chinese likewise by Chou Tso-jen and appeared in New Youth, 8, 4, January 1921. The unrevised edition happens to

capture more faithfully the intellectual atmosphere of the times around the May Fourth Movement.

An Index of all the characters found in the vocabulary concludes the book, giving reference to the chapter and numbers of the words at the place of their first occurrences.

Marián Gálík

Plaks, Andrew, H. (Ed.): *Chinese Narrative. Critical and Theoretical Essays*. Princeton—New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1977. 365 pp.

The essays collected in the volume under review represent revisions or rewritings of papers originally presented at the Princeton Conference on Chinese Narrative Theory, held at Princeton University on 21st and 22nd January, 1974.

One of the conveners of the conference and editor of the present volume, Professor A. H. Plaks, had already drawn attention to himself by his book *Archetype and Allegory in the Dream of the Red Chamber*, Princeton 1976. This is one of those books that manifest the conviction that “the major works of Chinese narrative can, in fact, be meaningfully interpreted in accordance with critical concepts developed through the discipline of comparative literature” (*Preface*, vii). The author introduced himself to comparatists attending the Eighth Congress of International Comparative Literature Association (AILC/ICLA) in Budapest (1976) by his paper entitled *Theory of Chinese Narrative*, which was in some measure an abbreviated form of one of his contributions to the collection under review. This contribution, now headed *Towards a Critical Theory of Chinese Narrative*, although inserted at the end of the book, is in fact an “introduction” to the subject-matter of the entire book and an attempt at a generalization of his colleagues’ researches. To the majority of interested readers this theoretical summarization will prove to be the most important essay of the whole book, for much of what it embodies, represents the result of a study of the various problems, of different but important works, the quintessence of deep reflections of assiduous students of old Chinese fiction.

The second essay by Mr. Plaks entitled *Allegory in Hsi-yu Chi and Hung-lou Meng* takes contact with the second part of his book mentioned above, and also deals with the problem of allegory in the Chinese novel *Journey to the West*, following thus the lead of C. T. Hsia who, in his book *The Classic Chinese Novel*, Columbia University Press 1968, treated of the problem of the Buddhist allegory on pp. 127—129.

To his already numerous studies on the old Chinese novel, C. T. Hsia has added yet another called *The Scholar-Novelist and Chinese Culture: A Reappraisal of Ching-hua Yüan*. This novel, too, Professor Hsia characterized as an “allegoric romance in total support of Confucian morality and Taoist wisdom” (p. 266).



Following up this line of thought, the author stated that "the central allegory of the novel is mainly designed to support a celebration of Chinese womanhood, with all its beauty, virtue and talent" (p. 286). According to him, the modern view of *Ching-hua yüan* (*Flowers in the Mirror*) by Li Ju-chen (ca. 1763—1830), as a feminist satire cannot be taken seriously, since all the heroines in the novel "are by definition virtuous in a traditional way" (p. 288), except that many of them are portrayed as more educated, more intellectually sophisticated, than was allowed or recommended by various manuals for women, for example, Pan Chao's (33—103) *Nü-chieh* (*Precepts for Women*). Mr. Hsia in his study likewise pointed to the very noteworthy trait of many Chinese novels (although he failed adequately to specify them) which consisted in that "all the heroes that are destined to meet are finally assembled for a common enterprise. This is as true of *Shui-hu chuan* as of *Ju-lin wai-shih* . . . Li Ju-chen, too, takes great pains to assemble his hundred girls in Ch'ang-an and feels justified in regarding their union as a pseudo-historical event of unparalleled novelty" (p. 302).

This last trait is underlined also by another contributor to this volume, Shuen-fu Lin, in his essay *Ritual and Narrative Structure in Ju-lin wai-shih*, where this "structural device" is called (according to H. C. Chang's *Chinese Literature: Popular Fiction and Drama*, Edinburgh University Press 1974) "banquet pattern in fiction" (p. 261). In the philosophical and ethical category *li* (ritual, propriety), associated to *yüeh* (music), Shuen-fu Lin sees "the central integrative principle" in *Ju-lin wai-shih* (*The Scholars*). *The Scholars* lack an integral plot structure, just as do many other old Chinese novels. Like many before him, the author of this essay shows that this was associated with the "narrative conventions of the storytellers of the Sung and Yüan periods, and with the accretive nature of the early Chinese novel" (p. 249). But on the basis of studies by F. M. Mote, J. Needham and C. G. Jung, Mr. Lin points to a certain difference in the way of thinking in China and in the West which affected, among others, also such a sphere of human endeavour and creation as was the novel and its structure. "The concept of causality, so characteristic of Western thought, demands that events be subsumed under one another in a mechanistic chain of cause and effect. Tight, centralized plot structure is possible when this special causal point of view is accepted. In this linear, and basically temporal, type of structure, either the element of character or that of incident is singled out to become the 'prime mover' or the dynamic, sequential factor in the narrative. The traditional Chinese point of view, however, militates against this sort of causal explanation. Instead of arranging events in a linear causal chain, the Chinese view them as forming one vast, interweaving, 'reticular' relationship, or process. Events are no longer described as causally linked: they are simply connected or juxtaposed side by side as if by coincidence. Thus the temporal sequence of the cause-and-effect relationship is instead spatialized into a dynamic pattern of juxtaposed concrete 'incidents' " (p. 250). This reflection brings to mind the idea that cause-and-effect relationship is

irrelevant not only to a structural consideration of the novel and to the aesthetic rating of its qualities, but also to the entire attitude towards a literary work as an object of aesthetic evaluation. Literary scholarship shows that the decisive factors here are relations between the various elements constituting the systemo-structural entity of the literary work, and not their explanation on the basis of causal principles.

A note of the impact of "lyric vision" — typical for Chinese literature — on the novels *Ju-lin wai-shih* and especially on *Hung-lou meng* is made by Wong Kam-ming and Yu-kung Kao in their contributions. Both, but particularly the latter, make a point of the omnipresence of the lyric vision which, especially in its later development during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644—1911), reached the pinnacle, or one of the pinnacles in *t'an-tz'u* (versified novels) written usually about women, by women and for women (cf. Chao Ching-shen: *T'an-tz'u k'ao-cheng*, Shanghai 1937, p. 1).

R. G. Hegel devoted his paper to the novel *Sui T'ang yen-i* (Romance of the Sui and the T'ang), compiled by Ch'u Jen-huo (ca. 1630—ca. 1705). A surprising feature to the non-specialist is the extensive list of sources on which Ch'u drew in writing this novel. Hegel mentions 22 different works: novels, short stories, and collections of anecdotes. He characterizes the novel as a "virtual pastiche of excerpts from earlier works concerning the Sui and the T'ang" (p. 129). Mr. Hegel, more than any other contributor to this volume, takes note of the indebtedness of Chinese novel and short story writers to their predecessors, who regularly drew upon extant written fiction without, of course, acknowledging the debt.

Saying little about the novel *Chin P'ing mei* (translated into English as *Golden Lotus*), Professor D. T. Roy writes more about Chang Chu-p'o's commentary on this novel, expressing the conviction that also in the cases of other novels the Chinese commentaries should be consulted.

Peter Li in his contribution endeavours to characterize the different narrative patterns in *San-kuo yen-i* (*The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*) and *Shui-hu chuan* (*The Water Margin*).

A few of the contributions are devoted to the short forms of old Chinese fiction. Of these, a noteworthy paper is that by Professor Patrick Hanan, *The Nature of Ling Meng-ch'u's Fiction*. One of the most outstanding experts in the world on the question of old Chinese short story (author of the well-known book *The Chinese Short Story*, Harvard University Press 1973) subjects here to a penetrating criticism the collections by Ling-Meng-ch'u (1580—1644) entitled *P'o-an ching-ch'i* and *Erh-k'o p'o-an ching-ch'i* which, until recently, had been but incompletely and hence, also not quite accurately evaluated. Ling's collections had always been in the shadow of the better known, the so-called *San yen* by Feng Meng-lung (1574—ca. 1646).

In his contribution *A Taste for Apricots: Approaches to Chinese Fiction*, Eugene Eoyang also reflects on the problem of composition of Chinese fiction, pointing to its

“limitations” which need not be deficiencies if its authors otherwise strive to satisfy literary specificity. According to Eoyang, to describe “colloquial fiction as episodic is responsible scholarship, but to disdain it as episodic is dubious criticism. Chinese fiction is unitary but not unified” (p. 57). The major part of the author’s attention is reserved for the *pien-wen* genre from the T’ang period.

The last two papers to be reviewed here, although placed first in the volume under review, analyse the narrative qualities of *Tso-chuan* and *chih-k’uai* (fantastic tales), the former of which is an example of the early historical and the latter of fictional narrative. Especially this latter paper by K. J. DeWoskin dealing with the relation between history and fiction in early Chinese works, deserves the readers’ attention.

Marián Gálík

Delyusin, L. P. (Ed.): *Kitai: traditsii i sovremennost* (China: Traditions and the Present). Moscow, Nauka 1976. 333 pp.

This collection of essays by 17 Soviet authors is in a certain sense a continuation of a similar one entitled *Rol traditsii v istorii i kulture Kitaya* (The Role of Traditions in Chinese History and Culture), Moscow, Nauka 1972, 372 pp. The difference between the two lies in that the present one takes note in a greater measure than its predecessor, of problems facing the modern or contemporary age in the history, economy and culture of China.

Some of the contributions in the collection under review take direct contact with topics from the first volume. This is very evident, for instance, in the case of P. V. Vyatkin’s contribution on critical tendencies in medieval historiography, further in L. I. Duman’s paper on the role of traditional Chinese diplomacy and cultural policy, or in L. S. Vasiliev’s study on certain peculiarities of the systems of thinking, behaviour and psychology in the traditional China. This last contribution belongs among the best in the book. Making use of the systemic method, L. S. Vasiliev scrutinizes certain important categories of Chinese philosophy and social behaviour. Traditional China here stands of course for old China, and Vasiliev’s reflections bear upon problems of genesis of traditional Chinese philosophy, further on the so-called concreteness of thought, relations to knowledge and truth, as well as on questions relative to the human “Ego” in the old Chinese society. The category of “Ego” was on the periphery of the traditional Chinese system of thought and its place was taken up by the social sum of human individuals. Ontological and gnoseological problems used to be resolved there more or less outside of the individual “Egos”. “The heavens, tao, the five elements, the reciprocal action of the male (yang) and female (yin) principle determined the continuous cycle of worlds and the laws of the existence of nature and society” (p. 52). The best sections in Vasiliev’s study are those showing the dual structure of the “macrocosm” of social thinking.

D. V. Deopik probably put in more work than any other of the contributors into his study on certain tendencies of the social and political history of the Ch'un-ch'iu (Spring and Autumn) period. In it he evaluates and makes a statistical analysis of a large quantity of historical reports and data, primarily on the relationships prevailing among the top figures in the governing class and also in international contacts.

A. A. Bokshchanin in his contribution dealing with the nature of international relations during the Ming period supplements and specifies in more detail the ideas dealt with in L. I. Duman's paper referred to above.

The remaining papers, and they are in the majority, refer to the 20th century. They are introduced by a short paper by Yu. V. Chudodeev about the ideas of nationalism and sinocentrism in the programmes of bourgeois reformers from the beginning of this century: K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. He also devotes a few words to the revolutionary opposition led by Sun Yat-sen.

The theory of "panasianism" propounded by Sun Yat-sen forms the topic of one of the most noteworthy contributions from L. P. Delyusin's pen. Sun's concept of panasianism "united the progressive ideas about the struggle of Asian nations against foreign, imperialist oppression with the reactionary idea of a predominance of Chinese and Asian culture and civilization over the culture and civilization of other nations" (p. 170).

G. S. Solomin's article about the views of Ku Hung-ming (1857—1928), who was a critic of Chinese Westernization and a defender of traditional Confucian China, and that by M. A. Aslanova about the journal Hsin ch'ing-nien (New Youth) and its three representatives, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Wu Yü and Li Ta-chao, who were the critics of Confucian values, supplement each other and represent socio-ideological tendencies of an opposite orientation.

The next two articles are also related: that by K. V. Shevelev deals with the policy of a united anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front in connection with the 1st Congress of the CCP in 1921, and that by A. S. Kostyaeva is concerned with peasants' associations (*nung-min hsieh-hui*) in the period of the revolution between 1925—1927, in connection with traditional Chinese institutions and the overall establishment.

The economic life in the recent period in PRC is the subject of contributions by A. C. Mugruzin devoted to the ways of the socio-economic development of China in connection with the traditional ways of production, and by G. F. Saltykov analysing the question of the "kinship" in connection with the political and economic struggle in the Chinese village at the beginning of the 1970s. The former notes that China has undoubtedly achieved success in the domain of industrialization, nevertheless, "Chinese national economy continues to be a strange union of diverse parts, in some sense it is a conglomerate embodying both modern industry and, on the technological side, primitive forms of traditional hand-made production and agriculture" (p.

228). The latter paper points primarily to the retarding and negative effect of the kinship relations in the production process in the Chinese countryside.

The last two articles are of a review character. They treat of issues relating to the influence of tradition on Maoism in the writings of Western sinologists and analyse the views of some Western scholars on the relation between the traditional and the Maoist model of personality. The first of them devotes most attention to the views of J. C. Hsiung as expressed in his book *Ideology and Practice. The Evolution of Chinese Communism*. The authors of this study L. S. Kyusadjian and T. N. Sorokina agree with Hsiung's conception in the relationships between ideology and CCP in China, and the bureaucratic élite and *li* (rites, propriety) in traditional China. In addition, they deal with R. Lifton's views in his book *Revolutionary Immortality. Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, with J. Saari's article *China's Special Modernity* from the book *China and Ourselves*, edited by B. Douglass and R. Terrill. Both Lifton and Saari, in the view of the authors of the review article, look upon Mao Tse-tung's "ideas" as on a "product of specific Chinese reality" (p. 292) and of traditional Chinese thought. Among articles considering the problem to be more complex and judging it within a wider spectrum, whether of "Chinese traditional, or European ideas" (p. 293), it is possible to find, for instance, *The Reign of Virtue: Some Broad Perspectives on Leader and Party in the Cultural Revolution*, *The China Quarterly*, 35, 1968, and *China and the West in the Thought of Mao Tse-tung*, in Ho Ping-ti and Tang Tso (Eds): *China in Crisis*, Vol. 1 (Book 1), Chicago 1968. It is a pity that the authors of the review article had probably no access to the study by Wakenan, F. Jr.: *History and Will. Philosophical Perspectives of Mao Tse-tung's Thought*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1973, where the provenance of Mao Tse-tung's ideas is most thoroughly discussed both from the point of view of Chinese tradition and Western impact. From among adherents of the so-called socio-psychological method, now greatly in vogue among Western politologists, both the authors concentrate in a particular manner on the works by R. Solomon. As regards the latter, the article puts a positive appreciation on his "attempt at elucidating the influence of Confucianism and other old Chinese moral-ethical teachings on the psychology of the modern Chinese" (p. 295), but it also subjects to criticism the research method as such, as incapable of "reconstructing an objective image, for the author utilizes those elements only that support his idea" (p. 300). Lucian W. Pye, another propagator of this method, receives only a passing reference in the article. The Soviet authors probably had in mind his book *The Spirit of Chinese Politics. A Psychocultural Study of the Authority*. Cambridge, Mass., Institute of Technology 1968.

D. Robinson's article *From Confucian Gentleman to the New Chinese "Political" Man*, published in Nelson, I. R. (Ed.): *No Man is Alien. Essays on the Unity of Mankind*, forms the subject of reflections by E. V. Zavadsкая, an eminent Soviet specialist in the field of old Chinese aesthetics. Robinson here presents his reflections



supported by such authorities as A. Waley, F. Schurman and a few others. Besides Robinson's study, the analysis also bears on articles by P. K. T. Sih, K. Gupta and the book by J. C. Hsiung, referred to above. Zavadskaya is of the opinion that "Western sinological literature on the relationship between the traditional and the modern, lacks a historical approach to the phenomena, does not make use of a pregnant method for analysing culture, one that would be based on Lenin's teaching on two cultures" (p. 333).

Marián Gálik

Panskaya, Ludmilla (in collaboration with Leslie, Donald Daniel): *Introduction to Palladii's Chinese Literature of the Muslims*. Faculty of Asian Studies: Oriental Monograph Series. No. 20. Canberra, Australian National University Press 1977. 106 pp.

The book under review analyses the personality and the work of Archimadrite Palladii (his lay name was Piotr Ivanovich Kafarov, 1818—1878) who was active in China in the period 1839—1847 as a member, and in 1850—1859 and then in 1865—1878 as the Head of the Peking Russian Ecclesiastical Mission.

The first part of the Introduction brings a characterization of the Russian communities in China during the era of the Ch'ing Empire, particularly the founding of the first Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking in 1715 as the result of Peter the Great's policy. This monarch understood the need for Russia to have its own representatives in China not only as mediators of the Chinese, Manchu and Mongolian languages, but likewise of the knowledge of Chinese life, culture and economy. The Mission had for task to keep the Russian government informed on the situation in China, to translate documents and to help in settling important diplomatic problems. Especially from the end of the 18th century, eminent scholars were attached to the Mission Staff who studied Chinese medicine, natural sciences, agriculture, philosophy, history, culture, arts. Their works are still highly appreciated also by contemporary sinology.

The second part of the Introduction deals with Archimandrite Palladii-Kafarov who is here rated as the greatest sinologist among Russian orientalists of the 19th century. This part of the book, entitled Palladii and his Writings, analyses the life, personal qualities, the political role and the impressive scientific work of Palladii. His versatile scholarship is attested to by the bibliography of Palladii's writings comprising 39 items which even today have more than a purely historical value. This applies also to his translation of Yüan ch'ao pi shih — The Secret History of Mongol Dynasty and Li Chih-ch'ang's Ch'ang Ch'un Chen Jen Hsi yu chi — Description of the Journey of the Taoist Monk Ch'ang Ch'un to the West, which today is the only

complete translation of this work. Among Palladii's merits, as is emphasized in the present book, is his edition of the Works of the Members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking, in four extensive volumes, published in St Petersburg in the years 1852—1866. The system of transcribing Chinese into Cyrillic letters which Palladii had worked out, is with minor deviations, still in use to this day and bears his name. The present book rightly considers as the "crown of Palladii's scholarly achievement" his compilation of a Chinese-Russian Dictionary which, in reality, is rather an encyclopaedia than a dictionary. It is considered to be the first real sinological dictionary generally, which, moreover, contains a greater wealth of information than the Chinese Tz'u-yüan. In addition, he also published scientifically based travelogues, works on Buddhism, writings from the domain of history, ethnography, archaeology, geography. The translation of the last of Palladii's three works on Islam in China, posthumously edited by Nikolai Adoratskii in 1887, constitutes the second part of this book.

The work under review has collected the existing literature on Palladii-Kafarov and appreciations of his personality and works. The book takes support principally in Russian sources and works by Russian and Soviet authors who drew either on personal experiences with Palladii-Kafarov, or on archival materials. The book *Introduction to Palladii's Chinese Literature of the Muslims* represents a serious and valuable contribution to an appreciation of the significance of a great Russian sinologist whose pioneering work belongs to the best traditions and the acme of world sinology of the 19th century.

Anna Doležalová

Bernstein, Thomas T.: *Up to the Mountains and Down to the Villages. The Transfer of Youth from Urban to Rural China*. New Haven—London, Yale University Press 1977. 371 pp.

This voluminous and detailed book by Thomas P. Bernstein, associate professor of political science at Columbia University, is concerned with the transfer programme of educated youth from urban to rural China, called *shang-shan hsia-hsiang* (up to the mountains and down to the villages). According to Chinese data, a total of 1.2 million secondary and primary school graduates were sent to the country within the framework of this scheme in the period 1956—1966, and twelve million middle school graduates during 1968—1975. As sources, the author made use of Chinese media, interviews with former residents of the People's Republic of China given him during his one-year stay in Hong Kong, foreign visitors' reports, published and unpublished materials dealing with these problems, and Chinese statistics, of whose relative value he was aware. He himself worked out several graphic tables in which he

processed data on various aspects of the transfer of urban youth. In this Introduction he draws attention to a whole range of problems that have to be taken into account when detailed and precise analyses are to be made. A lack of factographic information or superficial work with the sources may cause a misunderstanding or the wrong interpretation of the problems. In this connection he underlines, for instance, the necessity to differentiate between urban youth sent to the country, and village youth sent to attend secondary school in a county town and returning to home villages after graduation — for propagandist reasons, even the Chinese press fails to make a distinction between these two categories.

T. P. Bernstein follows the problems of the transfer of educated youth “up to the mountains and down to the villages” from five principal aspects (parts 2—6 of the book under review).

In analysing the goals of the transfer programme, he puts in the first place the factor of urban unemployment, the disproportion between the growth rate of urban population and the number of work opportunities. In addition, he considers the transfer as part of the efforts at altering attitudes of young urbanites, at a resocialization of the society, at a change of values, aspirations and ideals of the educated youths, from their aspiring to white-collar jobs, élite status towards their “aspiring to become ordinary workers and peasants with both socialist consciousness and culture”. As a further aim of the transfer, he mentions rural development, with the need for educated youth and manpower. Lastly, he mentions settlement of urban youth in frontier provinces in which he sees three factors: underpopulation of these regions, an effort at increasing the Han component in regions inhabited by national minorities and transfer to frontier regions, particularly those bordering on the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia — this last being, in the view of the author, “at least in part motivated by another nondevelopmental consideration, national defense”. In our view, military motives and aims absolutely predominate in the settling of these regions. In analysing the politics of the transfer programme, the author outlines its development and the peripeteia on the part of China’s leaders, as well as the mode of presentation of transfer to the Chinese people.

The third part of the book deals with the methods ensuring the transfer at the local level, the mobilization processes within cities, as also the possibilities of individual decisions within the framework of this transfer. The author shows by what methods and slogans the propaganda strove to create an atmosphere of support for the transfer in the young and their parents. He sees an important role in appeals to the young that by leaving for the countryside they should become worthy revolutionary successors in the fight for the right ideas and in the patriotic calls to build up the frontier provinces and underdeveloped regions of the deep interior. The author makes a distinction in the overall situation prevailing before and after the Cultural Revolution: in the sixties, the young were being promised that by their temporary stay in the countryside they would gain position and fame, after the Cultural



revolution neither return nor advantages were promised any more, the propaganda laid emphasis exclusively on the value of ideals. Mention is here also made of the important role of local authorities in deciding on an individual's transfer. Differences between State farms, PLA farms and people's communes are stated in this connection here (but also elsewhere in the book).

The subsequent part of the book points out factors assisting or hindering the adaptation process of urban youth to rural life. Of interest here are the examples of the complex relation of the farming community towards the urban youth and the efforts to isolate it from the political and social life of the village. Since 1973, the Chinese leadership has introduced remedial measures tending towards an improvement of leadership in youths settlements, concentration settlements, in the interests of a stricter organization of collective group life, further, of providing additional resources for housing the young, of enabling marriage between urban girls and local boys (the opposite case would run counter to traditional trends) and of course, strengthening political education. Although in the conclusion of this part the author speaks with respect about the capacity of the Chinese leadership in introducing these remedial measures, evidence is lacking as to the range of application of these measures on a nation-wide scale, about their positive impact and the degree of adaptation of urban youth to rural life, and also about any improved relationships of farmers towards urban youth. In a subsequent part of the book the author himself expresses doubts about the success of the adaptation process. He deals here with questions of recruitment of urban youths and their contribution to rural development. He makes a rather detailed analysis of the possibilities and ways in which urban youths could make themselves useful in the countryside and presents an overview of the political and professional opportunities available to them. Simultaneously he underlines the fact that in selecting candidates for political organizations and attractive posts, the village usually gives preference to local youths. The author comes to the conclusion that urban youth obtains a leading position in the countryside only exceptionally, although its influence on the life and customs of the village is appreciable. T. P. Bernstein does not see the principal contribution of the transfer in a modernization of the village, but in the cultivation of new soil, hence, predominantly in physical work which means that the goals followed in sending educated youth to the countryside are not met. He expresses the view that the principal aim of the transfer likewise failed to be fulfilled — viz. to eliminate the gap between mental and manual labour. The present reviewer is of the opinion that this gap can be stopped solely through mechanization of production, particularly of agriculture and a complex of fundamental changes in both the social base and superstructure.

The sixth chapter is devoted to questions of stability of the settlement. The author notes the unique possibilities of a reassignment to the urban sector and simultaneously explains the working style of mass propaganda which acts systematically and

unambiguously against a return to town. He investigates the prospects of such individual returns and infers that the theoretical possibility of a reassignment exerts a negative effect on adaptation, on the one hand, and on the other, stimulates the young to work well (bad work and bad behaviour are an obstacle to return, while a very good report on an individual may be the cause that the people's commune will refuse to give its assent to his leaving the village). The author devotes special attention to the situation of the sent-down youth during the Cultural Revolution when the transfer programme broke down and a mass exodus from villages to towns took place. This flight caused, in his view, by a longing after urban life, was also contributed to by long-term disagreements between the young and the local leaders who considered them to be petty bourgeois elements, and also by the general hostility on the part of farmers towards outsiders. The author shows that this youth did not play any important role in the Cultural Revolution. It demanded a definite limit on the period of transfer and the introduction of a rotation system. However, after the Cultural Revolution, the volume of the transfer of educated youth to the countryside was radically increased.

In the closing part of his book the author poses the question whether the Chinese example of the transfer of educated young urbanites in the rural areas is a suitable model for the Third World Countries which, like China, are equally faced with problems of urban unemployment and rural underdevelopment. T. P. Bernstein's considerations imply that Third World countries are not capable of applying this model for, in contrast to China, they lack (1) adequately strong political institutions, capable of enforcing the subordination of individual preferences to those of the State; (2) an ideology that makes it legitimate to bring to bear those organizational pressures and sanctions; (3) institutional reforms in the agricultural sector and the adoption of a labour-intensive rural development strategy to provide work for vast numbers of people; (4) the traditional Chinese value system (however, some of its elements speak against the transfer programme). In this part of the book, the author enumerates the causes and the experience that act as brake on the effectiveness of the transfer programme under conditions of Chinese policy and tactics of the transfer and reflects on its future which depends on numerous factors and is thus "a remains to be seen".

T. P. Bernstein has processed an impressive quantity of source materials several of which have not been used before. His book provides many new data on the problem studied. All the parts of the book are fully documented, supported by facts and figures accessible to the author and made quite clear by an analysis of concrete relevant examples obtained principally from informants and from the Chinese press. The book under review testifies to the author's serious and stimulative work with sources and statistics, and several of his considerations and inferences are proof of his versatile erudition in the problems studied. Although several of his deductions and conclusions cannot be accepted by all his readers, his book *Up to the Mountains and*

*Down to the Villages* is undoubtedly a very valuable, highly informative and useful contribution to a knowledge of the process, results and consequences of the transfer of educated urban youth to rural areas which has been going on in China for over twenty years.

Anna Doležalová

Gerow, Edwin: *Indian Poetics*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1977, pp. 217—301.

This booklet is the third fascicle of Volume 5 of *A History of Indian Literature* edited by Jan Gonda. It represents a very concise history of Indian poetics and its prehistory from the times of the Veda up to Jagannātha (17th cent.).

Gerow's introduction to Indian poetics is certainly to be welcomed today, a period characterized by the interest in the most diverse *artes poeticae*, as one of the possible sources for a more "general theory" of literature. Nevertheless, its reading will represent a relatively hard nut for the non-specialists (because of its heterogeneity and conciseness), but its abundant reference and bibliographic material will prove of great help to those interested in specific questions.

This booklet is one of those works pursuing and processing poetics primarily, if not exclusively, from the viewpoint of the national-literary development and practically ignores all typological affinities to the various poetics of foreign origin. Its bearing axis is given principally by eminent theoreticians or works and certain significant categories of Indian poetics, such as *rasa* or *dhvani*. The author has adopted the typical historical procedure, i.e. he explains the issues of Indian poetics in their evolution, but less as the phenomena of literary morphology.

With some such reservations, the booklet may be said to fulfil its design and deserves the readers' attention.

Marián Gálik

Alekseeva, E. A.: *Uchebnik bengalskogo yazyka* (Bengali Language Handbook). Vols I—II. Moscow, Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1976—1977. 270 and 272 pp.

This is a handbook of the Bengali language in two volumes, written for students of the Institute of Asian and African countries of the Moscow State University. It contains 25 lessons the subject-matter of which is to be mastered in three semesters (12—14 hours a week). During this intensive course, a student is supposed to acquire

the basic knowledge of normative grammar of the Bengali language, and learn a sufficient number of Bengali words to enable him to carry on a conversation on any common topic.

The handbook consists of an Introduction, an Introductory phonetic course, and a Basic course of the Bengali language.

The introduction carries a brief information on general phonetics, deals with the phonetic structure of the Bengali language, the origin and character of the Bengali script and describes the grammatical structure of the Bengali language, as well as its vocabulary.

The Introductory phonetic course (9 lessons) is based on articulatory phonetics. The author gradually introduces all Bengali sounds and describes the way of their articulation in detail. Then she pays attention to the Bengali orthography, as well as to the elementary grammar and vocabulary (about 200 lexical units are introduced in this part of the handbook). Each lesson contains exercises intended to help a student to practise Bengali phonetics, orthography, and grammar.

The next 16 lessons of the basic course of the Bengali language represent the core of the handbook. Each lesson opens unconventionally but appropriately, with new grammatical items and relevant exercises, and only then a text (monologue and dialogue) follows which not only brings in new vocabulary, but also enables the student to master the new grammatical details introduced in the lesson. The whole basic course contains about 1,200 lexical units on different topics, e.g., the study of the Bengali language, a flat, a student's day, the family, food, the post-office, shopping, basic data on India and Bangladesh, sports, visiting a physician, travelling, etc. Each text is followed by a commentary explaining some problems of Bengali grammar, vocabulary or morphology. Then again exercises are included helping the student to practise new grammatical material and vocabulary introduced in the preceding lessons.

This is a good and well-written handbook on the Bengali language and the author is to be commended for her work. The book contains an unusual number of various well-thought-out exercises (on grammar, vocabulary, translation) and it may be presumed that any student who works carefully through them, will acquire a solid knowledge of Bengali grammar as well as a good command of colloquial speech.

*Anna Ráková*

Ghosh, J. C.: *Bengali Literature*. London, Curzon Press — Totowa, Rowman and Littlefield 1976. 198 pp.

This is a reissue of the book first published in 1948. It deals with the history of Bengali literature from its beginnings until the end of the nineteenth century.

Though the twentieth century is outside the author's scope, an essay on Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941) is included, too.

Besides brief Foreword and Preface, the book contains an ample Introduction examining the origin and development of the Bengali language and Bengali culture, the latter being developed, according to the author's view, in three phases that took their names from three towns (i.e. Gaur, Nadiyā and Calcutta) playing a prominent role in the history of Bengal. Following the cultural phases, Bengali literature is divided into three periods of predominating Gaur, Nadiyā, and Calcutta influence, i.e., the Gaur period (up to the sixteenth century), the Nadiyā period (1500—1800 A. D.), and the Calcutta period (the nineteenth century).

The author points out the characteristic features of Bengali literature of different periods. Special attention is paid to religious, political and social forces that influenced the formation of Bengali literature which, in spite of many unfavourable conditions, has developed into the premier modern Indian literature occupying a high place among the lesser literatures of the world (p. 25).

The well-written Introduction, discussing the above-mentioned problems in general, is followed by three chapters devoted to detailed analysis of Bengali literature, of its most prominent authors and the most important works of the periods. The chapter headed Calcutta Period treats of miscellaneous prose, poetry, drama and novel in separate subsections.

The last chapter of the book contains a brief and critical analysis of Rabindranath Tagore's work supplied with a number of illustrations.

There are not many books on Bengali literature available even today, therefore the publishers' decision to reissue an earlier work on the subject is to be appreciated.

(The publishers give us misleading information as to the author's former place of work. Was he Lecturer in Bengali in the University of Cambridge as written in the annotation on the book-jacket, or in the University of Oxford as said in the Foreword?)

Anna Rácová

Bauer Van, Rachel M. (Ed.): *Aspects of Bengali History and Society*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1975. 245 pp.

Fields pursued by American Bengal specialists are rich and varied. However, most of American Bengalists developed their interest in Bengal history and it is the modernists who predominate among historians as shown by an analysis of Bengal scholarship in America by David Kopf, which is the subject of the last essay in the present volume, and also by topics of some of the papers included in this volume.

The papers were originally delivered as a seminar on Bengal which took place at the University of Hawaii in 1972. They deal with different periods of the history of

Bengal, i.e., the middle period, the nineteenth century, and the twentieth century.

The aim of the essays is, as the editor writes in the introduction, “to provide students with a rigorous interdisciplinary study of Bengal that would result in new insights into its contemporary problems, and to provide a group of Bengal specialists with an opportunity to address themselves to certain aspects of history and society that they understand to be influential on current developments in Bengal” (p. vii).

This book was published as the 12th volume of the series Asian Studies at Hawaii.

The first essay, headed *Hinduism and Islam in Medieval Bengal*, is by Edward C. Dimock, Jr. It is, in fact, one of few essays of the volume paying attention to Bengali Muslims which is an area relatively neglected by American scholars.

It seemed to Dimock, shocked by Hindu-Muslim riots in 1964, that the violence he had witnessed in India “could only have stemmed from hatred of many centuries duration” (p. 2). He analyses Bengali medieval literature from this point of view, i.e., he looks for sources of the contemporary Hindu-Muslim antagonism, but in vain. He has found only little evidence of it there — which is no novelty for a Bengali student outside America.

The essay *Norms of Family Life and Personal Morality among the Bengali Hindu Elite, 1600—1850*, by Tapan Raychaudhuri, deals with some of the most striking facts about Bengal’s social life, e.g., joint family, child marriage, kulin polygamy, etc., and points out the processes that worked toward the slow dissolution of these institutions. Following a review of pertinent literature on this period (see Notes pp. 24—25), the author goes on to analyse the traditional system of values, the changes caused by the desire of younger generation to imitate “English ways”, and a new ideal of personal morality.

The two following essays are devoted to an analysis of various problems regarding Bengal renaissance.

Blair B. Kling’s essay *Economic Foundations of the Bengal Renaissance* treats of the changes of economic conditions in Bengal during the given period.

The essay *The Universal Man and the Yellow Dog: The Orientalist Legacy and the Problem of Brahmo Identity in the Bengal Renaissance* by David Kopf is “in part an interpretation of the Bengal renaissance and in part an analysis of cultural identity among Bengali intellectuals struggling to maintain their outgoing universalism against the rising tide of militant and aggressive nationalism” (p. 43). It discusses the contribution of British orientalists to the Bengal renaissance, the challenge of Macaulayism and the origins of modern nationalism in Bengal, the origins of Brahmo reformation ideology, the unitarianism of Rammohan Ray, the origin of Indian nationalism, the Brahmo universalism of Keshub Chandra Sen, the nationalist ideology of Dwijendranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore’s reinterpretation of the Adi Brahmo idea of Hindu modernism, etc.

Rachel Van M. Baumer, author of the essay *The Reinterpretation of Dharma in Nineteenth-Century Bengal: Righteous Conduct for Man in the Modern World*,

discusses the accommodation of the ancient concept of dharma to the changing society and points out obstacles to it. She examines some of the basic aspects of the development of ideas of dharma prior to the modern period, explores Rammohan Ray's writings containing his views on righteous conduct, as well as Bankimcandra Chatterji's doctrine of dharma with which "an acceptable philosophical, religious, and psychological basis had been laid for the twentieth-century nationalist movement" (p. 96).

The essay *Bengal and Britain: Culture Conduct and the Reinterpretation of Hinduism in the Nineteenth Century*, by John N. Gray, deals with the interaction between the British and the Bengali élite, stress being laid on the Bengali élite's perception of this interaction. The author divides the nineteenth century into three periods, i.e., 1800—1830, 1830—1870, 1870—1905, "based on the shifting British attitudes toward Bengali culture and the Bengali élite's perception of these shifts and their perception of themselves" (p. 101), and gives basic characteristics of the process of synthesis in the different periods. He successfully applies Marian Oran's theory of the rank concession syndrome (taken from Oran's works introduced in notes 6 and 7, p. 128) to the Bengali élite of the nineteenth century, and suggests at least one new aspect of this theory regarding the Bengali élite's switch from an economic to a political rank path after 1850 forced by decreasing economic opportunities.

The essay *The Social and Institutional Bases of Politics in Bengal, 1906—1947*, by J. H. Broomfield, is a contribution to a deeper knowledge of political history of India which is correctly considered fully inadequate today. The author divides Bengali politics of the period studied into five chronological phases and explores the institutional framework of politics for each of the periods, discussing not only what political institutions existed in undivided Bengal, but also how the institutions changed through forty years up to independence. Special attention is paid to social bases of politics and to their shifts caused, among others, by the institutional changes.

John R. McLane is the author of the next essay headed *Bengal's Pre-1905 Congress Leadership and Hindu Society*. Analysing the professional and private lives of Congress leaders in Bengal, as well as the interaction of congressmen and Bengali society, the author attempts to illuminate some of the reasons of National Congress's failure to build a national movement into which both Muslims and the larger Hindu society would be integrated.

*A Public Policy Profile and Rural Development in Bengal*, by Nicolaas Luykx, is a brief survey of rural development policy starting with a description of British East India Company's operations in Bengal, followed by an examination of different agricultural programmes in both West and East Bengal after independence. The author concludes by introducing six crucial issues that public policy for rural development will have to deal with in future.

The last essay of the volume, *A Bibliographic Essay on Bengal Studies in the*

*United States* by David Kopf, “deals with a selection of the published work of fourteen scholars — thirteen Americans and one acculturated New Zealander — who . . . have made solid contribution to Bengali studies” (p. 202). They are: Edward Dimock, Stephen Hay, Blair Kling, Ronald Inden, Warren Gunderson, Rachel Van M. Baumer, John Broomfield, Ralph Nicholas, Marcus Franda, David Kopf, Barrie Morrison, Leonard Gordon, Philip Calkins, and John McLane. The author discusses the academic profiles of these scholars and analyses their monographs and articles on Bengal published between 1963 and 1971. This essay is highly interesting for all scholars of Bengal, especially for those outside the United States, as it brings useful information on the state of Bengal scholarship in America.

The great majority of essays included in the volume are of high quality. Several of them bring a new, unconventional insight into some aspects of Bengali history. Also the choice of topics discussed deserves the reader’s attention. The volume as a whole can be considered a contribution to the study of the history of Bengal, as well as to the study of Bengali society and may be recommended to all specialists interested in Bengal.

Anna Ráková

Fein, Helen: *Imperial Crime and Punishment*. The Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh and British Judgment, 1919—1920. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1977. 250 pp.

The aim of the book under review is best stated by the author herself: the book “tries to explain how groups condone, legitimate, and authorize violence toward other groups which would be punished as criminal acts if committed against their own members” (Preface).

The study starts from Durkheim’s theory on the function of crime and punishment as introduced in his work *Division of Labor in Society*. H. Fein revises the theory, and adds some new definitions and implications of her own. Three of her postulates seem to be most important in regard to the main theme of her study:

1. If persons are not defined within the universe of obligation, then offences against them are not violations of the common conscience. Therefore, offences against persons (and groups) outside the universe of obligation will not activate criminal sanction.

2. Offences against persons outside the universe of obligation will not be socially recognized and labelled as crime.

3. Assuming judges to be representative of their class of origin, the ability of judges to identify with the victim of an offence depends on the victim’s inclusion within the judge’s universe of obligation. This causes differential likelihood of



punishment of the accused offender, contingent upon the status of both victim and offender, leading to the inequities . . . (pp. 18—19).

The author tests her propositions by analysing the evaluation and judgment of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and Punjab terror of 1919. However, events preceding the massacre are also described. Attention is paid to the structure of the empire, to British goals and ideology, to the gradual emerging of national class consciousness of Indians as an oppressed entity. Then the way of testing the validity of the above-mentioned propositions is explained.

The author analyses and systematically compares three reports on the terror in Punjab, i.e. those produced by Lord Hunter's Committee, by the Government of Punjab, and by the Indian National Congress's Punjab Subcommittee, respectively. Fein attempts to show how the social interpretation of violence is related to the political class of the investigators (p. 95).

Then a formal analysis of the argumentation of the parliamentary debates held in July 1920 on the sanction the Government of India took against General Dyer for ordering the Amritsar massacre follows in order to prove the validity of the author's hypothesis that "Dyer's opponents will be distinguished from his supporters by their readiness to define Indians within the universe of moral obligation" (p. 129). The hypothesis is tested also through content analysis.

The analyses included in the book substantiate the author's basic proposition that offences against persons outside the universe of moral obligation are not labelled as crimes and, conversely, offences not socially recognized and labelled as crimes are offences against persons outside the universe of obligation.

The study is supplied with three appendices.

Appendix A containing the code sheet explains the way of coding the parliamentary debates.

Appendix B is headed *The Circle of Trust*. The metaphor is used for labelling the range of people to whom obligation is owed. The author deals with the range of the circle of trust and introduces several illustrations of its mapping. At last, the properties of the circle of trust are discussed.

The last appendix, Appendix C headed *The Jamaica Debate*, explores Brigadier General Surtees' comparison of the response to Dyer's action at Jallianwala Bagh of 1919 with the response to the British officers' actions after the Jamaica rebellion of 1865.

The book is furnished with notes, bibliography, and an index.

This book, a revision of the author's Ph.D. dissertation in the Department of Sociology at Columbia University (1971), provides a sound analysis of the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, as well as of British judgment. It can be recommended to any student of political sociology or Indian history.

*Anna Rácová*

Robb, P. G.: *The Government of India and Reform. Policies Towards Politics and the Constitution, 1916—1921*. Oxford, Oxford University Press 1976. 379 pp.

The present study, volume 32 of the London Oriental Series, is devoted to a detailed analysis of a period of Indian history (1916—1921) in which the course of British supremacy in India was altered. "It examines the emergence of a reform policy and its impact on the political stance of the central government" (p. 1).

The explored period coincides with Lord Chelmsford's government in India. Both Indian and British scholars avouch that the change of British position in India had nothing to do with Lord Chelmsford and his government. Nevertheless, the author pays attention not only to the system within which changes occurred, but also to Chelmsford's appointment, to his policies as Viceroy, to a form of his leadership as well as to the reasons of his unpopularity.

The question of Indian self-government within the Empire, the goal of British rule in India, and the first steps towards this goal are discussed in the study in greater detail.

Robb analyses the hopes set on the 1919 reforms, the distinctive feature of which was the acceptance of the idea of dualism in the provincial governments. Attention is paid to responses of local governors in India, as well as of politicians in England and of the Indian National Congress to the reforms. Then the impact of the reforms on government policy is studied.

The second part of the book deals with the evolution of British policies, attention being focused on two aspects of government policy, i.e., tactical non-interference, and repression. Further it treats of riots and disturbances which had to be repressed, discussing the underlying causes and pointing out that even this area of government activity was under the impact of the reform policy.

The last chapter of this part of book explores Gandhi's non-cooperation campaign of 1920—1922 (satyagraha) and the Government of India's policy during the campaign.

The study contains two appendices (Appendix I introducing a survey of martial law sentences in the Panjab, and Appendix II giving additional biographical information about persons mentioned in the text), references and notes (pp. 301—360), bibliography, and an index to the text and notes.

The book, originally a doctoral dissertation of the University of London, is a first-rate contribution to the study of the chosen problems of Indian history.

*Anna Rácová*

Stein, Burton (Ed.): *Essays on South India*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1975. 213 pp.

The essays included in the book under review, the 15th volume of the series Asian Studies at Hawaii, were originally presented at a conference of the Society for South Indian Studies held at the University of Wisconsin in 1970. All but one of the authors are American scholars who spent a greater or lesser time in South India studying various problems of South Indian society, culture, and history. Each of them is a real specialist in his field of research as one may note also when reading the essays published in this volume.

The scope of the seven essays included in the book is broad.

The paper headed *Archaeology in South India: Accomplishments and Prospects* by Clarence Maloney deals with the archaeology of South India from the earliest times until A. D. 300 (excluding temple archaeology). It examines many interesting archaeological problems, for instance those regarding early civilization in South India. The author tries to find out when a grade of cultural evolution that can be called civilization was achieved here and what sparked the development of civilization in South India. He studies the diffusion of Dravidian languages throughout the south, and then describes early civilization in Karṇāṭaka, Āndhra, Kēraḷa, and the coastal sites of Tamil Nāḍu.

George L. Hart III is author of the essay *Ancient Tamil Literature: Its Scholarly Past and Future*. He points out the availability of Tamil literature to give an accurate picture of social conditions of Tamilnad, and to illumine various elements of Indian civilization. He shows its significance for the history of Indian literature, for South Indian history etc., and emphasizes the potential scholarly value of Tamil literature the translations of which will considerably broaden the horizons of researchers in all areas of South Indian studies.

An excellent essay *The State and the Agrarian Order in Medieval South India: A Historiographical Critique* by Burton Stein is a historiographical interpretation of political organization in South India based upon research in the social and economic history of the period. The author's attention is focused first on the functions and institutions of the political system at the local level, and then on the functions and political organization of medieval state. He argues, in contrast to the conventional historiography, that the "South Indian medieval states were custodial rather than managerial, tribute-receiving rather than tax-based, and the society itself was organized into relatively isolated, locally oriented networks of relations among corporate groups and associations" (p. 81).

Then the conceptions of the state derived from classical texts are examined, followed by an analysis of concepts current in modern scholarship generally.

The aim of the essay *Geography and the Study of South India* by Brian J. Murton is to discuss geography as an academic discipline in the study of South India. Physical

geography and human geography are treated of separately here. The author stresses the analytic shortcomings of much of the research on the geography of South India, and introduces potential areas for its academic and pragmatic research.

After describing the traditional backgrounds of Kerala, an essay by Joan P. Mencher and K. Raman Unni named *Anthropological and Sociological Research in Kerala: Past, Present, and Future Directions* analyses published studies on castes, and those on Kerala Christians and Muslims, treats of socio-economic, ecological, demographic, and urban studies, examines studies on political anthropology, on Kerala kinship system, and explores literary works and films that provide important areas for sociological research.

*Approaches to Changes in Caste Ideology in South India* is an essay by Stephen A. Barnett dealing with general problems of caste change, attention being centred on changes in caste ideology. It discusses descriptive, processual and structural levels at which changes are considered and the conclusions are illustrated by an example of recent change in the marriage alliance patterns of one vegetarian South Indian caste. Then some other data relative to the levels of change are examined. The essay is concluded by indications of certain directions for future research of caste change.

The last essay of the present volume is by Franklin C. Southworth. It is headed *Sociolinguistics Research in South India: Achievements and Prospects*. It deals first with the scope of sociolinguistics in general and then with sociolinguistic work in South India. Attention is paid to three principal types of linguistic variations that can be distinguished in India, i.e., geographical, social, and functional (or stylistic). Further, the achievements and prospects of sociolinguistic work in Dravidian languages are discussed.

These are excellent essays each of which is supplied with notes containing a rich bibliography on the different subjects discussed.

Anna Rácová

Mukherjee, Sudhansu Bhusan: *The Age Distribution of the Indian Population. A Reconstruction for the States and Territories, 1881—1961*. Honolulu, East-West Center, East-West Population Institute 1976. 257 pp.

There are only few countries in the world which possess census records comparable in length and consistency with those existing in India. But the data of these materials are often not available in convenient form which results in their misinterpretations. The author of the book under review tries to make usable to demographers, economists, and other social scientists at least a part of the census data, i.e. those on age and sex. He compiles the age-sex data from the nine decennial censuses of 1881 through 1961, regroups the age data for the changes that occurred in the

political divisions of the country from one census to another, recasts these age data into a uniform set of quinquennial age intervals for a uniformly defined set of states and territories, and after having done this reconstruction, he compares the age compositions for the different years and for different zones and territories of India. He demonstrates also how these reconstructed data can be used to derive estimates of the basic demographic parameters — birth rate, death rate, gross reproduction rate, and expectation of life at birth.

All these problems are discussed in these chapters, i.e. Regrouping age data from census tables (pp. 9—43), The reconstructed age tables (pp. 44—128), Age distribution and the hypothesis of quasi stability (pp. 129—148), Rate of natural increase and the hypothesis of quasi stability (pp. 149—163), Methodology used to estimate fertility and mortality by the forward projection method (pp. 208—219), Final estimates and comparisons (pp. 220—235).

The study is excellently illustrated with 77 tables, 24 figures, 5 maps, 3 worksheets, and an exhibit which shows the administrative units of the Indian subcontinent in 1872—1971.

The most important are 8 tables introduced in chapter 3 showing the population by age and sex in absolute numbers as well as a percentage distribution of population by age and sex for India, its zones, its states and territories (as defined for the purpose of the 1971 census). As a matter of fact, they constitute the most important end product of the treatise and are basic to the purpose of the study (p. 64).

The author not only describes the situation in India in the chosen period, but from time to time also tries to clear up the reasons for the prevailing state. He refreshes the text of the book by introducing the figures presenting some demographic parameters for Japan, United States, United Kingdom, France, and Sweden, and compares them with those valid for India.

The study under review is highly interesting and useful, as the present reviewer believes, not only for specialists in demography and economy, but also for all Indologists.

Anna Ráková

Liebert, Gösta: *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions*. Hinduism — Buddhism — Jainism. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1976. 377 pp.

The lack of a convenient reference-book dealing with Indian iconographic terminology has induced Gösta Liebert, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Gothenburg, to mobilize his wide-ranging knowledge and his efficiency and prepare the present iconographic dictionary. Though it concerns only the Indian religions, i.e. Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, the most

important terms of the Tibetan form of Buddhism have also been included because of the close connection of the latter to the Buddhism of North India.

The dictionary contains nearly 5 thousand entries concerned with the vehicles or mounts of gods, their seats, thrones and accessories, the poses of the body or legs, the poses of arms, hands and fingers ; they include terms regarding attributes referring to limbs or parts of body, articles carried in one hand or in the hands of an idol or placed near the idol, as well as attributes relating to items worn on the body or concerning dress, colours, ornaments ; there are also terms regarding objects of worship, types of icons, sacred stones, cult-accessories, trees and plants sacred to certain deities or used in worship, then astronomical, chronological, architectural and artistic terms, terms used for syllabic and geometrical symbols, types of deities and supernatural beings as well as human beings, religious officials, sectaries, and last but not least, the terms concerning religious ceremonies, rites, festivals, dances and other religious conceptions. There are, naturally, also brief characteristics of Indian deities. Philosophical and abstract terms are included only exceptionally.

The terminology is drawn especially from Sanskrit, but partially also from Pāli and New Indian languages.

Each entry comprises a brief explanation of the term and also the reference to the literature which indicates its source, as well as the literature on which the article is based.

The dictionary is furnished with five indices headed I. Vāhanas, II. Attributes, III. Mudrās, IV. Attitudes, and V. Other Terms that are meant to facilitate the use of the dictionary as a work of reference. They sum up various terms introduced in the dictionary according to their function in the Indian iconography. There is always an English translation of the term or a cross-reference to the appropriate main headword.

It is only natural that an author preparing a dictionary, especially if it is the first one of its kind, should meet many problems. The present dictionary has been compiled from various iconographic handbooks and from books on the history of art and religion. Professor Liebert considers the transliteration of Indian words in those books often unscholarly and inconsistent which might confuse the reader. Therefore, he tried to avoid possible misinterpretations of terms by giving their scientific transliteration in the main headwords. But he has correctly introduced also many references to these main headwords in the divergent spellings to be found in iconographic literature.

Further problems were connected with numerous synonyms of the names of Indian gods and the symbolic terms, as well as with the question of choosing the proper form, i.e. either a stem form, or the best known form, in citing the names of deities and the other iconographic terms. As to the form of a term, the author of the dictionary has been correct in choosing a word form which is best known, variant forms being given in the brackets. The same procedure has been adopted with the

case of various synonyms. The commonest or most convenient has been chosen as the main term, the synonymous terms being given in their alphabetical order with a reference to the main headword.

These are but a few of the main problems that complicated the author's praiseworthy work. In my view, the solution of others will equally satisfy the users of the dictionary, a pioneering work which can be considered as a successful attempt by Professor G. Liebert to fill a serious gap in the literature dealing with Indian iconography. It will undoubtedly be highly appreciated by all scholars interested in Indian iconography, as well as in the history of art and religion.

Anna Rácová

Baranov, S. S.: *Vostochnaya Bengaliya. Osobennosti ekonomicheskogo razvitiya 1947—1971* (East Bengal. Characteristic Features of Economic Development 1947—1971). Moscow, Nauka 1976. 224 pp.

Among the works devoted to the problem of East Bengal, which came into prominence during and after the Pakistan crisis at the beginning of the seventies, is the present study which is concerned with a most decisive aspect of this question. The economic discrepancies between the two parts of the state, apparent from the very beginning of its existence and increasing steadily year by year, were bound to lead to a disruption and to the civil war ultimately giving rise to the independent republic of Bangladesh.

The conclusions of the book are based on vast material from different (and often opposite) sources, e.g. official reports of the government of the former two-winged Pakistan and, on the other hand, analyses of the situation by contemporary Bangladesh and Indian economists, in addition to studies written in the USA and the USSR as well as in UN publications.

The author does not content himself with merely stating the facts. He goes further by presenting a theoretical analysis of the problem from the Marxist point of view.

The book is divided into five chapters. The first one deals with the historical conditions of the regional disparity in Pakistan. The second one specifies the position of East Bengal within the structure of its union with West Pakistan, describes the way in which the economic means were distributed between the two provinces and points out that the system of unequal distribution was the main cause of East Bengal's lagging behind West Pakistan. The following two chapters give an outline of the development of industry and agriculture in East Bengal. The last chapter explains the interrelationships between East and West Pakistan and concludes with the statement that it was the policy of forcing East Bengal into a state of permanent underdevelopment that brought about the separatist tendencies in that province.

Two appendices are added, which list the basic groups of the Bengali bourgeoisie in the late sixties.

The annexed bibliography is of particular value. Firstly, it is sufficiently thorough, presenting, as it does, more than 200 titles. Secondly, it lists not only books but also individual papers and reports included in various surveys and reviews, which would be difficult to come by otherwise. It is only to be regretted that the author has omitted more detailed data, such as the publishers and number of pages.

On the whole, Baranov's work is a worthwhile contribution to the study of the modern history of the Indian subcontinent.

*Hana Preinhaelterová*

Stevens, Robert D.—Alavi, Hamza—Bertocci, Peter J. (Eds): *Rural Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1976. 399 pp.

Fifteen professionally disparate scholars have combined their efforts in order to write this book discussing the problems of rural development in Bangladesh (Part I, pp. 3—184), and in Pakistan (Part II, pp. 187—382).

The term "rural development" is used here "to encompass the whole range of technical, economic, political, and social changes related to private and governmental efforts to increase the well-being of rural citizens" (Preface).

Four major needs led to this volume, as the editors have emphasized in the Preface. They were the dearth of scholarship on Bangladesh and Pakistan, the need for more analysis of rural social and economic changes, in view of the dominance of rural people and of agricultural production in national income life, the need for integrating the research results of different disciplines in rural development, and the timing of the papers — the resignation of Ayub Khan in 1969, as the conclusion of an important phase in South Asian history.

The volume consists of seventeen essays (8 on Bangladesh and 9 on Pakistan) divided into two parts. Each part contains an introductory study giving a background on economic development in Bangladesh (by Peter J. Bertocci) and Pakistan (by Robert D. Stevens), as well as a brief information about the themes discussed in different sections of the book.

Then 15 outstanding essays follow, most of which were delivered in draft form at a graduate Research Workshop on Rural Development in Pakistan, held at Michigan State University in 1971, under the sponsorship of the Asian Studies Center. Each essay is furnished with a rich bibliography, as well as with a brief note about the author.

Philip B. Calkins, in his essay *Stability and Change in Landholding and Revenue*



*Systems in Bengal*, studies the land revenue systems of Mogul and British Bengal and comes to the conclusion that the effects of some British innovations in Bengal were often overestimated. During the British supremacy, many significant changes in land revenue administration came into existence, but they often followed patterns that existed also in pre-British Bengal. The author compares the landholding systems of Mogul and British Bengal, particularly those of Murshid Quli Khan and Permanent Settlement, and comes to the conclusion that many of the goals of the two ruling groups and the methods available for implementing them were similar (p. 19).

In his paper headed *The Administration of Rural Reform: Structural Constraints and Political Dilemmas*, Elliot L. Tepper discusses "institutional atomization" or "de-institutionalization" of the rural life in Bangladesh. He suggests some reasons for this rural disorganization which is regarded as a primary stumbling block for any effort at local reform. After having dealt with some attempts at rural reform in Bangladesh, he explores the political results of the reforms and the dilemmas of rural development that could reappear in the future.

The study *East Pakistan's Agricultural Planning and Development, 1955—1969, Its Legacy for Bangladesh* has been written by Charles M. Elkinton, an agricultural economist who spent ten years in Pakistan with the United States Agency for International Development Mission. Knowing well Bangladesh's agricultural planning, he gives a deep analysis of its shortcomings and their causes and looks for an optimum solution of the given situation.

The essay by Robert D. Stevens *Comilla Rural Development Programs to 1971* deals with six rural development programmes of the Academy for Rural Development in Comilla. It introduces a brief discussion of the Rural Public Works Program, the Thana Irrigation Program, the Women's Program and Family Planning, and the Rural Education Program, as well as a deep analysis of the Agricultural Cooperatives Federation, and the Thana Training and Development Center Program. Stevens ends his paper by some generalizations about the experience at Comilla regarding 1. experimental development programs in general, 2. agricultural cooperatives, and 3. the improvement of rural government.

LeVern Faidley and Merle L. Esmay are the authors of the study *Introduction and Use of Improved Rice Varieties: Who Benefits?* They discuss the effect of the introduction of improved rice varieties during the dry winter season, their rate of adoption and the effects of cooperative membership on their yields. Then the changes in farming operations brought by the use of improved rice varieties, as well as the relation between farm size and the use of improved varieties are examined.

*Experience with Low-Cost Tubewell Irrigation* by Khondaker Azharul Haq is a paper which deals with the problems associated with irrigation of fields during the dry winter season. The author focuses attention on the use of tubewells, he discusses their installation, repair and maintenance, points out the types of economic benefits

that have resulted from their use, and suggests some improvements for their better performance and efficiency.

Peter J. Bertocci's essay *Social Organization and Agricultural Development in Bangladesh*, the last one in the first part of the volume, is an analysis of the major features of rural social organization in Bangladesh, of the role it has played in the past development of agriculture, as well as of its possible implications for the future.

The second part of the book opens (if we leave out the introductory paper), with the essay *The Historical Context of Pakistan's Rural Economy*, by Harry M. Raulet. The paper is confined almost entirely to the situation in Punjab. The author discusses some effects of British rule on agriculture, the development of modern irrigation works, and problems posed by tenancy, moneylending and agricultural debts.

Muneer Ahmad in his study *Rural Self-Government in Pakistan: An Experiment in Political Development through Bureaucracy* gives a brief historical account of rural local governments in Pakistan, points out their weakness in contrast to the prosperity of authoritarian institutions, and explains the reasons for the slow development of rural self-government, i.e., the continued dominance of the civil bureaucracy, the impact of public officials on rural people, and the weakness of democratic values in rural society.

The study *Agricultural Growth and Planning in the 1960s* by Parvez Hasan is an analysis of the shortcomings and the successes of government policies promoting the growth of agriculture in Pakistan. It centres upon problems associated with the development of tubewells, discusses the prospective trends in the use of fertilizers, explores the government's price support policies, stresses the urgent need for more agricultural research, and shows the problems of income distribution in agriculture.

The paper *Relationships between Technology, Prices, and Income Distribution in Pakistan's Agriculture: Some Observations on the Green Revolution* by Carl H. Gotsch deals with the impact of new technology and prices on the distribution of income, first among the representative farmers, and then among the smaller-farmer class. It discusses the political influence of progressive larger farmers, the growing income inequality in the country, and then gives some technical recommendations that "would tend to promote efficiency and to make possible a more human type of structural change than that which has prevailed in most developed societies" (p. 261).

The next study by Refugio I. Rochin headed *The Adoption and Effects of High-Yielding Wheats on Unirrigated Subsistence Holdings in Pakistan* shows to what extent the high-yielding dwarf wheats have been adopted by *barani* smallholders in Pakistan and what have been the effects of their adoption. It emphasizes the importance of the role mass media, especially the radio, have played in diffusing the new technology.

The aim of the essay by Shahid Javed Burki *The Development of Pakistan's*

*Agriculture: An Interdisciplinary Explanation* is to explain agricultural growth on the basis of neoclassical economics which "is followed by an attempt to provide a broader interdisciplinary explanation of the causes of agricultural growth in Pakistan in the 1960s" (p. 294).

Hamza Alavi is the author of a highly interesting paper headed *The Rural Elite and Agricultural Development in Pakistan*. His view of the green revolution is, in contrast to that of many others, rather pessimistic. He centres attention upon a tendency toward increasing disparities of income and wealth between different strata of the rural population, as well as between different regions of the country. He points out the high degree of concentration of landownership in Pakistan. The rural élite maintains the control not only of economic resources, but also that of political power. The author comes to the conclusion that green revolution brought about great profits to the rural élite and a deterioration in the conditions of life of the majority of Pakistan's rural population.

*The Green Revolution and Future Development of Pakistan's Agriculture* by Carl H. Gotsch is the last paper of the volume. The author reconstructs here the growth of crop production in Pakistan in the decade of the sixties, its sources, as well as its distribution. Then he analyses in greater detail some questions regarding the forces that have shaped the past of development and will continue to shape its future. The paper ends by an interesting speculation about the future of the rural areas of Pakistan.

This is really a good book that merits serious attention on the part of every specialist in the subject.

Anna Ráková

Karanjia, R. K.: *The Mind of a Monarch*. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1977. 265 pp.

The Indian journalist Rusi Karanjia has become the man with the most frequent access to the monarch of Iran in recent years. During one of his audiences granted to him by the Shahanshah he came up with the idea to publish their series of interviews in book form. The idea has become reality and Karanjia's book "the revolutionary monarch", as he himself describes the Shahanshah of Iran, was published in the very year when the Pahlavi Dynasty celebrated its 50th anniversary.

The book consists of Karanjia's questions and the monarch of Iran's answers arranged into fifteen chapters that reveal to the reader the personality of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr — his beliefs and ideas, his explanations of the crucial points in Iran's past and recent history, his looks into the future, as well as some events from his personal life. The book was

personally corrected by the Shahanshah while in manuscript form, therefore, it can be characterized as a complementary volume to the Shahanshah's book *Mission for My Country* published some years ago. Mr. Karanjia's questions are sometimes provocative, they make the monarch explain quite openly the problems discussed. At some places the reader is aware of the author's opposition to certain ideas and attitudes of the Shahanshah. We are rather surprised by Mr. Karanjia's Introduction (pp. 11—17): there is too much panegyric that would actually please His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran and we think that the author's admiration for and evaluation of the personality of the monarch of Iran could be expressed in more moderate terms and thus doing proper service to the ruler of Iran.

The first chapter Genesis (pp. 19—29) takes as its starting point the Persepolis celebrations of the 25th centenary of the founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great and aims not only at drawing a parallel between the two rulers, but gives also the Shahanshah's idea of a renascence of Aryan brotherhood of Iran, India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Shahanshah's concept means not only the regional economic co-operation and foundation of an Indian Ocean economic unit, which could be extended as far as South-East Asia, but includes also his vision that "... we (the Aryan nations — K. B.) can take into our hands and hold high again the Aryan torch of a glorious humanitarian, liberal and moralistic civilisation which, God willing, might light the way to human salvation and save our sick world from its present course towards war and doom" (p. 27).

In the following chapters the monarch narrates how his father, the founder of the Pahlavi Dynasty, Reza Shah Pahlavi became the ruler of Iran, describes his personality and his reforms, and speaks about his own youth as Crown Prince of Iran. Chapters 4 and 5 (pp. 60—90) deal with the crucial period of Iran's history, the invasion of Iran by the Allies in 1941, the abdication of Reza Shah, the present monarch's accession to the throne and the post-war years' development in Iran. The monarch's bitter critic of the Allies' occupation of Iran during 1941—1945 will most probably meet with severe criticism on the part of some historians both from the West and East. The Shahanshah does not deny his father's liking for the Germans but he adds that it was only for their great scientific and technical advances.

The monarch of Iran is known as a very religious man with a firm faith in his mystical destiny. He believes in a kind of divine intelligence that directs his action as he narrates his experiences in chapter 6 — The Divine Spark (pp. 91—107). The Shahanshah firmly believes he would have died half a dozen times in assassination attempts if not for divine interference: "... I have been living under the protective wing of Almighty God. I knew that it was my destiny to become a king and to rule over a people and a land whose ancient and magnificent culture, great prophets and famous kings I have deeply venerated" (p. 96).

The following two chapters: 7 — Quixote Named Mossadeq (pp. 108—123) and 8 — Fall of a Sawdust Caesar (pp. 124—141) deal with the troublesome Mossadeq's

period in the early fifties. The monarch's presentation of this controversial and curious politician calls for the careful study by a historian interested in the history of modern Iran. There are still many questions to be answered concerning this period.

In the next five chapters the monarch describes the so-called "Revolution of the Shah and the People" and its main principles — there are 19 of them at the present time — explains the oil policy of Iran and speaks about his family life and daily routine. He discusses the political structure of Iran and outlines his idea of the single political party system. We find the Shahanshah's following statement rather exaggerated and wrong: "A person who does not become a member of the new political party does not, in the final analysis, believe in the nation's cardinal principles: the Monarchy, the Constitution and the White Revolution — the three pillars of the State. Either he belongs to an illegal organisation, and does not have the country's welfare at heart, or he is connected with the outlawed Tudeh party. He is a traitor" (p. 155).

The last two chapters: 14—Master-Plan for the World (pp. 227—242) and 15 — Will and Testament (pp. 243—265) deal with the monarch's policy of understanding and co-operation with Iran's neighbours as well as with the whole world. The monarch presents his novel idea "for a world in a working partnership" which concept means the coming together of the developed, developing and oil-producing countries in a working relationship. To promote this plan, he comes with the idea of the foundation of a neutral International Development Fund that is to be financially supported by the wealthy oil-producing countries and used for the benefit of all.

Iran holds a key position both in the world energy picture as well as in strategic planning in the Persian Gulf area. The country's rapid economic development caused recently some serious economic problems: a widening urban-rural income distribution gap and a severe shortage of labour, mainly a lack of skilled workers.

The author points out that the questions of development of Iran are still confronted with many important problems.

*Kamil Baňák*

Mokri, Mohammad: *La grande assemblée des fidèles de vérité au tribunal sur le mont Zagros en Iran (Dawra-y Dīwāna-gawra)*. Étude d'hérésiologie islamique et de thèmes mythico-religieux iraniens. Livre secret et inédit en gourani ancien. Texte critique, traduction, introduction et commentaires avec des notes linguistiques et glossaire. — Textes et études religieux, linguistiques et ethnographiques (Langue et civilisation iraniennes), No. 6. Paris, Librairie Klincksieck 1977. 394 pp.

Le domaine principal des intérêts scientifiques de l'iraniste M. Mokri, un Kurde par origine, vivant et travaillant de nombreuses années en France, est l'enseignement de la secte extrémiste de shī'isme, Ahl-i Ḥaqq (Les Fidèles de Vérité). L'auteur

a publié toute une série de travaux destinés à l'enseignement de cette secte et du point de vue méthodologique, son approche représente pour la plupart, un traité d'un linguiste-textologue et d'un historien de la religion. Dans ses travaux, M. Mokri prend comme son point de départ principalement un recueil manuscrit de 26 livres en langue gouranie ancienne, appelé de *Daftar-e Khazāna-y Pirdīwarī* (Livre du Trésor de Pirdīwar) et représentant un résumé des principes d'enseignement les plus importants de la secte. L'auteur a déjà publié quelques uns des traités de ce recueil dans une édition critique accompagnée d'une traduction et il prépare la partie majeure à être publiée.

Notre remarque critique touche au deuxième des traités du recueil en question, qui est le plus étendu quant au nombre des vers. Le texte complet de *Dawra-y Dīwāna-gawra* est composé de 228 versets comportant un nombre inégal d'hémistiches.

Au premier chapitre, qui sert d'Introduction (pp. 13—120), l'auteur décrit et évalue statistiquement la structure et la disposition prosodique du traité, caractérise les interlocuteurs et donne le nombre d'hémistiches qui leur appartiennent dans le texte. La partie majeure du chapitre revient à l'analyse de quatre thèmes importants du traité: Th. I. L'histoire de Gilīm-kūl et le rite des deux sous; Th. II. La querelle entre Pir-Binyāmīn et Pīrālī; Th. III. Échos de l'histoire de Pīr-Qanbar et établissement des «Familles Shāh-mihmān»; Th. IV. L'histoire de la querelle de Pappa-Sū. L'auteur compare ces thèmes avec d'autres traités et en évalue les changements dans leur évolution en conséquence d'un déplacement temporel. Le second chapitre consiste dans la Traduction du texte (pp. 121—195), supplémentée par des notes et un commentaire. Le texte originel de *Dawra-y Dīwāna-gawra* dans la langue gourani est aux pages 342—384, suivi par une courte introduction en langue persane (pp. 385—392). La langue gourani est à présent une langue morte, c'est pourquoi l'auteur complète son travail par les chapitres assez étendues, III. — Notes linguistique et grammaticales (pp. 197—267) et IV. — Glossaire (pp. 269—298). Le chapitre cinq comprend l'Index et les données bibliographiques les plus importantes (pp. 299—327).

L'auteur a soumis le texte relativement court à une analyse détaillée et par cette manière d'approche a fourni un matériel important qui sera certainement apprécié aussi bien par le linguiste poursuivant la dialectologie et la grammaire historique des langues iraniennes, que par l'investigateur dans l'histoire de la religion.

Kamil Baňák

Eckmann, J.: *Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Translation* (Mitteltürkische Bemerkungen von Rylands interlinearer Übersetzung). Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1976. 395 S. (= Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XXI).

Das zu besprechende Buch ist eine postume Sprachdenkmaledition von J. Eckmann, der — als einer der bedeutendsten Vertreter dieses Gebiets — zahlreiche Studien der Interpretation des alten osttürkischen Schrifttums gewidmet hat.

Der Titel drückt das eigentliche Anliegen unklar aus. Es handelt sich um die Veröffentlichung der lexikalischen Exzerpte des Verfassers, die anhand einer osttürkischen interlinearen Koranübersetzung aus der karachanidischen Epoche angefertigt wurden. Die vollständige lexikalische Aufarbeitung der umfangreichen Handschrift der Rylands Library, aus der ein grosser Teil leider nicht mehr vorhanden ist, wäre selbstverständlich eine immense Aufgabe gewesen. In der vorliegenden Bearbeitung von J. Eckmann erhält man jedoch ein lexikalisches Auswahlmaterial, das durchaus als repräsentativ anzusehen ist.

Über den Charakter der Arbeit und die Methode des Unternehmens berichten zwei einleitende Abschnitte: Preface — von L. Ligeti: 7—10; Introduction (identisch mit einem früher veröffentlichten Aufsatz des Verfassers): 11—19. Zu dem Glossar selbst gehören auch eine Transkriptionstabelle, ein Hinweis über die alphabetische Ordnung sowie eine Abkürzungsliste.

Die Bearbeitung des Sprachmaterials stellt die grosse fachliche Kompetenz des verstorbenen Verfassers in der Interpretation der osttürkischen Sprachdenkmäler unter Beweis. Durch sein Unternehmen ist die Turkologie um eine wichtige Quelle der karachanidischen Epoche, die leider nur in einigen wenigen Sprachdenkmälern dokumentiert ist, reicher geworden. Das Werk wird sicher bei vielen Turkologen den Gedanken aufkommen lassen, ob sich auch noch eine vollständige Edition dieses wichtigen Sprachkorpus realisieren lassen würde.

Der Dank der Fachkollegen gilt natürlich E. Schütz, der die mühevollen Arbeit der Edition mit Erfolg zur Abschluss gebracht hat.

*Georg Hazai*

Yakovleva, N. S.: *Satiricheskie novelly Aziza Nesina* (Satirical Stories of Aziz Nesin). Leningrad, Izdatelstvo Leningradskogo universiteta 1977. 127 pp.

The literary works of the contemporary Turkish writer Aziz Nesin (born 1915) is attracting more and more the interest of literary scholars of numerous countries because of the significance it is acquiring within the context of home and also international satire. One of those scholars is also the Turkologist of Leningrad University N. S. Yakovleva who chose as the subject of her study a genre most abundantly represented in Nesin's writings, that of the short story. She has summarized the results of her research in the publication under review.

In the first chapter (pp. 5—33), the authoress follows Aziz Nesin's career and the development of his literary work justifying her detailed and broad approach to these facts by an absence of particulars about the writer's life and data about his work in the

Soviet Union and in professional literature abroad. But already here, in connexion with this chapter we may point to a drawback which is also met with in the subsequent chapters, viz. N. S. Yakovleva gives the titles of the various writings in Russian translation only, while the original titles are included only in the appendices; this obliges the reader constantly to confront the text with the appendices which hardly contributes to a concentration of attention.

The second chapter (pp. 34—47) takes as its aim to delimitate Aziz Nesin's place in contemporary Turkish literature. The authoress here gives a high appreciation of the significance of Aziz Nesin's co-operation with the writer Sabahattin Ali in editing the satirical magazine *Marko Paşa* for the development of contemporary Turkish satire. N. S. Yakovleva does not see Aziz Nesin's significance solely in his literary writings, but also in his progressive public activity. The authoress may be reproached her wrong interpretation of Haldun Taner's play *Keşanlı Ali destanı* (Epos about Ali of Keşan) as being a work devoted to "the problem of a forced flight of the landless to the city" (p. 45). Haldun Taner's work is a play about the birth of a popular hero under conditions of a bourgeois society. It is based on a continuous and consistent confrontation of the world of workers, artisans, small shopkeepers, maid servants with that of the "upper ten thousand".

In chapter three (pp. 48—71), N. S. Yakovleva investigates realism and social orientation in Nesin's satire. The chapter is divided into three sections, the first having a theoretical character and explains the concepts of humour and satire. The second one is devoted to the question of literary influences on Aziz Nesin's works. An item deserving some attention here is her polemics with G. Daniel, the author of the preface to the French translation of Aziz Nesin.<sup>1</sup> N. S. Yakovleva reproaches Daniel his emotional approach to Aziz Nesin's writings which led him to speak about elements from "Franz Kafka's world" in the Turkish satirist. Yakovleva admits that Nesin did adopt artistic means of expression from Kafka's prose but stresses the fact that a deep and fundamental difference exists between F. Kafka and A. Nesin in the domain of world outlook, in their approach to reality, in their social positions.

The comparison of the creative methods used by Aziz Nesin with those of Saltykov-Shchedrin is grossly oversimplified. The authoress infers a concordance between them from these generally formulated aspects: "a democratic spirit, an energetic protest against the really existing social injustice in the name of reinforcing man's goodness and perfection" (p. 62).

In the last section of Chapter Three the authoress ponders over the term "actual" in relation to Nesin's work. She reproaches Aziz Nesin's writings, reacting promptly and readily to the burning problems of everyday life in the Turkish society, an insufficient interest in the position of Turkish working class and also a certain

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel, D.: Préface. In: Nesin, A.: *Un fou sur le toit*. Paris 1969.



inclination to satisfy public taste even at the price of a reduced artistic value of a work.

In Chapter Four (pp. 72—107) N. S. Yakovleva makes an analysis of Aziz Nesin's various stories, determining how portrayal, the principal hero, description, plot participate in the satirical effect on Nesin's works, what forms the comic and simultaneously the tragic facet of his stories. Yakovleva states an emphasis on the traits of automatism to be the most frequently applied typifying means in Aziz Nesin's stories, and this she relates to man's position in a bourgeois world.

In the last chapter of the publication (pp. 108—119), the authoress examines the literary language used by Aziz Nesin. One could hardly agree to her unequivocally positive evaluation of his use of the dialect in his writings. To see in this use of the dialect as a means of expression in a literary work only "a contribution" implies an oversimplified and uncritical approach.

In the conclusion of her study (pp. 120—121) N. S. Yakovleva sums up the partial notions from the various chapters, appreciating mainly the writer's abilities to combine home satirical traditions with the achievements of world literature in this domain into a pregnant and original synthesis.

*Xénia Celnarová*

Elçin, Ş.: *Anadolu köy orta oyunları* (Anatolian Country Plays). Ankara, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü 1977. XII + 111 pp.

This monograph by a prominent Turkish folklorist, Prof. Dr. Şükrü Elçin, the second enlarged edition of which is being reviewed (the first one appeared in 1964), was written on the basis of an extensive inquiry among country dwellers of Central Turkey. In the first chapter (pp. 1—30) the author presents, alongside references to source materials, also detailed tables of the results of this inquiry the aim of which was to obtain a clear view of the types and character of folk plays<sup>1</sup> and the frequency of their occurrence in various regions of Anatolia.

The second chapter (pp. 31—36) acquaints the reader with home and foreign historical sources making references to Turkish folk theatre.

The core of the study is given in chapters III—VII, based on a synthesis of notions yielded by the inquiry. Chapter Three is concerned with a classification of folk plays

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<sup>1</sup> Ş. Elçin's designation of this type of plays of country inhabitants, which is the object of his investigation, as "*orta oyunları*" (literally "plays of means") is not quite suitable. Under the expression "*orta oyunu*" is understood a specific genre of Turkish folk art with a relatively firm scheme which acquired its classical character at the beginning of the 19th century. The Turkish scholar Metin And in the case of this type of folk plays used the more appropriate term "*dramatik oyunları*" (dramatic plays). See: And, M.: *Oyun ve Büyü. Türk kültüründe Oyun Kavramı* (Games and Magic. The Notion of Play in Turkish Culture). İstanbul, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları 1976, pp. 196—256.

(pp. 37—61). Ş. Elçin distinguishes two basic groups of plays, namely, ritual plays and plays with a secular content. Again, he divides ritual plays into several subgroups in accordance with their function, as also secular plays. In the latter, of interest is the subgroup related to historical events. As an example, Ş. Elçin mentions the play inspired by events of the national liberating war, concretely the battles near İnönü in 1921, in which Turkish armies commanded by İsmet Paşa triumphed over the Greek occupants.

One of the questions figuring in the inquiry was about the origin of folk plays. The views of the country population on this point form the subject of Chapter Four (pp. 62—64). According to them, plays are not something artificially created, they grew up spontaneously by themselves and as such can never die out. Ş. Elçin identifies himself with this lay, nonprofessional view and rates folk plays as images of the social life of country populations. He expresses the opinion that the roots of plays of a ritual character reach as far back as the times of the Huns' Empire.

In Chapter Five (pp. 65—68) the author deals with the problem of genres of folk plays, and notes that comedy prevails over the tragic genre. In time, plays of a ritual character came to lose their original function and became plays for entertaining the audience and the actors themselves. The most widespread genre is that in which animals are imitated, and these date back to the times of totemism and shamanism. Plays involving the eagle enjoy unusual popularity, which may be traced to the fact that in the pre-Islamic period, the eagle represented the symbol of the god of the skies.

The time and place of performing folk plays are dealt with in Chapter Six (pp. 69—79). In the countryside, plays were usually performed from October until March, i.e. during the vegetation pause when country folks were free from the pressure of work in the fields. Plays with a ritual character had an exactly stipulated time, particularly those related to the cult of plants and animals. A play could be staged on any open space of ground, or in a larger room and the actors often moved freely about among the spectators. In this chapter the author speaks also about the actors' preparation for the performance and the technical aspect of the plays.

Spectators form the subject-matter of Chapter Seven (p. 80). The spectators assisting at a performance are not only invited personages, but also, especially if the play is acted on an open space, all the inhabitants of the village and guests from the close environs. With the exception of the Shi'ite villages, men and women watch a performance separately, men occupying the space closer to the actors.

Chapter Eight brings the description of twelve folk plays from various parts of Anatolia.

In the conclusion of the monograph, the author polemizes with the views of Metin And, author of several studies on Turkish folk plays,<sup>2</sup> who sees the origin of folk

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<sup>2</sup> For references to these works, see *Asian and African Studies*, 13, p. 284.

plays of present-day inhabitants of Anatolia in their ancient predecessors, primarily in ancient Greeks. In Ş. Elçin's views, these plays came to Anatolia with Turkish tribes from their primordial country, where also their true origin is to be looked for. He supports his view by the example of the play with the motif "death-resurrection" which M. And deduces from Babylonian, Greek and Christian traditions of resurrection, while Elçin points to the presence of this motif in eposes of Turkish nomadic tribes, among others also in the well-known epos *Manas*.

*Xénia Celnarová*

Krikorian, Mesrob K.: *Armenians in the Service of the Ottoman Empire 1860—1908*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1978. XII + 149 pp.

The fact that the Armenians played a significant role in the economic life of the Ottoman empire right from its beginnings is generally known. Their importance increased considerably in the first three decades of the 19th century when the significance of the Greek element declined as a result of the Greek uprising and their independence. The Armenians' economic, political and cultural activity in the centre of the Ottoman empire, Istanbul, is relatively well known, not so their activity in the provinces in which large numbers of Armenians lived, principally in Anatolia and Syria.

The author of this book, M. K. Krikorian wishes to point out the activity carried on by Armenians in the cultural, economic and administrative life of the Ottoman empire, particularly in Eastern Anatolia and Syria from the year 1860 when the Armenian community in Ottoman empire was given a new legislative Constitution, until the year 1908 when the Young Turks seized power and pursued a bitter, fanatical national-religious policy which had tragic consequences for both the Armenians and the Turks.

This is decidedly something new in professional literature both as regards the Armenian and the Turkish side; for previous works have touched only marginally on these issues.

The principal Ottoman sources on which the author drew were Ottoman Year-books (*Salname*) which provide a sufficient quantity of data on provincial officialdom, community representatives and private citizens who served the numerous local bodies. From European sources they are various memoranda of European powers to the Ottoman government about the Armenian question. The author further makes use of published Armenian sources, periodicals and journals, as well as an abundant literature, principally in Armenian, but also in European languages, Turkish and Arabic.

In the Introduction (pp. 1—17) the author sets down the aims of the book and

provides the basic data in the development of the Armenian question in the second half of the 19th century when, as a result of the reformation movement within the Ottoman empire, the questions of the legal status of minorities, their self-government and participation in the administration of the empire, too, came into the foreground. Krikorian follows up the Armenian question against a background of the principal military and political events of this period: the Russian-Turkish war, the Treaty of San Stefano, the Congress of Berlin and the Ottoman Reforms proposed by the Powers. It was precisely due to the pressure exerted by European powers that the Porte adopted the decision in 1890 on the participation of non-Muslim populations in the administration of the provinces and minor administrative units in Eastern Anatolia. In the closing part of his Introduction the author presents a detailed review of offices and officials in Ottoman public administration.

The principal body of the book is represented by ten chapters that deal with Armenian population in the East-Anatolian and Syrian provinces. These include the *vilayets* of Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Van, Erzerum, Trebizond, Sivas, Seyhan, Elazığ in Eastern Anatolia, the Syrian province of Aleppo and the regions of Damascus, Beirut and Mount Lebanon. Essentially, the chapters follow a uniform pattern: *Historical surveys* present a bird's eye-view of the history of the region up to the 19th century, taking into account the role of the Armenian element in earlier and the more modern times. *The Administrative structure* brings the administrative division of the *vilayets* into *sancaks* and these in turn into minor administrative units, the *kazas*. *Population* provides data on the inhabitants of the province and here the author makes the most of data from the works of the French general V. Cuneit, *La Turquie d'Asie I—IV*, Paris 1890—1894, who himself drew predominantly on Ottoman sources. Since Cuneit reports exact data on the composition of both the Muslim and the non-Muslim population (Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Chaldeans, Jews, Latins and others), Krikorian takes over his data in full, but for comparison's sake, he also brings in data from Armenian sources. While considering the official Ottoman sources as underestimated, he looks critically also at the unofficial Armenian data which often put the number of the Armenian population at twice and three times higher. Therefore, Krikorian endeavours to estimate the number of the Armenian element sometimes with the aid of some further documentary material. This procedure, however, is not always likely to induce the reader's confidence in the results. Further parts of the chapters deal with such items as *trades and professions of Armenians*, *the centres of Armenian participations*, *the main fields of Armenian participations*, etc. As evident from Krikorian's data, the Armenians were principally engaged in branches of economic significance — trades and commerce, intellectual advocations (physicians, civil engineers, interpreters) in the towns. As regards participation in Ottoman administration, they were equally represented in political offices, in finance and in jurisprudence. In the countryside they were engaged in specialized agriculture and forestry. He also makes a comparison of the

position and status of the important Greek minority and other non-Muslim communities with those held by the Armenians.

At the end of each chapter the author summarizes the Armenian participation in the public life of each province and gives a brief characteristic of outstanding Armenian personalities (biographical data and the manner of their involvement in the administration, the cultural life, education, etc.).

In the Conclusions (pp. 102—110) the author summarizes the results obtained according to the various aspects of the Armenian share in the services of the Ottoman empire (administrative and municipal councils, justice, finance, technical affairs and agriculture, education, health service and police force, etc.).

The Appendix presents the letter of the Armenian delegates to the Congress of Berlin and the note A Modern Turk on the Armenian Past.

The book carries a voluminous bibliography (pp. 124—133) and Index of Personal Names, an Index of Place Names and an Index of Important Topics (pp. 135—149).

The book will certainly prove a valuable contribution and a useful source of reference to a topic that has as yet been inadequately investigated.

Vojtech Kopčan

*Documente turcești privind istoria României. Vol. I. 1455—1774. Intocmit de Mustafa A. Mehmed (Türkische Dokumente zur Geschichte Rumäniens. Band I. 1455—1774. Zusammengestellt von Mustafa A. Mehmed). Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR 1976. XXXII + 411 S.*

Die Übersetzung osmanischer Dokumente zur Geschichte Rumäniens ist ein Bestandteil der grösseren Edition „Orientalische Quellen zur Geschichte Rumäniens“, in deren Rahmen bereits zwei Bände von Übersetzungen osmanischer Chroniken (*Cronici turcești privind Țările Române*, 1966, 1974) erschienen. Das Ziel dieser Edition ist es die die Moldau, Wallachei, Siebenbürgen, Dobrudscha und das Banat betreffenden, osmanischen Quellen einem breiteren Kreis von Forschern, die sich mit dem Zeitraum der osmanischen Gewaltherrschaft (15.—19. Jahrhundert) befassen, der türkischen Sprache jedoch nicht mächtig sind, zugänglich zu machen.

Der Übersetzer der Dokumente und Zusammensteller des Buches Mustafa A. Mehmed bringt in der Einleitung (S. VII—XXX) grundlegende Angaben über osmanische Quellen zur Geschichte Rumäniens und über die Herausgabe osmanisch-türkischer Schriftstücke. Die fünfhundert Jahre anhaltende osmanische Gewaltherrschaft, wenngleich der grösste Teil des jetzigen rumänischen Gebiets lediglich in einem Vasalenverhältnis zur Hohen Pforte stand, hinterliess eine grosse Anzahl von Dokumenten. Bereits in der Vergangenheit widmeten die rumänischen Historiker ihre Aufmerksamkeit diesen Quellen. Viele, in europäische Sprachen übersetzte osmanische Schriftstücke und Briefe finden wir im monumentalen Werk

E. de Hurmuzakis, und osmanische, Siebenbürgen betreffende Dokumente stellen einen beträchtlichen Teil der Edition A. Sziládys und S. Szilágyis (*Török-magyarkori állam okmánytár*, Pest 1868—1872) dar. Mustafa A. Mehmed bringt in der Einleitung eine Übersicht der bisherigen rumänischen Editionen osmanischer Dokumente mit derer kurzen Charakteristik und bibliographischen Angaben.

Im weiteren Teil der Einleitung bietet er kurze Angaben über das Vorhandensein osmanischer Dokumente, und zwar nicht nur in der Türkei, sondern auch in weiteren Ländern Südost- und Mitteleuropas. Des weiteren spricht er über die bisherigen Ausgaben osmanischer Dokumente in der Welt und in Rumänien. Er stellt eine Uneinheitlichkeit in der Edition dieser Quellen fest und betont die Form, in der die rumänische Übersetzung erscheint, wobei er sich auf Hurmuzakis Ausgabe beruft. Die Dokumente in der rumänischen Übersetzung haben einen kurzen Regest in rumänischer Sprache, danach folgt die wörtliche oder gekürzte Übersetzung (bei Kopien werden die Beglaubigungsformeln, in manchen Fällen die Einführungsformeln der Schriftstücke oder jene Teile, die Rumänien nicht unmittelbar betreffen, weggelassen). Unter dem Text wird die Aufbewahrung des Dokumentes, bzw. seiner Kopie, oder des Mikrofilms, Hinweise über Ausgaben und Übersetzungen angeführt. Angaben aus der Übersetzung sind nach jedem Dokument unter der Zeile mit Notizen versehen. Die Notizen enthalten meist wortgemässe Ausdrücke des osmanischen Textes, nicht ganz klare Angaben der Dokumente über Personen, Ortsnamen und weitere sachliche Angaben. Mustafa A. Mehmed führt weiter an, dass die Edition *Documente turcești privind istoria României* drei Bände haben wird, von denen der zweite die Jahre 1774—1791 und der dritte die 1791—1812 zum Inhalt haben wird.

Der erste Band enthält Übersetzungen von 292 Dokumenten aus drei Jahrhunderten (1455—1774). Der Ursprung dieser Dokumente ist vielfältig: nur ein kleinerer Teil befindet sich in rumänischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, die überwiegende Mehrzahl entstammt den ausländischen Archiven aus der Türkei, Polen und Bulgarien. Aus dem 15. Jahrhundert sind es lediglich fünf Dokumente, die sich in Polen und der Türkei befinden (bei den Dokumenten 3 und 4 ist der Ort der Aufbewahrung nicht angegeben). Die meisten der übersetzten Dokumente (147 Stück) stammen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Es handelt sich vorwiegend um Dokumente aus dem Archiv Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul und aus den Mühimme Defteri, die im Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul aufbewahrt sind. Relativ gering ist die Vertretung des 17. Jahrhunderts, und das mit 44 Dokumenten, vorwiegend aus Polen (Archivum glównie akt dawnych, Warschau), oder aus der Sofioter Nationalbibliothek des Kyrill und Method. Aus dem 18. Jahrhundert bringt das Buch 96 Dokumente, teilweise in Sofia, grösstenteils jedoch in rumänischen Archiven und Bibliotheken aufbewahrt.

Im weiteren charakterisiert der Autor die übersetzten Dokumente von der paläographischen, sowie diplomatischen Seite her, und informiert in groben Zügen

auch über deren Inhalt. Der Grossteil der Dokumente betrifft politische und militärische Fragen, wir finden hier jedoch auch Quellen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte (Zahlung des Tributs an die Porta, der Handel usw.).

Ausser einiger Schriftstücke, die in selbständigen Beiträgen veröffentlicht und übersetzt wurden, geht es vor allem um bislang nicht publizierte Dokumente. Diese Tatsache erhöht zweifelsohne die Bedeutung dieser Publikation. Andererseits jedoch stellt sich die Frage, ob die in den Mühimme Defteri eingetragenen Dokumente vollkommen ausgenutzt wurden. Zu den im Buch z.B. unter den Nummern 78—85 übersetzten Dokumenten existieren noch weitere, die den osmanischen Feldzug 1566 betreffen und sich auf rumänische Länder beziehen (siehe Gy. Káldy-Nagy: *First Centuries of Ottoman Military Organization*. In: *Acta Orientalia* ASH, XXXI, 1977, fasc. 2, S. 180, Fussnote 169—171).

Das Buch enthält ein Wörterbuch türkischer, in der Übersetzung verwendeter Termini (S. 329—339) und ein Verzeichnis von Namen und geographischen Bezeichnungen (S. 341—352). Den Übersetzungen wurden 35 Faksimile vorwiegend unbekannter oder weniger bekannter Dokumente beigelegt.

Das Buch *Documente turcești privind istoria României* kann als wertvoller, die bisherige Quellbasis osmanischer Quellen zur rumänischen Geschichte erweiternder Beitrag betrachtet werden.

Vojtech Kopčan

*Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn.* Die Ungarnfeldzüge des Grosswesirs Köprülüade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha 1663 und 1664 nach den „Kleinodien der Historien“ seines Siegelbewahrers Hasan Ağa. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von E. Prokosch. Graz—Wien—Köln, Verlag Styria 1976. 287 S. Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, Hrsg. von Richard F. Kreutel. Band 8.

Die osmanische Chronik, *Cevahir üt-tevarih* (Kleinodien oder Edelsteine der Historien) genannt, gehört zu den bedeutenden Quellen zur Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in den Jahren 1663—1669, vor allem jedoch zum Ungarnfeldzug des Grosswesirs Köprülüade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha und zur Eroberung Kretas. Die Chronik ist in fünf Kapitel eingeteilt, die die militärischen und staatsmännischen Taten des obengennanten Grosswesirs zeitfolgegemäss behandeln. Das erste Kapitel berichtet über die Tätigkeit Fazıl Ahmed Paschas als Statthalters in Erzerum, Damaskus und als Kaimmakamas in Istanbul. Das zweite Kapitel beschreibt seinen Feldzug nach Ungarn in den Jahren 1663—1664, während die folgenden drei Kapitel der Vorbereitung des Feldzugs, der Belagerung und der Eroberung Kandias gewidmet sind.

E. Prokosch übersetzte den zweiten Teil der Chronik, den dem Ungarnfeldzug gewidmeten, bei welchem die osmanische Armee im Herbst 1663 Nové Zámky,

Nitra, Levice und Novohrad eroberte und im darauffolgenden Jahr bei St. Gotthard eine grosse Niederlage erlitt. Die Bedeutung dieses Werkes wird von der Tatsache erhöht, dass dessen Autor, Hasan Ağa zum engen Kreis der Vertrauten des Grosswesirs gehörte, dessen Siegelbewahrer war, und daher viele vertraute Informationen aus der nächsten Umgebung des Hauptbefehlshabers der osmanischen Armee brachte.

Das Werk war bereits J. von Hammer bekannt und er benutzte es beim Verfassen des sechsten Bandes seiner Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches. Trotz der Tatsache, dass der grosse Wert der *Cevahir üt-tevarih* als Quelle bereits längst bekannt war, wurde dieses Werk schon deshalb nicht voll ausgenützt, weil die Angaben über dessen Urhebererschaft nicht übereinstimmten.

In der Einleitung zur deutschen Übersetzung des Werkes Kleinodien der Historien musste auch E. Prokosch zur Frage der Urhebererschaft Stellung nehmen. E. Prokosch zufolge wurden die Notizen Hasan Ağas, des Siegelbewahrers des Grosswesirs Fazıl Ahmed Pascha, von irgendeinem Imam der Sultanmoschee in der jugoslawischen Stadt Ibar zur definitiven Gestalt zusammengestellt — wie dies die Einleitung in der im Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan Köşkü No. 1307 aufbewahrten Handschrift anführt. So erläutert E. Prokosch die Frage der Urhebererschaft, die durch Brusali Mehmed Tahir und in einem neueren Werk A. S. Levends (*Ğazavât-nâmeler*, S. 120—122) kompliziert wurde. Der anonyme Redakteur war kein grosser Meister der Feder (wir könnten ihn wohl bloss als ersten Abschreiber der Notizen Hasan Ağas bezeichnen), und das Werk wimmelt von grammatischen und orthographischen Fehlern, von Verunstaltungen geographischer und christlicher Namen, was aber wahrscheinlich auch auf die Rechnung Hasan Ağas geht.

E. Prokosch ging bei der Übersetzung aus der Istanbul, in Köprülü Kütüphanesi unter der No. 231 aufbewahrten Handschrift und aus der Wiener Handschrift der Nationalbibliothek, H. O. 84a hervor, wobei er auch weitere Istanbul Handschriften berücksichtigte. Leider benützte der Autor nicht die Pariser, mit dem Jahr 1682 datierte Handschrift (Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. turc 506), die zu den ältesten gehört und die man bei der kritischen Ausgabe des Werkes unbedingt in Betracht wird ziehen müssen.

In der Einleitung spricht der Übersetzer auch über weitere Handschriften, die unter dem Namen *Tarih-i Mühürdar* (Geschichte des Siegelbewahrers) in Istanbul Bibliotheken aufbewahrt sind. Er beweist jedoch, dass es sich um ein anderes Werk handelt, womit er einige fälschliche Angaben, in der Fachliteratur eingeführt, richtigstellt.

Bei der Arbeit an seiner Übersetzung verglich E. Prokosch die Angaben der *Cevahir üt-tevarih* mit weiteren osmanischen Chroniken, wie *Silahdar Tarihi* von Findıklılı Mehmed Ağa Silahdar und *Tarih-i Raşid* von Mehmed Raşid, dem offiziellen Geschichtsschreiber (Vakanüvis) des Osmanischen Reiches, die ebenfalls



die Ereignisse der Jahre 1663—1664 beschreiben. Es ist Schade, dass der Übersetzer unseren Artikel *Eine Quelle der Geschichte Silihdars* (In: Asian and African Studies, 9, 1973, S. 129—139) nicht kannte, in dem wir bewiesen haben, dass die Hauptquellen von *Silahdar Tarihi* sowie *Tarih-i Raşid* zum osmanischen Feldzug nach Ungarn in den Jahren 1663—1664 gerade das Werk *Cevahir üt-tevarih* gewesen war.

Die Übersetzung beginnt mit dem ersten Teil des Werkes, und zwar mit dem Jahre 1071 H./1661, als Fazıl Ahmed Pascha nach dem Tode seines Vaters Köprülü Mehmed Pascha zum Grosswesir des Osmanischen Reiches wurde. Nachher beschreibt er die Ursachen die zum Feldzug führten, wobei er den Hauptgrund der osmanisch-habsburgischen Auseinandersetzung — Siebenbürgen und die Stellung von Zrinyújvár — nicht erwähnt. Weiter ist der ganze zweite Teil der Chronik übersetzt, in dem der Abgang der osmanischen Armee auf den Feldzug bis zu derer Rückkehr nach dem Friedensschluss mit den Habsburgern Ende 1664 beschrieben wird. In der Chronik sind ausserordentlich wertvoll die Kopien von Briefen, ob es sich nun um den Briefwechsel zwischen den osmanischen Befehlshabern oder um Übersetzungen abgefangener Korrespondenz von kaiserlicher Seite, um Briefe der Abgesandten, ja sogar des Kaisers handelt. Es ist interessant, dass sich der Verfasser in viel umfangreichere Beschreibungen jener Begebenheiten einlässt, die einen Sieg der osmanischen Armee bedeuteten, wie z.B. die Schlacht bei Parkan, die Belagerung und Eroberung von Nové Zámky, Nitra, Levice und Novohrad, Zrinyújvár und weiterer Burgen, als es der Fall bei der Schlacht bei St. Gotthard war, die eine katastrophale Niederlage des osmanischen Heeres bedeutete.

Der Text der Übersetzung ist übersichtlich geordnet. Jene Teile, die Kopien von Briefen und Zitate aus dem Koran enthalten, wurden in Kursivschrift, Exkurse Hasan Ağas wieder in Petitschrift unter der Zeile gedruckt.

Die Übersetzung ist kommentiert. Die relativ kurzen Anmerkungen enthalten meist Daten umgerechnet von der Hedschra auf die christliche Zeitrechnung, Hinweise auf den Koran, nähere Angaben über die im Text erwähnten Personen und Erklärungen einiger Realien. Ergänzend finden wir hier ein sorgfältig zusammengestelltes Verzeichnis von Personen- und Ortsnamen, wo nähere Angaben über einzelne Persönlichkeiten und geographische Namen angeführt sind. Wir möchten hier einige Angaben berichtigen und ergänzen. Çatrapatrizade Ali Pascha, der Sandschakbeg von Levice in den Jahren 1663—1664 wurde einigen osmanischen Quellen zufolge dafür hingerichtet, dass er Levice den kaiserlichen Armeetruppen ausgeliefert hat, und konnte daher nicht im Jahre 1675 der Sandschakbeg von Kjustendil sein. Can Arslan Pascha wurde während des Feldzugs nach Ungarn im Jahre 1663 beseitigt. Kadızade Ibrahim Pascha war Befehlshaber (Sandschakbeg) von Nikopol und nicht von Gelibolu, und er wurde am 12. 9. 1663 bei Nové Zámky erdrosselt. Kurd Pascha, der erste Statthalter oder eher Befehlshaber (*muhafız*) von Nové Zámky, scheint nicht in Nové Zámky gestorben zu sein, sondern wurde

vielmehr im Laufe des Jahres 1664 zugunsten Küçük Mehmed Paschas, der nach 1664 einige Jahre lang der Statthalter von Nové Zámky war, abgesetzt. Diese Fehler sind jedoch eher *Sicill-i Osmani*, als dem Übersetzer anzurechnen.

Bei allen geographischen, nach der deutschen Benennung aneinandergereihten Namen führt der Übersetzer auch die türkischen, ungarischen, slowakischen oder andere Namen an. Das Buch wird von einem Verzeichnis der Fachtermini und Titel, die im Text am häufigsten vorkommen, sowie von einer Landkarte ergänzt.

Die Herausgabe der Übersetzung eines Teiles des Werkes *Cevahir üt-tevarih* ist ein unbestreitbarer Verdienst der Edition Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, da sie eine osmanische Quelle von erstrangiger Bedeutung über den türkischen Feldzug in den Jahren 1663—1664 nach Ungarn einem breiten Umkreis von Historikern jener Länder, die dieser Feldzug direkt betraf, zugänglich macht.

Vojtech Kopčan

Bakalla, M. H.: *Bibliography of Arabic Linguistics*. München, Verlag Dokumentation 1976. XXXVIII + 300 + 8 pp.

Arabic, vehicle of 'pagan' poetry of breath-taking beauty, learned language of the Islamic Middle Ages, steadily growing and maturing medium of communication of the present day Arab world, powerful carrier of cultural heritage of more than one people, has long since attracted the attention of scholars, trained linguists and 'Sprachmeisters'. In spite of the fact that quite considerable work has been done in this field by Arab and non-Arab specialists, there is no comprehensive bibliography available so far to represent Arabic linguistics in a fully satisfactory way. Arabic linguistics, in Bakalla's presentation, is ambitiously enough, but nevertheless quite rightly identified with 'all subjects and branches of linguistics relating to Arabic' (p. XVIII). Arabic, as it seems obvious from the entries included is, rightly once again, identified with all linguistic variants of this language, both Classical or Standard, and Colloquial, the former predominantly written, the latter almost exclusively oral. Standard Arabic covers, in turn, the total of its particular variants ranging from the norm-giving Classical Arabic in its intangible prestigious status up to various, regionally differentiated, more or less markedly colloquialized variants of the latter. The linguistic domain of Colloquial Arabic is represented to the full.

Bakalla's *Bibliography* is a valuable reference work of a quite independent and innovative design both in its definition of the field of Arabic linguistics and in its selection of the items included. At the same time, it is a highly useful supplement to the few existing bibliographies, such as Sobelman, H. (Ed.): *Arabic Dialect Studies: A Selected Bibliography* (C. A. Ferguson: *Syrian Arabic Studies*. R. S. Harrell: *Egyptian Arabic Studies*. R. Goodison: *Arabian Peninsula Arabic Studies*. H. Blanc: *Iraqi Arabic Studies*. T. B. Irving: *North African Arabic Studies*. P. P.

Saydon: *Maltese Arabic Studies*). Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association and the Middle East Institute, 1962; T. Prochazka (Jr.): *Selected Bibliography of Arabic*, 1960—1967. Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics 1967; or, to quote some earlier works, J. Cantineau: *La dialectologie arabe*, originally published in *Orbis* (Louvain), 4. 149—169 (1955), reprinted in J. Cantineau: *Etudes de linguistique arabe. Mémorial Jean Cantineau*. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck 1960 (pp. 257—278), and the like. Apart from items included in the previously published works, Bakalla's *Bibliography* contains an impressive amount of material which has not been bibliographically treated so far.

The *Bibliography* consists of two main parts: (1) Occidental Section (pp. 3—164), containing material written in what the author calls 'European scripts', and (2) Oriental Section (pp. 165—259), including material in 'Oriental scripts', particularly Arabic. The reader will certainly be surprised to find e.g. the Russian items quoted in the latter section. A similar classification is overtly misleading since there are hardly any methodological, historical or even practically geographical reasons to justify it. We cannot guess any consistent reason for listing in this section e.g. Barthélemy's *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français, Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Liban, Jérusalem*. (Publiée sous les auspices de l'Institut de France. Direction: Henri Massé). Paris, P. Geuthner 1969, which is no more written in an Oriental script than e.g. Wehr's *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 3rd printing, 1971 — quoted in the Occidental Section.

One of the problematic points of the present work is the author's original decision to limit it to material published after 1967. Even if the author changed his mind in the course of the work and decided to include certain earlier works of importance, the original delimitation is clearly observable when going through the book. A great number of very important recent works have been omitted on the strength of this delimitation, such as *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics* (C. A. Ferguson, Ed.): *A Linguistic Analysis of Egyptian Radio Arabic*, by R. S. Harrell, and *Stylistic Variations in Spoken Arabic: A Sample of Interdialectal Educated Conversation*, by H. Blanc. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1960; J. Aquilina's *The Structure of Maltese*. The Royal University of Malta 1959; *Papers in Maltese Linguistics*. The Royal University of Malta 1961, etc., etc.

At any rate, Bakalla's *Bibliography* is a work of importance which cannot be matched with anything published in this field so far. First of all, it clearly shows the tremendous progress made in Arabic linguistics. The author fully succeeded in providing for students of Arabic and researchers in the field of Arabic linguistics a comprehensive book of reference. Further, it will be found useful by linguists in their search for linguistic data from Arabic which may be of interest for their typological or comparative investigations.

Ladislav Drozdík

Johnstone, T. M.: *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon and English-Ḥarsūsi Index*. London, Oxford University Press 1977. XXXIX + 181 pp.

Ḥarsūsi is one of the non-Arabic languages of the South Arabian linguistic family. It is spoken by a very limited number of individuals (seemingly not more than 600), most of them being bilingual (Ḥarsūsi — Arabic). Ḥarāsis, or Ḥarsūsi-speakers, who live to the north of the Dhofar province of Oman in an Arabic linguistic and cultural environment, will probably be totally Arabized within a generation or two. Ḥarsūsi is closely related to Mehri, another member of the South Arabian group. Despite this, it appears likely that the Ḥarsūsi-speakers are of non-Mehri origin and that they merely adopted the language of their neighbours.

T. M. Johnstone, being the author of several valuable works on the Dōsiri dialect of Kuwait, and on several other Peninsular dialects of the Eastern Arabian littoral,<sup>1</sup> and since 1969, intensively working in the field of Modern South Arabian languages, is particularly qualified for collecting documentary evidence of modern South Arabian languages, rapidly supplanted by Arabic. Ḥarsūsi material is, for comparative purposes, in many cases faced by the Mehri, Šheri or Socotri equivalents, both cognate and non-cognate with the respective Ḥarsūsi items. The last three languages, as against Ḥarsūsi, were fairly well documented around the turn of the century. On Ḥarsūsi, however, nothing had been published before Johnstone's *Lexicon* except the word-list compiled by Bertram Thomas which has to be used with caution.<sup>2</sup>

With the exception of some Socotri and very few Mehri comparisons, all material has been acquired in the course of the author's field-work.

The book consists of an Introduction (pp. IX—XXVI) where the genesis of the work is related and some phonological features of Ḥarsūsi and some other South Arabian languages are briefly discussed; Select Bibliography (pp. XXVII—XXVIII); Ḥarsūri Lexicon (pp. 1—152), and English-Ḥarsūri Word-List (pp. 153—181).

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<sup>1</sup> Johnstone, T. M.: *Some Characteristics of the Dōsiri Dialect of Arabic as Spoken in Kuwait*. BSOAS, XXIV, 1961, 2, pp. 249—297; *Further Studies on the Dōsiri Dialect of Arabic as Spoken in Kuwait*. BSOAS, XXVII, 1964, 1, pp. 77—113; *The Affrication of "kāf" and "gāf" in the Arabic Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula*. JSS, VIII, 1963, 2, pp. 210—226; *The Sound Change j > y in the Arabic Dialects of Peninsular Arabia*. BSOAS, XXVIII, 1965, 2, pp. 233—241; *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies* (London Oriental Series, Vol. 17). London, Oxford University Press 1967; etc. For Modern South Arabian, see. e.g.: *The non-occurrence of a t-prefix in certain Socotri verbal forms*. BSOAS, XXXI, 1968, 3, pp. 515—525; *A Definite Article in the Modern South Arabian Languages*. BSOAS, XXXIII, 1970, 2, pp. 295—307; *Dual Forms in Mehri and Ḥarsūsi*, BSOAS, XXXIII, 1970, 3, pp. 501—502; *The Language of Poetry in Dhofar*. BSOAS, XXXV, 1972, 1, pp. 1—17; *Diminutive Patterns in the Modern South Arabian Languages*. JSS, 18, 1973, 1, pp. 98—107.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, B.: *Four Strange Tongues from South Arabia — The Hadara group* (Proceedings of the British Academy, XXIII). London 1938.

The book has a documentary value of prime importance. It will be of interest to specialists working in the field of Modern South Arabian, Semitologists in general, and Arabicists.

Ladislav Drozdík

Staffa, J. S.: *Conquest and Fusion. The Social Evolution of Cairo A. D. 642—1850*. With a Frontispiece, 16 Illustrations and 3 Maps. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1977. XVI + 449 pp.

In a comprehensive study that covers more than one millennium of evolution of the social network of Cairo, Jane Susan Staffa attempts to show how the foundations of urban life came into existence. Owing to the radical changes in the social relationships, stimulated by the constantly varying political scene, a wide range of heterogeneous elements was successfully incorporated into the total design of the city. The monograph presents a vivid and true-to-life description of events and developments in the traditional period. Cairo is particularly well suited for the latter type of analysis, for the sources available allow us to identify patterns of its social evolution over a fairly long period. The author succeeded in showing that the feature of structural continuity is one of the fundamental characteristics of this complex cosmopolitan organism and its social network. Despite the fact that Cairo's foundation and development were closely interlinked with the political events of the last thirteen centuries, there was no radical change in its life and general organization until the nineteenth century.

There are relatively numerous historical works dealing with various aspects of the social development of Cairo.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, there is hardly any work among these — to sketch an overall picture of its social evolution. The book consists of the following items: Introduction (pp. 1—6) and three parts as follows: Part One: The Early Capitals and the Foundation of the Cairene Pattern (A. D. 642—1193) (pp. 11—98); Part Two: Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Cairo and the Efflorescence of Urban Culture (A. D. 1193—1517) (pp. 99—226), and Part Three: Unity and Diversity in Turkish Cairo (A. D. 1517—1850) (pp. 227—396). Further, the book has an Epilogue: Modern Cairo: Transformation of the Traditional Pattern (pp. 397—405), Selected Bibliography (pp. 406—417) and an Index (pp. 418—449). Apart from that, the book has a Table of Contents (pp. VII—IX), List of Illustrations (pp. X—XI) and a Preface (pp. XIII—XV).

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Lane-Poole, S.: *The Story of Cairo* (1902); Clerget, M.: *Le Caire* (1934); Abu-Lughod, J.: *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (1971); Lapidus, I.: *Muslim Cities in the Middle Ages* (1967), etc.

Three maps included show the city at diverse periods of its history: Map I (facing p. 13): The Agglomeration of Early Capitals (ca A. D. 641—1193); Map II (facing p. 101): The City of the Mamlūk Period (ca A. D. 1450), and Map III (facing p. 229): The City of the Turkish Period (ca A. D. 1800).

By the scope of its interest, methodological maturity, freshness and lucidity of its style, the book cannot be matched with anything published so far in this field. The monograph will be of interest to the scholar as well as to the general reader in search of detailed information on Cairo.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Tietze, A.: *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's Description of Cairo of 1599*. Text, Transliteration, Translation, Notes. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1975. 177 pp. + I—LXXXIX Plates.

Tietze's edition of the transliterated text of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Description of Cairo* (*Hālātū l-Qāhire mine l-ʿādātī z-zāhire* "The Conditions of Cairo Concerning Her Actual Customs") is based on the three extant manuscripts: (F) Fatih Library, Istanbul, No. 5427, fols. 36<sup>v</sup>—66<sup>r</sup> (1034/1625); (S) Hacı Selim Ağa Library, Istanbul (Üsküdar), No. 757, fols. 49<sup>v</sup>—91<sup>v</sup> (1040/1630—31), and (E) Esad Efendi Library, Istanbul, No. 2407, 44 fols. (1159/1746). It is accompanied by an introduction, full translation and annotation. The photographic reproduction of one manuscript is included, as well.

Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed (1541—1600) of Gallipoli, better known under his pen-name ʿĀlī, is a well-known Ottoman historian, poet and writer. He visited Egypt in 976/1568 for the first time when he was *kātib-i esrār* in the service of the successful statesman of Bosnian origin Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha. His second short visit to Egypt took place three decades later, in the month of Muḥarrem of 1008 (July—August, 1599). During this second visit he wrote his *Description of Cairo* containing his observations about Egypt and life in Cairo, a brief history of Egypt under Ottoman domination, and his general appraisal of the economic and social situation in this country, as well as some other matters of less immediate importance.

ʿĀlī's *Description of Cairo* consists of the following parts: 1. A Preface in which the author explains the origin of his book. This part contains also the dedication of the book to the author's protector, the Chief White Eunuch of the Palace Ġaẓanfer Agha; 2. an Introduction (*Muqaddime*), surveying the history of pre-Islamic Egypt (omitted in the translation); 3. the First Chapter (*Faṣl-i evvel*), dealing with the praiseworthy features of Egypt; favourable mentions of Egypt, as quoted in the Koran and Hadith, are followed by the author's own observations which are arranged in 24 short paragraphs; 4. the Second Chapter (*Faṣl-i Sānī*), examining the unfavourable features of the country. Unfavourable references from the Koran and

Hadith are followed by the author's negative observations in 50 paragraphs; 5. the Epilogue (*Khātime*) which summarizes the history of Islamic Egypt. The last section of this part contains the list of the 27 governors who ruled Egypt during the 82 years starting from the Ottoman conquest of the country onwards and gives their most important characteristics and chronological data, and 6. an Appendix (*Tezyīl*), analysing the main reasons of the general decline of prosperity in this country.

ʿĀlī's description of the alarming political situation in Egypt, due to the misrule and exploitation of the country, his fresh observations on the public and private life in Cairo, on the manners and customs of various social classes, various institutions, etc. are not so much the result of a scholarly investigation, but rather fresh and direct glimpses of an observant tourist.

Tietze's valuable edition of this Ottoman text (with several Arabic passages) makes it accessible to the specialists and to a wider circle of historically-minded readers.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Massa, Daniel (Ed.): *Across Cultures*. Festschrift Edition Journal of Maltese Studies in Honour of Professor Ġużè Aquilina. No. 11. Malta University Press 1977. 144 pp.

The present Festschrift edition of *The Journal of Maltese Studies* is dedicated to Professor Ġużè Aquilina, founder of the 'first' Chair of Maltese and Oriental Languages, doyen of Maltese Language and Literature, distinguished philologist and scholar of note, energetic defender of the Maltese language and the Maltese cultural heritage, highly efficient organizer possessing a rare foresight to create links of co-operation with various centres of Semitic and Arabic studies throughout the world.

The volume includes eleven articles dealing with very various scholarly problems related to Maltese and Arabic studies, general linguistics and other field.

In *Epistemological Remarks on Language Change and Language Universals* (pp. 3—18), Helmüt Ludtke proposes a universal theory of language change. The author starts from two basic assumptions, notably that language change is governed by universal laws, and that it is also due to the role of language in society. Ludtke's theory of language change is presented in terms of rather untraditional concepts, the most important of which are 'circularity' (as a principle governing the relation between linguistic communication processes — performance and the communication potential — competence), 'reversibility' (pertaining to the mutational processes undergone by linguistic systems), and homeorhesis (as an ability of complex open systems to keep functioning in spite of irreversible processes taking place within

them). Language universals, in terms of Ludtke's presentation, are understood as universals of language change.

Isserlin's contribution *Sicilian Arabic and Maltese: Some Remarks on Their Phonetic Interrelations* (pp. 19—25) deals with some phonetic features of the long defunct variety of colloquial Arabic, once spoken in Sicily, on the contrastive background of the Maltese sound system. On the strength of data evaluated — even if, in detail, the source material available is very lacunary — the author assumes that Arabic of Sicily should have been related to the language spoken in mediaeval Malta. Nevertheless, the Maltese data prior to the eighteenth century are very scanty. On the Sicilian side, the modern place name vocabulary is centuries removed from the Arab period. Moreover, the transcriptions in some documents show signs of scribal neglect and frequent inaccuracies, and what is even more important, these transcriptions suffer from the natural inadequacy of the Greek and Latin alphabets to represent some phonological distinctions of vital importance to Arabic. On the whole, it is possible to say that Sicilian Arabic showed significant links with ancestral Maltese. Nevertheless, a number of linguistic features which are characteristic of Modern Maltese were represented in this language only sporadically or possibly not at all. While the two languages were, no doubt, closely related to each other at the start, they were not necessarily identical and they have developed further towards significant divergences.

L. Drozdík, in his contribution *Three Types of Inter-Systemic Restatement in Arabic. A Contribution to the Study of the Arabic Collectives* (pp. 26—38) examines three types of inter-systemic reinterpretation in the word-formational domain of the Arabic collectives which are relatable to the derivational system of collective and unit nouns (CN-UN in what follows). The three particular cases examined are 1. a derivational system restated as an inflectional system (CN-UN as members of the sex-gender relationship), e.g. *ḥamām* (CN) 'pigeon(s)' — *ḥamāma* (UN) 'a pigeon', vs. *ḥamām* 'a male pigeon' — *ḥamāma* 'a female pigeon', etc. 2. a derivational system restated as a derivational system of different type (the derivational system of *fa<sup>α</sup>āl* — *fa<sup>α</sup>āla* reclassified in terms of the CN-UN relationship), e.g. *sajjād* 'worshipper of God' — *sajjāda* 'prayer rug' vs. *sajjād* (CN) 'prayer rug(s)' — *sajjāda* (UN) 'a prayer rug', etc. 3. a derivational system reclassified as an inflectional system (CN-UN reinterpreted in terms of what the author calls 'autonomous singular-plural relationship'), e.g. (CN-related restatement) *karm* (CN) — *karma* (UN) (possible plural: *kurūm*) 'vine, grapes, grapevines' vs. *karm* (sing.) — *kurūm* (plur.) 'vineyard; garden, orchard' or (UN-related restatement) 'adas (CN) — 'adasa (UN) (possible plural: 'adasāt) 'lentil(s)' vs. 'adasa (sing.) — 'adasāt (plur.) 'lens', etc.

A. Borg's paper *A Male-Female Speech-Habit Difference in Maltese Individuals: A Preliminary Comment* (pp. 39—41) attempts at establishing the frequency rate of the use of English with regard to the sex distinction of some groups of the Maltese



speakers. Two such groups of speakers were examined: one group was fluent in Standard Maltese and English, while another group under examination was fluent in three codes: Dialectal and Standard Maltese, and English. The males from both groups maintained the impression that girls used English much more frequently than boys. Substantially, the females accepted the statement advanced by the males. The author, in what follows, tries to account for the greater frequency of use of English by females, as well as to find a solution to the question why do the males allow the females to outdo them in this respect since the use of English over Maltese is always regarded as a socially desirable attainment.

*Malta e Pantelleria: alla ricerca di un sostrato comune* (Malta and Pantelleria: In Search of a Common Substratum) (pp. 42—54), by Giuseppe Brincat, is a comparative study of the Maltese and Pantellerian dialects. The Italian island Pantelleria, with 8,500 inhabitants on 83 sq. km., is both smaller and less thickly populated than the islands of Malta (popul. 320,000, area 316 sq. km.), and it is more closely situated to the African coast (70 km.) than Malta (300 km.). While, in both languages, the Arabic elements are older than the Romance elements, the Pantellerian has assimilated a great amount of Semitic elements in a morphosyntactic system typical of Sicilian dialects, as against Maltese which has adopted a good deal of its lexicon from the Romance languages and has incorporated it in a morphosyntactic system which is basically Arabic.

V. Pisani, in his contribution *Etimologie di voce italiane iniziati per s-* (Etymology of the Italian Words Beginning in s-) (pp. 55—58), examines the etymology of nine Italian words, both nouns and verbs, with the word-initial /s/, notably *sbirciare*, *sbronza*, *sbruffare*, *scampare*, *scaracchiare*, *scaraventare*, *scarpa*, *schiccherare* and *sgomentare/sgominare*.

*I termini arabi relativi alle sogliola nel Mediterraneo* (The Arabic Terms Related to the Mediterranean Sole) (pp. 59—68), by Giovanni Oman, examines the Classical and Colloquial Arabic terms denoting various Mediterranean flatfishes of the family Soleidae, such as *balai*, *balay*, *balaya*; *endās*; *ḥūtāt Sidna Slīmān*; *ḥūt Mūsā*, *samak Mūsā*; *ḥūt Sayyidinā Yūnus* (*ḥūt Sidna Yunes*), etc., etc.

G. B. Pellegrini, in his paper '*Santa Nefissa*' *nella letteratura italiana del '500* ('Santa Nefissa' as Reflected in the Italian Literature of Cinquecento) (pp. 69—76), examines a number of literary reflexes of Sayyida Nafisa (pp. 762—823), a venerated saint in the world of Islam, the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, i. e. the great grandson of al-Ḥasan, one of the two sons of 'Alī — the son-in-law of the Prophet.

*Famille et vie familiale à travers les proverbes tunisiens* (Family and Family Life in Tunisian Proverbs) (pp. 77—109), by André Louis, is a successful attempt to depict the family life in the present day Tunisia in terms of proverbs. In view of the radical changes that took place in the traditional patriarchal family since World War Two, the documentary evidence collected brings out the difference between the social

status reflected in the proverbs and the present day Tunisian family which is, at the same time, the measure of social development attained. The documentary material will be of interest to ethnographers, sociologists and others.

Pier Cachia, in the following contribution *The Career of Muṣṭafā Ibrāhīm ʿAjāj* (pp. 110—117), is concerned with a prolific pen-and-paper versifier known as aš-Šayx Muṣṭafā Ibrāhīm ʿAjāj (died 1936).

The last contribution, *Protestant Maltese Bible Translation 1870—1872* (pp. 118—144), by C. Sant, narrates the history of the first full-scale Bible translation into Maltese. An extensive documentation is provided.

The scholarly volume will be of interest to Maltesists, Arabicists, ethnographers, general linguists, and others.

Ladislav Drozdík

Fyfe, Christopher (Ed.): *African Studies Since 1945. A Tribute to Basil Davidson*. Proceedings of a seminar in honour of Basil Davidson's sixtieth birthday at the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh under the chairmanship of George Shepperson. London, Longman Group Ltd. 1976. 255 pp.

This volume results from a seminar held at the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh in November 1974 in honour of Basil Davidson's sixtieth birthday. This miscellany, intended as a Festschrift, appeared as tribute to "a courageous and scholarly pioneer whose work and example have inspired a whole generation of Africanists" and who has played a leading part in promoting African Studies in Great Britain.

It contains a short introduction by the editor, Christopher Fyfe, Thomas Hodgkin's reminiscences *Where the Paths Began*, a brief commentary on the writings of Basil Davidson and what he himself called a partly personal, semi-autobiographical account of what seemed to have been their presuppositions at the time, twenty-five years ago, when they both started writing about African questions, and seventeen essays by distinguished participants in the seminar, representing the disciplines which Basil Davidson has been chiefly concerned with, on the changes that have taken place in African Studies since the Second World War.

Since the participants were deliberately chosen to represent the multitude of disciplines of the distinguished pioneer's interest and concern, the unifying principle was Basil Davidson's own work and the contributors have attempted to trace Davidson's own influence on and contribution to separate Africanist disciplines.

Diversity was the keynote to Basil Davidson as a seminal figure in African Studies. The publication in 1959 of his *Old Africa Rediscovered*, followed with *Black Mother*, started a series of historical writings that commanded the attention of a wide audience — scholars and the general reading public alike, inspiring them to see

African history in a new way. With his amazing capacity for unification and synthesis Basil Davidson pioneered a new African historiography and projected a new historical consciousness. *The Africans: An Entry into Cultural History* (1970), *Africans in History*, beautified by superb photographs taken by Werner Forman, or *Can Africa Survive?* published in 1974 are further outstanding examples of the synthesizing qualities of Davidson's writing breaking down old barriers between academic disciplines and territorial academic interests and of pioneering, original insights into some neglected research topics on a continent-wide scale. Therefore, some of the themes elaborated in the papers and discussions at the seminar can be traced in Davidson's own work.

The chief value of the book lies in the fact that it provides a readable overview of the trends of research carried out in various Africanist disciplines. *African Studies Since 1945* signals that its subjects are now definitely of age, although some of them not yet quite sure of their proper limits and directions, or suffering from uneven development. The usual limitations imposed by time and money made it impossible to bring participants from overseas, with the only exception of K. A. B. Jones-Quartey, Emeritus Professor of Adult Education at the University of Ghana, who was able to present his bibliographical review of the West African press since the Second World War personally. Hence it turned out to be an evaluation of the development of African Studies by British scholars.

Among notable contributions, there is Professor Ranger's study on the state of historical research suggesting a crisis in African historiography and demanding new, more relevant approaches. In fact, some essays in this book seem to be preoccupied with the sense of crisis within certain Africanist disciplines. Notable among these is Professor Ranger's piece claiming a disillusionment expressed by historians of Africa with some established truths of African historiography, a widespread disenchantment with the existing African historiography in the West as well as inside Africa itself, a widespread feeling of its artificiality and distance from real issues and hence, a widespread dispute about the methodologies, content and relevance of African history.

Since the birth of the subject, African historiography has no doubt contributed much to cultural nationalism and played a positive role in legitimating the new nation states. Hence, the stress laid on the creativity of African cultures, the prominence given to famous African leaders and the emphasis placed on the importance of large unitary states. The research of the 1960s has managed to demonstrate the possibility and viability of the field, to reveal the variety, complexity and the independent character of the African past. Since then, it is claimed, African historiography has lost a good deal of its initial impetus and has passed from the golden age to a state of crisis. The neglect, until recently, of the study of economic, agricultural or conceptual history demands far-reaching changes in methodology and research priorities. The new situation calls for a retreat from the current approaches to the study of problems

more relevant to the immediate concerns of African nations. Rather than to legitimize the post-colonial states, the purpose of African history is now to locate the roots of Africa's underdevelopment.

Needless to say, Professor Ranger's explanations and conclusions, contrasting the existing historiography of Africa that "has been important in Africa for reasons of pride because it could not possibly have been useful for anything else" (p. 23, his italics) with another kind of improved African historiography and a 'usable African past', are controversial. Indeed, in so far as they have appeared in his article, characteristically named *Towards a Usable African Past*, they have already generated controversy. Both Thomas Hodgkin and Christopher Fyfe have made, and many more would certainly make, trenchant criticisms of his notion of an 'unusable African past'. Nevertheless, many of his conclusions, controversial though they may be, contain implications that can stimulate research along the lines suggested and thus help to illuminate some neglected corners of the history of Black Africa.

While several other contributions have seen similar signs of crisis in their disciplines, others consider constant questioning of methodology not as a sign of crisis but of vitality. In *Clio-Antics: A Horoscope for African Economic History*, A. G. Hopkins discusses the conflicting contemporary interpretations of African economic history and the problem of underdevelopment and dependence in Black Africa in terms of non-Marxist and Marxist research trends, especially in terms of dependency theory most influentially expressed by Walter Rodney in his *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.<sup>1</sup> He suggests to pursue research themes related to ecology, polity and cosmology as "the type of research that can span and inform Marxist and non-Marxist approaches". Basil Davidson's *The Africans: An Entry into Cultural History* is mentioned in this context as a pioneering survey of these themes on a continent-wide scale.

Similarly Ann Seidman, discussing *Changing Theories of Political Economy in Africa*, views the contemporary interpretations and solutions of African economic problems as a sign of crisis among the economists. Also Kenneth King, while attempting to sketch how the colonial heritage of ideas and institutions continues to affect educational policies in independent Africa, voices the feeling of crisis and the widespread mood of disillusionment with Africa's educational systems, particularly at the international level, among the range of external bodies that concern themselves with development.

Other contributors sound, however, more optimistic with the perspectives of their disciplines and openly deny any crisis. There is Paul Edwards's paper on West African literature and its relevancy to contemporary African society, Julian Rea's examination of African publishing and book distribution between 1945–1974,

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<sup>1</sup> Rodney, Walter: *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House 1973.

Jones-Quartey's bibliographical review of the West African press since the Second World War and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene's discussion of the new flourishing branch of African Studies — public administration.

J. O. Hunwick writes on the retrospect and prospect of Islamic studies in Africa, Thurstan Shaw surveys the tremendous changes in African archaeology in the last forty years, in its sheer quantity, its aims, methodology, in its personnel, its teaching and its publication. Peter Shinnie points to the flourishing state of Meroitic studies and Godfrey Lienhardt tries to sketch the directions in which social anthropology is going, and will undoubtedly continue to go.

The four remaining contributions are historiographical essays on *South African Studies since World War Two* by Shula Marks, *Changes in African Historical Studies in France* by Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *The Study of African History in Germany* by Immanuel Geiss and *The Changing Historiography of Angola and Mozambique* by Gerald Bender and Allen Isaacman.

*African Studies Since 1945* is a valuable survey of the trends of Africanist research carried out in the West and in Africa itself.

Viera Pawliková

Davidson, A. B.—Nersesov, G. A. (Eds): *Izuchenie Afriki v Rossii (dorevolutsionnyi period)* (African Studies in Russia (pre-revolutionary period)). Moscow, Nauka Publishing House 1977. 187 pp.

This volume dedicated to African Studies in pre-revolutionary Russia is a natural supplement to a collection of essays on African Studies in the Soviet Union published by the same Publishing House in 1966 in Russian and in 1969 in English and French translations, as well as a couple of other works written by the Academician Krachkovsky and B. M. Dantsig on the history of Russian Arabic Studies. As its title suggests, it is intended as a brief review of the study of Africa in pre-revolutionary Russia. Some of the writings included are here published for the first time and are specially written for this publication, others had been previously available but are here up-dated and revised in the light of subsequent research.

In a short introduction the two editors set out the aims of the series of which this book forms part. The editors have brought together seven essays that either deal with disciplines concerned with the study of Africa, namely Egyptology, geography, linguistics or ethnography, and outline the role of distinguished Russian academics in promoting Africanist research in the respective fields, or examine the activities of individual scholars and travellers whose work made a major contribution to African studies.

The collection opens with an outline of the foundation of Russian Egyptology

before 1917 by M. A. Korostovtsev outlining the academic activities of the first Russian professional Egyptologist V. S. Golenishchev (1856—1947) who had worked for a long time in Cairo University and pioneered the teaching of Egyptology there. Mention must be also made here of the historical work of B. A. Turaev (1868—1920), the founder of the Russian School of Ancient Oriental History whose noteworthy study of the history of the religion and culture of Ancient Egypt made a valuable contribution to Russian pre-revolutionary Egyptology.

The study of African languages in Russia from the pen of D. A. Olderogge is based on the analysis of African material contained in the four volumes of the monumental Comparative Dictionary of All Languages and Dialects (*Sravnitelnyi slovar vsekh yazykov i narechiy*) published by the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petersburg in 1790. It included information on thirty-three African languages, two from North Africa, twenty-three languages of the Western Sudan area (primarily the Coast of Guinea), six Bantu languages, Hottentot and Malagasy, with the aim of making a comparative study of them. Discussed are also linguistic studies of Russian explorers and scholars, W. W. Junker's dictionaries of the languages of Equatorial Africa, O. B. Lemm's works on the Coptic language and A. L. Pogodin's book Language as a Form of Creation (*Yazyk kak tvorchestvo*, Kharkov 1913).

Then follows a survey of African geography in Russia by M. B. Gornung and I. N. Oleinikov examining the state of knowledge of African geography in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Russia and paying special attention to the activities of individual Russian travellers and explorers and their discoveries of new geographical facts, as well as to the role of the Russian Geographical Society (now the Geographical Society of the USSR), founded in 1845, in promoting expeditions and journeys of Russian scholars to Africa.

Then there is an important study of figures whose interests in the social, religious and political spheres of African life and affection for the peoples whose cultures they studied, made enormous contributions to the knowledge of African ethnography. In his article L. E. Koubbel writes about the role of Russian travellers, such as M. G. Kokovtsov in the 1780s or the three generations of outstanding scholars E. P. Kovalevsky (in the 1840s), W. W. Junker (in the 1870s and the 1880s) and A. K. Bulatovich (in the 1890s), in solving problems of the ethnography of African peoples.

The following article by the Hungarian scholar Endré Sík is devoted to some aspects of the academic activities of E. P. Kovalevsky, and to his social and political views as expressed in his work Journey to Inner Africa (*Puteshestvie vo vnutrennyuyu Afriku*).

A. D. Dridzo surveys the origins of Estonian Africanist research and brings interesting facts about Estonians who travelled in Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and studied African peoples. Among those mentioned are Hans Tiismann who lived among the Nyika people of Kenya in 1860s, Leonhard

Blumer who between 1907 and 1930 lived in Tanganyika and studied the Masai language, Jüri Jürison who travelled in South Africa in the 1860s and Evald Ovir who lived in East Africa in the 1890s and studied the Jagga people.

The last article in this collection by V. B. Mirimanov analyses the book *The Art of Negroes* (*Isskustvo negrov*) written by the Russian artist and art critic V. I. Matvei (1877–1914), also known under the pen-name Vladimir Markov. The book, originally written a year before Carl Einstein published his *Negerplastik* (Leipzig 1915), which, however, came out only in 1919, after the October Revolution, is actually “the first to reveal the art of Negroes”, to determine correctly the specific features of African sculpture and understand its importance for European and world art.

The volume under review brings out much useful information and convincingly shows that much solid pioneering work had been done and some solid foundations for African studies research over a wide range of disciplines had been laid in the pre-revolutionary period. It is pity that such a book as this, very much a pioneering study and containing so much new information, should be published only in Russian, albeit with French and English summaries and brief notes on the authors. We now expect and look forward to English and French editions which would introduce information on the origins of African Studies in Russia and the Russian contribution to the scholarly study of Africa to Western Africanist readership.

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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.

As its subtitle suggests, *The Black Mind* surveys the literatures of Black Africa from their beginnings up to the present time. This introductory history of African literatures is to provide a view of the development of African literatures from their beginnings in oral traditions to their contemporary expression in the writings of Africans in various African and European languages. Its contents thus betray a valiant attempt to cover a very wide focus in time, area and language. Moreover, its author professes to offer a particularly close and intimate view of the “Black Mind” since it is as a Black man that he speaks about Black people. In his own words, as expressed in a brief Preface: “To understand ourselves, we ought to take a hard look at our place of origin — Africa. But the consequences of history have resulted in our displacement and the nature of this also becomes important if we are to see ourselves as we are. In *The Black Mind* I have focused on the oral and written literatures of Africa and the question throughout the book is — what do we say about ourselves?

There are different answers and the artists at times admit to a confusion. But this is no handicap; in the search for legacy, in putting our minds together, in acquainting those who live near us with the nature of our heritage, there can be only one aim — trying to understand. I hope that *The Black Mind* is a beginning in this direction of understanding ourselves and helping others to understand us.”

Divided into four parts of unequal length, the volume contains under the title Tradition some sixty-page-long survey of traditional African literature including a discussion of the role of the traditional artist, and of some indigenous African forms of literature.

Then follows Part II — Heritage, with a useful survey of early African writers in Latin, English and of written indigenous literatures. Most serious attention is, however, focused on the modern writings in European languages — English, French and Portuguese, which together make up two-thirds of the text. Some twenty-five pages of Part IV entitled Crosscurrents are devoted to African influences, a comment on Caribbean literature.

Within the largest Part III — The Presence of Europe, the material presented is divided by geographical area and the particular European language the authors use. Thus, though the author examined Contemporary African Prose and Poetry in French or African Literature in Portuguese, each in just one Chapter, in one separate Chapter 9 we can find a discussion of West African Novelists in English, in Chapter 10 East, Central and South African Novelists in English, then follows Chapter 11 with African Poetry in English, the only exception being Chapter 15 which assesses African Drama in French and English from all areas. A regional approach is applied in the section on Written Indigenous Literatures.

While skimming through this volume, the present reviewer just could not resist the temptation to compare it with the recent Czechoslovak book on literature and language in Black Africa.<sup>1</sup> The multidisciplinary approach adopted in the latter publication conditioned by the very composition of the author’s team helped to give it its special flavour. Here, writing in European languages is not artificially separated from literatures in vernacular languages but, on the contrary, linguistic methods are combined here with literary analysis to show the mutual relationship of language, literacies and the rising national literatures and suggest how different literary traditions developed in response to local social and cultural conditions and different educational and social policies pursued by the various colonial régimes.

This is something one misses in Professor Dathorne’s work. Literature in vernacular languages is here artificially separated from writings in English, French and Portuguese and very little, if anything, is said here about the process of the

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<sup>1</sup> Klíma, Vl.—Růžička, K. Fr.—Zima, P.: *Black Africa. Literature and Language*. Academia, Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague 1976, co-edition with D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Holland—Boston, U.S.A.



transition from oral literature towards literacy, and what is even more important, from literacy towards developing literature, and of the perspectives and possibilities of such a literacy-to-literature transition and development of modern literature in some main African languages, and especially in Hausa, Swahili and one or two South African vernaculars. Certain quotations such as “because Swahili was ‘ill equipped to express any modern concepts, and [had] none of the advantages of being able to appeal to sentiment and national pride’, its development is said to have been inhibited”<sup>2</sup> sound rather odd, considering quite a flood of poems, short stories, plays and novels, as well as various pamphlets devoted to giving advice on such matters as sex life, dream analysis which have appeared in the last fifteen years or so, as well as the latest research into the subject.<sup>3</sup> Of this trend of development of modern Swahili, Professor Dathorne keeps silent despite his own statement that East Africa seems the most likely region on the continent to develop its indigenous literatures.<sup>4</sup>

Some irritating errors appear in the section on the promising Luganda literature. In a book of such a scope some minor or major errors are perhaps inevitable and any reviewer is likely to spot them in the area of his own main competence. Sir Apolo Kaggwa’s monumental work on *The Customs of the Baganda* stands in Luganda as *Empisa za Baganda* (319 pp.) and was first published in 1907. And it was this Kaggwa’s work that was translated into English by Ernest Kalibala and published by M. M. Edelman, Columbia University Press in 1934 as *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology No. 22*. His *Ekitabo* (mis-spelt as *Ekotabo*) *kya Bika bya Baganda* or *Ebika Bya Baganda* (151 pp.) is devoted to The Clans of the Baganda and was first published in 1912. J. T. K. Ggomotoka, who was certainly a recognized authority on the history and language of the Baganda, has distinguished himself as the author of a monumental history of Buganda entitled appropriately as *Makula* or *Treasure*, in seven volumes, which he wrote to supersede Sir Apolo Kaggwa’s principal work and the best known book in Luganda *Basekabaka be Buganda*, first published in 1901. The life story of Duhaga II, the Omukama of Bunyoro (wrongly spelt as *Nukama*), of which no reference is given, should certainly be *Obwomezi bw’Omukama Duhaga II* by L. O. Katyanku and S. Bulera, published in 1950 by Eagle Press in Nairobi. Such errors of fact tend to diminish one’s confidence in statements such as “An examination of what has been written in Africa shows that

<sup>2</sup> Dathorne, O. R.: *The Black Mind* . . . , p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Bertoni—Zúbková, E.: *An Annotated Bibliography of Swahili Novels and Stories Published between 1960—1975*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, XIII, 1977, pp. 181—191. Bratislava, Veda 1977; Mazrui, A. A.: *Language in Military History: Command and Communication in East Africa*. In: *Mawazo. The Makerere Journal of the Arts and Social Sciences*, 4, No. 2, 1974, pp. 19—35.

<sup>4</sup> Dathorne, O. R.: *The Black Mind* . . . , p. 114. “Apart from South Africa, which already has a sizable and important body of literature in the vernacular languages, East Africa seems the most likely region on the continent to develop its indigenous literatures”.

818 works by 481 authors can be classified as vernacular literature" or "In western Africa 111 authors have written approximately 166 works".<sup>5</sup>

However, the basis of the History of African Literature (or perhaps rather Literatures) lies in the contemporary section tracing the expression and controversies of contemporary African literatures in European *linguae francae*. While this part is basically descriptive, there are numerous points at which analytical statements are made. A student of modern African literatures may no doubt appreciate evaluations and analyses of selected African writers so readily available, together with synopses of plots and themes of the major works, novels, plays and poems. This narrative, though consisting of some useful and sometimes insightful and valuable summaries, lacks, however, any clear conception and the rationale of the particular arrangement of the material is occasionally rather difficult to follow. As neither strict geographical nor chronological criteria but sometimes rather questionable ones were adopted, African writers and their works are often intermingled and crammed into one sprawling, confused, and almost indigestible hotchpotch. This lack of conception which mars this work is particularly clear in the section dealing with African Prose and Poetry in French, where poets and novelists from very different parts of the continent are discussed *en bloc*, their place of origin, sometimes not even stated, notwithstanding.

It would be easy to go on picking up similar points with which to disagree. With all these reservations, Professor Dathorne's book has its merits as it contains useful data, the result of consistent hard work. At the very least, such information and some analytic passages will definitely serve students of African literatures well. Among the book's contributions belong the list of literary journals and selected bibliography of bibliographies, general critical works, anthologies and selected writers in English and English translations. But as a comprehensive history of the literatures of Black Africa it is, disappointingly, a missed chance.

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Nersesov, G. A.—Subbotin, V. A. (Eds): *Afrika v novoe i noveishee vremya* (Africa in Modern and Contemporary Times). Moscow, Nauka 1976. 213 pp.

With Africa in Modern and Contemporary Times the Moscow Publishing House Nauka adds another volume to its already formidable corpus of works on African history.

The eight studies brought together in this collection cover quite a large expanse of time and space, ranging from Angola at the turn of the Middle and New Ages to

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 90 and 91, respectively.

Nigeria in the early 1960s, and from French West African colonies to Ethiopia and Eastern Lacustrine Bantu region. With the exception of Dr. Christian Mährdel from the Africa Institute of the Karl Marx University in Leipzig, all the other contributors are Soviet Africanists, mostly, at least to the present reviewer's knowledge, from the Moscow Institute of Africa of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, who are noted for their knowledge of particular areas and periods of African history.

There is no introduction to the volume that would synthesize and draw together the results of separate contributions, and the editorial summing up, which consists of less than ten full lines, does not state whether there was a deliberate policy behind the choice, or the contributors were free to choose their topics provided they touched somehow upon problems of the rise and fall of colonial empires or the anti-colonial struggle of African peoples. Presented are thus studies covering a wide range of themes from the social and political history of African peoples, from a suggestive account of early forms of colonialism and slave trade in West Equatorial Africa between the 16th and 18th centuries (as exemplified by Angola) by A. S. Orlova and A. M. Chazanov, to The political struggle in Nigeria between 1960—1965 by L. N. Pribytkovski.

Of the eight contributions making this heterogeneous collection, as many as five cover the twentieth century. Ch. Mährdel's twelve pages on political organizations in anti-colonial struggle. On the question of the origin of African parties, are an interpretative summary of the complex problem approached from the Marxist point of view. Then follows V. A. Trofimov's interesting study of Characteristic features of the politics of Italian fascism in Ethiopia between 1936—1940 and A. B. Letnev's competent discussion of Social movements and thought in French West African colonies between 1924—1928. Drawing on the colonial history of Zaire, the region he has made his own, Y. N. Vinokurov attempts to survey the little known Bapende anti-colonial rising of 1931.

Facing the task of writing a review of a collection of studies dealing with such varied subjects, those close to the reviewer's own interests are likely to attract her attention more than others. V. N. Maglysh's survey of the institution of patronage in the cattle raising societies of the East African lacustrine region in the 19th century, based on a sufficiently great range of available sources, helpfully clarifies many points. The author attempts to reassess and revalue the interpretations set in motion by other, particularly Western, scholars and thus shows the complex process of the disintegration of the kin-group structure and relations and their gradual replacement with feudal relations. Contrary to Dr. Rusch's recent Marxist reinterpretation of the social and economic stage of development of pre-colonial Buganda, denoted as a pre-capitalist class society,<sup>1</sup> Maglysh adopts the term feudal in his own interpreta-

<sup>1</sup> See my review in the same volume of Asian and African Studies, of Rusch, W.: *Klassen und Staat in Buganda vor der Kolonialzeit*. Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Heft 25, Berlin. Akademie-Verlag 1975, 485 pp.

tion of the economic relationships existing in the interlacustrine societies. A reference to E. Steinhart's *Vassal and Fief in Three Lacustrine Kingdoms* could have also been referred to.<sup>2</sup>

V. A. Subbotin has in this collection of studies once again returned to his familiar theme of administration in French African colonies by the end of the nineteenth century which he had discussed at greater length in his book *Kolonii Francii v 1870—1918 gg. Tropicheskaya Afrika i ostrova Indiiskogo okeana*.<sup>3</sup> Professor Subbotin's scholarly approach is firmly based on the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of colonialism and he has drawn on a whole range of available primary and secondary sources to produce a synthesis in which external forces are seen interacting with autochthonous historical development and in which serious attention is focused on such themes as were neglected by other authors, such as anti-colonial wars and rebellions of African peoples in the early twentieth century, French system of colonial rule and administrative and economic policies, with, quite naturally, particular stress on various exploitative mechanisms and forms of capitalist exploitation of African peoples to show how their socio-economic structures were transformed as they entered the market economy. On the basis of an impressive body of documentation and his own deep comprehension of political and economic aspects of French colonial policy in Tropical Africa, the author assembles a massive, sustained critique of French colonial practices in Tropical Africa.

Soviet historians of Africa once again most ably displayed their considerable talents for new approaches as well as sweeping new interpretations. It is a great pity that they do not publish more English or French editions of their major works or at least provide their Russian editions with English or French summaries for the benefit of those who do not read Russian. One more comment, their studies would have been more readable if the authors and the publishers had produced notes where they should be and could be more easily referred to — at the bottom of the page. Many of their readers, including the present reviewer would be most grateful for it.

Strangely enough, Soviet Africanist research has not as yet produced a general synthesis of African history, from the earliest times to the present, and this is something this reviewer is hoping to see in the near future.

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*The Cambridge History of Africa*. General Editors J. D. Fage and Ronald Oliver. Volume 5. *From c. 1790 to c. 1870*. Edited by John E. Flint. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1976. xv + 617 pp., 15 maps.

<sup>2</sup> Steinhart, E. I.: *Vassal and Fief in Three Lacustrine Kingdoms*. In: *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, VII, No. 4, 1967.

<sup>3</sup> French Colonies in 1870—1918. Tropical Africa and Islands of the Indian Ocean. Moscow, Nauka 1973. 403 pp.

Being published almost simultaneously with the *General History of Africa* planned in eight volumes and commissioned by UNESCO, the *Cambridge History of Africa* is an important work and it therefore seems worth examining its wider conceptual framework rather than its specific details. Since the natural competitor of the *Cambridge History* now lags a step behind the Cambridge project, it would be premature to attempt a comparison.

Volume 5 of the *Cambridge History of Africa*, also planned in eight volumes, is actually the second to appear. The five volumes originally planned, to which three further volumes were later added to appear after the publication of Volume 1, were conceived to appear in an order inverse to their chronology starting with Volume 5. Volume 5 was, however, overtaken by Professor Gray's Volume 4 covering the period from c. 1600 to c. 1790, to be followed in 1977 by Volume 3 edited by Professor Ronald Oliver and covering the period from A. D. 1050 to c. 1600. The basic chronological breakdown of the series now brings the emergence of the anti-slave trade movement in Europe and the eve of European colonial conquest as cut-off dates and thus the volume under review is to be an overall survey for the period from c. 1790 to c. 1870. A perspective seeing this period as one dominated by the theme of Africa's growing contact with Europe and a time of slow European penetration and preparation for the colonial conquest and rule was quite rightly rejected as a somewhat irrelevant pattern for the history of the continent as a whole, except for South Africa and Algeria. Likewise, an Islamic perspective, though during this period much more relevant for the African continent than the European one, was peripheral for certain regions of Africa and irrelevant for, say, southern Africa and the western Congo basin. Thus, in planning this volume a thematic structure based on the impact of external forces, European and Islamic activities, has been rejected, and this volume, like the preceding one as well as those to follow, is subdivided by areas.

Egypt and the Nile Valley by P. M. Holt, Ethiopia and the Horn by Sven Rubenson, The Maghrib by Douglas Johnson; West Africa is covered by three successive chapters — The nineteenth-century jihads in West Africa by M. Hisketh, Freed slave colonies in West Africa by Christopher Fyfe and West Africa in the anti-slave trade era by J. F. Ade Ajayi and B. O. Oloruntimehin; then follow The Forest and savanna of Central Africa by David Birmingham, East Africa: the expansion of commerce by A. C. Unomah and J. B. Webster; two chapters on South Africa — The Nguni outburst and Colonial South Africa and its frontiers both by J. D. Omer-Cooper, and Tradition and change in Madagascar, 1790—1870 by Hubert Deschamps.

Each study spans the entire period of the volume and there are separate chapters dealing with certain themes, such as the activities of Africans overseas by John E. Flint and I. Geiss or changing European attitudes to Africa by Robin Hallett.

This is a direct reflection of the research situation because at the present stage of

knowledge it is still impossible to construct each volume from a perspective based on historical regions created by African activities, or using historical typologies of states and societies and a comparative analysis and comparison of types of states which would have provided us with new regional patterns drawn from African history. Since all this has seemed premature, though some of these historical regions are already clear — e.g. the West African savanna or the historical region created by the rise of the Zulu and the *mfecane*, — to construct this volume, like others in the Cambridge History, a regional subdivision was used, attempting to divide Africa into cultural regions, and this volume consists of a series of studies of geographical and cultural regions.

Compared with its predecessor, Volume 4, this volume is less suggestive of a single historical school associated with the School of Oriental and African Studies and the tradition of British scholarship in African historiography established by Oliver and Fage. While in the preceding volume, nine of the ten contributors have either been of the SOAS or at least have had close ties with it, for Volume 5 we have as many as fifteen contributors, of whom three are African historians, one French and one German Africanists.

Nevertheless, the basic set-up, the themes examined and the way in which historical reconstruction is presented, suggest a fairly identical or at least similar ideological and methodological approach to the historical interpretation and reconstruction and betray that the plan for the whole enterprise was drawn up in the 1960s and built around the concerns and interests of the 1960s. As the introduction written by Professor Flint makes it clear, the major themes are those of state formation and African nation-building in Africa — “the creation of states bearing many of the attributes of nationalism”, and the development of trade and commerce, particularly by the elaboration of long distance trade routes.

Indeed, the whole chapter on East Africa deals almost exclusively with the expansion of African trading activity and involvement in commerce, Swahili-Arab penetration of the East African interior, trade routes and the social and political effects of the Swahili-Arab impact in East Africa, and pays little attention to changes in economic modes of production, to the social and economic structure of East African societies or to some themes favoured in the historical research of the 1970s, namely intellectual history, technology and its effects, the impact of ecology on history, etc.

And yet, it is an important and valuable work. All the contributors have succeeded in summarizing current knowledge and interpretations of African autochthonous historical developments in this particular period and provided us with a most useful synthesis of current historiography, a sort of synthesis of work in progress. Particularly valuable are the bibliographical essays and selected bibliographies for each chapter, and the index. The maps are also excellent aids and are beautifully done.

There is no doubt, that until the *General History of Africa* appears, the *Cambridge History of Africa* will remain a standard reference work for the history of Africa, for interested readers and researchers alike.

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*Istoriya natsionalno-osvoboditelnoi borby narodov Afriki v novoe vremya* (History of the national-liberation struggle of African peoples in modern times). Moscow, Nauka Publishing House 1976. 636 pp., 2 maps.

Gone are the times when the primary task of African historians was to establish the existence of African history as a subject. Revolution in the study of African history in the last twenty or so years has led to an enormous increase in African publishing. African historiography has recorded an enormous quantitative and qualitative progress. The amount of lost historical knowledge which has since been regained and the stock of the results so far achieved are impressive and continue to proliferate.

Anti-colonial resistance and national-liberation struggle were not at first listed among the main themes of African historiography. Although historians from the socialist countries had devoted attention to anti-colonial and national-liberation struggles in Africa for some time past, a mobilizing impetus for the processing of this theme in African historical writing in general and East African in particular came from the International Congress of Historians of Africa in Dar es Salaam in 1965.<sup>1</sup> It stimulated an extensive research in this field with noteworthy results, for it incidentally became the starting point for many favourable turns which have since taken place in East African and particularly in Tanzanian historical studies. The so-called African primary resistance and anti-colonial protest were proclaimed the emerging themes of African history and extensive research was started along the lines suggested by the Congress.

This new approach to the study of anti-colonial and national-liberation struggle of African peoples in African historical studies in the West as well as in Africa itself was necessitated by the progress of national-liberation movements as reflected in the process of decolonization. The very course of history — Africa's national emancipation in the late fifties and the early sixties, and the national revolts in southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau against the last forms of colonial rule directed the interest of Africanist historians to the process which had made possible recent events in Africa.

Throughout the 1960's the theme of resistance to the imposition and implementa-

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to Ranger, T. O. (Ed.): *Emerging Themes of African History*. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968, pp. xvii—xviii. Also see Davidson, A. B.: *African Resistance and Rebellion against the Imposition of Colonial Rule*, *ibid.*, pp. 177—188 for a Marxist periodization of anti-colonial and national-liberation struggle in Africa.

tion of colonial rule was central to African historical studies and especially to studies of East and Central Africa. It was closely associated with the works of Professor T. O. Ranger and the Dar school of nationalist historiography. Characteristic for the interpretative apparatus of the nationalist school was an overt recognition of the relevance of the anti-colonial resistance of the 19th and the early twentieth centuries for the modern national-liberation movement and a continuity of early protest through the colonial period, thus linking these early forms of protest with the later African nationalism and the wars of liberation of the mid-twentieth century. The triumphal achievement of political independence by "national parties" was seen as the culmination of a process going back early in the century.

Interest in the theme of resistance and protest culminated in the West with the publication of the massive volume edited by A. Mazrui and R. I. Rotberg.<sup>2</sup> Since then the nationalist interpretation of African anti-colonial resistance and the interpretative apparatus of the nationalist school have been questioned, interest in the theme in the West and in Africa itself has to some extent faded and historians are urged to turn from the current approaches to the study of topics of greater contemporary relevance, particularly the problem of Africa's underdevelopment.<sup>3</sup>

The work under review is the first of the two volumes of a major collective study on African resistance and protest written jointly by the Soviet, German and Polish historians of Africa. The editorial board composed of N. A. Ivanov, A. S. Orlova, V. A. Subbotin and M. Yu. Frenkel (the editor in chief) and assisted by sixteen contributors — two from the G. D. R., two from Poland and the rest from the three Institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences — Oriental, of the General History and Africa Institute — attempt to examine the most variegated forms of resistance to colonial conquest and rebellions against imperial governance as well as other forms of protest — religious, political and economic expressions of discontent, the literary forms of protest in African press, the emergence of working class movement and of political parties, the origins of African nationalism and African socialism.

The first volume of this work of synthesis covers the early period of the anti-colonial struggle between 1640 and 1918, the main emphasis being laid on the events of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries — the period of the

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<sup>2</sup> Rotberg, R. I.—Mazrui, A. A. (Eds): *Protest and Power in Black Africa*. New York, Oxford University Press 1970.

<sup>3</sup> For an attack at the nationalist school see Denoon, D.—Kuper, A.: *Nationalist Historians in Search of a Nation*. In: *African Affairs*, 69, 1970, No. 277, pp. 329—349. Also Steinhart, E. I.: *The Nyangire Rebellion in Bunyoro, 1907: Anti-Colonial Resistance and Nationalism*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, XII, 1976, Bratislava, Veda, Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, pp. 43—61 for an examination of the nationalist interpretation of African resistance.

Changes in methodology and research priorities of African historiography and demands for new, more relevant approaches are discussed by Ranger, T. O.: *Towards a Usable African Past*. In: Fyfe, Chr. (Ed.): *African Studies Since 1945. A Tribute to Basil Davidson*. London, Longman 1976, pp. 17—30.



colonial conquest and partition of the continent, of the colonial wars and anti-colonial rebellions, of incipient forms of political protest and nationalist ideology.

The massive work is organized into three portions and the approach is regional, the basic line of description proceeding according to different territories from North Africa, through Tropical Africa — Sudan, Ethiopia, Somaliland, West, Central and East Africa, up to the southern part of the continent and Madagascar, though within the greater part of the work covering tropical Africa topical arrangement sometimes supplements geographical approach. The first part dealing with North Africa contains five country-by-country studies, Part II, Countries of Tropical Africa, ten studies discussing the military, diplomatic and political struggle of African peoples against the British, French, Portuguese and Belgian colonial occupation, and the last three studies of Part III survey the resistance and protest in South Africa, Namibia and Madagascar.

The book under review begins with a twenty-one page-long authoritative introduction attempting to formulate a Marxist-Leninist theory of resistance and a typology of national-liberation movement in African conditions. It gives a broad political, economic and historical account of African societies, their political institutions and specificities of their social structure at the time of the scramble, a brief survey of slavery and slave trade, colonial expansion and partition of Africa, the help of the international working class movement to national-liberation struggle in Africa, and last but not least, it attempts to discuss the concept of resistance and formulate a typology of national-liberation movement in African conditions.

To establish a scheme of analysis and construct a taxonomy of national-liberation movement in Africa, the authors have kept to the social and class principle and concentrated on factors making for resistance and protest, such as social basis of each anti-colonial movement, individuals or social groups leading the movement and its aims. Having arrived at a particular definition of the concept of resistance or national-liberation movement and drawing on these factors, they constructed three taxonomic categories of national-liberation movement in Africa.

A stress is being laid on the use of the term national-liberation which is, however, introduced as a political, not ethnographical, concept and a tool for analysis of various forms of resistance. Different forms and stages of African national-liberation struggle correspond to different stages of African history; from resistance of the first type — African attempts to prevent colonial domination, mass peasant movements led by traditional leaders, after the military defeat often transformed into new forms of active and passive resistance to economic, political and spiritual colonization, through the so-called native churches, mass movements often of a millenarian character and embryonic forms of political organizations which favoured the emergence of the rudiments of national and political consciousness and occupied transitional position between earlier African forms of resistance in the pre-1917 period and the new forces of resistance categorized as resistance of the second type

— various urban and welfare organizations, organized working class movements and political organizations of a new type usually led by the national intelligentsia and bourgeois elements in the inter-war period, to the national-liberation movements of the third type after World War II aimed at the complete destruction of colonial régimes and complete liberation of colonial territories. Though resistance took different forms in different parts of Africa at different stages of its history, all these forms of resistance while differing in tactics and levels of political consciousness and drawing upon existing institutions where possible or inventing new ones where necessary, demonstrated the African efforts to resist colonialism. The tradition of resistance (here the concerns of the so-called nationalist historians and Marxist historians have been very similar if not identical<sup>4</sup>) established by primary resistance provided inspiration for later, more successful, forms of resistance.

Breadth and balance are the most salient features of this volume. All the contributions are well-written and of equal competence. Without exception, the twenty authors have succeeded in summarizing and assessing current knowledge of African anti-colonial resistance (the authors had to rely on secondary sources) and provided us with a Marxist view of African refusals to submit to colonialism. Especially valuable are the introduction and an epilogue exposing the main principles of the Marxist approach to the study and interpretation of the national-liberation struggle in African conditions.

Each regional study has a separate bibliography and there is also an index of proper names and place-names as well as two maps showing the struggle of African peoples against colonial occupation in the 19th and the early 20th centuries and the imperial partition of Africa between 1876—1914.

The publication of this volume is a welcome contribution to the study of the subject and one of the best works of the rich Soviet Africanist production.

Viera Pawliková

*Govoryat afrikanskie istoriki* (African Historians Talking). In: Biblioteka zarubezhnoi afrikanistiki (Library of foreign African studies). Moscow, Nauka 1977. 155 pp.

African Historians Talking is a selection of eight studies written by the same number of African historians on various aspects of the African past, published in

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<sup>4</sup> A recent study of resistance not using the interpretative apparatus of the nationalist school which attempts to develop a new interpretation of resistance linking early African forms of resistance with later efforts and more successful wars of liberation of the mid-nineteenth century is Isaacman, A. F.: *The Tradition of Resistance in Mozambique: The Zambezi Valley, 1850—1921*. London, Heinemann Educational Books 1976.

a Russian translation in the series Library of Foreign African Studies under the editorship of Dr. V. A. Subbotin and an editorial board. It thus seems to be directed primarily to the Russian-speaking Africanist readership in the Soviet Union and European socialist countries who may appreciate having the analyses, interpretations and conclusions of prominent African scholars on certain aspects of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries history of Africa brought together, commented from the Marxist point of view and presented in such an easily available form.

Included are works by African authors written in the sixties and seventies when the current of decolonization had already swept most of the continent and called forth a new approach to the study of African history. The new presentation of African history which has come into existence in the last twenty or so years resulted in a novel and sometimes even diametrically different assessment and interpretation of certain aspects and periods of the African past. New centres of historical research have been formed in Africa and the number of African academic historians has significantly increased. Their attitudes, insights and questionings have begun to shape the growth of African historical research and the present and future direction of African historical studies research and interpretation, and their writings assert the growing centrality of African scholarship in the development of African history.

The rapid advance of African historical scholarship and its achievements in research and reinterpretation of African history have naturally attracted the attention of those specialists whose main interests lie with the history of Africa. Approaching the study of African history from the patriotic and nationalistic position, African historians seek arguments enabling them to pursue a reappraisal of the evidence and its interpretation set in motion by other scholars. Moreover, to achieve a new synthesis, they attempt to bring in new sources of evidence, such as oral traditions and evidence gathered during their own field researches, material from African territorial archives and written sources of African provenance.

This one-volume collection of eight studies opens with J. F. Ade Ajayi's Survey of the Cultural and Political Regions of Africa at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, originally published in *Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries*<sup>1</sup> and attempting to define the main characteristics of the development of African societies. Then there follows Joseph Ki-Zerbo's *L'invasion du continent: L'Afrique arrachée aux Africains* (Invasion of the Continent: Africa Grabbed from the Africans), which is actually the ninth chapter of his *Histoire de l'Afrique Noire. D'Hier à Demain*<sup>2</sup> and describes African resistance against the European conquest of Africa in the nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Ajayi, J. F. A.: A Survey of the Cultural and Political Regions of Africa at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. In: Anene, J. C.—Brown, G. N. (Eds): *Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Ibadan—London 1966, pp. 75—90.

<sup>2</sup> Ki-Zerbo, Joseph: *Histoire de l'Afrique Noire. D'Hier à Demain*. Paris, Librairie A. Hatier 1972, pp. 401—428.

The chapter selected from W. Okumu's book *Lumumba's Congo. Roots of Conflict*<sup>3</sup> covers the period of King Leopold's rule in Congo, 1885—1908 and describes the system of "red rubber" and the atrocities committed on Africans during the existence of the Congo Free State.

The Story of Segregation comes from the book *South Africa. The Peasant's Revolt*<sup>4</sup> by the South African journalist, politician, freedom fighter and member of the banned South African Communist Party G. Mbeki who was sentenced to life imprisonment shortly after the publication of his book.

The next two contributions from the pen of two notable East African historians, Professor B. A. Ogot and Dr M. S. M. Kiwanuka, discussing Kenya and Uganda under the British rule, were published as Chapters 13 and 15 in the very successful *Zamani. A Survey of East African History*.<sup>5</sup>

As the title of his contribution suggests, M. Sahli in the Introduction and Epilogue, taken from his book *Décoloniser l'histoire*,<sup>6</sup> calls for a decolonization of Algerian history and finally G. M. Hassanein examines Basic features of class structure in Egypt before the revolution in July 1952.

Those interested in African history and not familiar with the original works may find this collection useful, especially the long epilogue by V. A. Subbotin analysing all the materials included. There is also a short French summary.

Viera Pawliková

Roberts, Simon A. (Ed.): *Law and the Family in Africa*. Paris — The Hague, Mouton 1977. 267 pp.

The essays included in this symposium originated in papers presented at the Seminar "New Directions in African Family Law" held in Leiden under the auspices of the Africa-Studiecentrum in autumn 1974. Thanks to the care of the same institution some of the papers originally presented at the Seminar were brought together and published in the series *Change and Continuity in Africa*.

It was perhaps for the first time that legal anthropologists and lawyers met to discuss the areas of possible collaboration and of common interest. Till then neither lawyers nor anthropologists writing on different aspects of marriage and family law

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<sup>3</sup> Okumu, W.: *Lumumba's Congo. Roots of Conflict*. New York 1963, pp. 5—20.

<sup>4</sup> Mbeki, G.: *South Africa. The Peasant's Revolt*. Harmondsworth (Middlesex) 1964, pp. 23—31.

<sup>5</sup> Ogot, B. A.: *Kenya Under the British, 1895 to 1963*. In: Ogot, B. A.—Kiernan, J. A. (Eds): *Zamani. A Survey of East African History*. London, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd. 1968, New Edition East African Publishing House, Nairobi and Longman Group Ltd. 1974, pp. 249—294; Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *Uganda Under the British*. In: *Zamani*, op. cit., pp. 314—345.

<sup>6</sup> Sahli, M.: *Décoloniser l'histoire*. Paris 1965, pp. 11—15, 137—145.

in Africa had been deeply concerned with problems and forms of legal pluralism which, however, have been clearly identified as an area demanding intensive research. While lawyers have been chiefly interested in the national legal systems of contemporary African states usually composed of a variety of indigenous ethnic groups with differing cultures and social organization, anthropologists as a rule studied legal institutions of a single ethnic group. Beyond legal institutions of indigenous ethnic groups of which the state is made up and which often differ among themselves, lies the national legal system introduced during the colonial period, and subsequently retained in a more or less modified form. Various ethnic groups and different sectors of the society to which the co-existing systems of law are applicable, élites, rural communities and urban groupings, pursue different life-styles and subscribe to different values and legal order. The points where the national legal system intersected with the systems of the ethnic groups making up the modern nation state were seldom studied by either of the disciplines. Thus, since lawyers took legislation and the rules derived from the superior courts as the subject of their investigations and anthropologists focused their research on the sustained observation of the regularities of everyday life and of instances of dispute within a given single ethnic group or even a section of such group, their paths rarely crossed during the 1950s and 1960s and the complementary skills of the respective disciplines were never combined in research. Though the possibility of a fruitful collaboration between anthropologists and lawyers in studying marriage and the family in Africa was aptly demonstrated, vast differences of training and objective still led members of the respective disciplines to pursue very different interests.

The Leiden Seminar was primarily designed to check this wasteful failure to co-operate and the separate pursuit of such contrasting programmes of research and instead to suggest new research goals, to shift the focus of research on hitherto inadequately investigated aspects of legal pluralism and to formulate appropriate methodologies for their investigation. The relationship between institutions of the indigenous small-scale societies and those of the larger nation states within which they find themselves, the ways in which disputes are handled in the context of a plural legal system and those in which litigants choose between various dispute settlement agencies provided by these different systems, were identified as areas of possible collaboration and of common interest.

Thus, research was focused on "the litigant's perspective" and the element of choice present to him through the availability of agencies located in different legal system, discussed, for example, in Lowy's paper Establishing paternity and demanding child support in a Ghanaian town or by van Binsbergen in his Law in the context of Nkoya society. The same point is implicit in Emile and Els van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal's contribution *To claim or not to claim: changing views about the restitution of marriage prestations among the Anufòm in Northern Togo*.

Richard Canter's study *Family dispute settlement and the Zambian judiciary*:

local-level legal adaptation also reflects this interest in dispute settlement agencies, such as the Local Courts, operating on the periphery of the two legal systems.

The papers of A. B. Kasunnu and Akilagpa Sawyerr dealing with *Economic consequences of divorce: a case study of some judicial decisions in Lagos* and with *Judicial manipulation of customary family law in Tanzania* respectively, betray a shift in the research focus from the formal analysis of legal rules in favour of an investigation of judicial values. Johan Pauwels and Simon Roberts both discuss and reject the relevance and validity of concepts drawn from western jurisprudence to modern African law and to comprehension and description of marriage-type relationships in indigenous African societies.

The remaining five papers adopted a more conventional approach to legal pluralism and were confined to the formal analysis of law and legal systems, such as Okay Achike's examination of the creation and dissolution of customary marriages under the various legal systems in Nigeria, W. C. Ekow Daniels' discussion of *The effect of marriage on the status of children in Ghana*, Wolf Bleek's consideration of marriage in Kwahu or the last two papers in this collection written by Sebastian Poulter on *The Choice of law dilemma in Lesotho: some criteria for decision making in family law* and by Barbara E. Harrell-Bond and Ulrica Rijnsdorp on *The emergence of the 'stranger-permit marriage' and other new forms of conjugal union in rural Sierra Leone*.

As the Editor very correctly states in his competently written Introduction, this volume provides "a fair guide to the kinds of research presently being undertaken in this field", but despite the title given to the Leiden Seminar, says little about law reform or legal development in Africa, and none of the papers presented dealt explicitly with this subject.

Viera Pawliková

Denyer, Susan: *African Traditional Architecture. An Historical and Geographical Perspective*. London, Heinemann 1978. 210 pp. Illustrations, maps.

In the bibliography of works on African arts, the paucity of works on African traditional architecture and folk-building stood, until recently, in glaring contrast to the abundance of books on other art forms, such as sculpture or music.<sup>1</sup> Also, while some African art forms, especially sculpture and music, have deeply influenced Western art, African contribution in the sphere of architecture has been nil.

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<sup>1</sup> One of the recent works on the subject is Gardi, R.: *Indigenous African Architecture*, 1974, not referred to in the book under review. Also Oliver, P. (Ed.): *Shelter in Africa*. London 1971. Most studies are, however, thematically and geographically limited.

In this regard Susan Denyer's book is a very useful contribution to the study of the subject. It is in fact the first general introduction to the vernacular architecture of Africa published so far, which attempts to classify African building and relate its forms to ecological and historical factors.

The approach is of necessity interdisciplinary. The book claims to cover the whole of mainland Africa south of about 15° N, an area inhabited by over a thousand different peoples or "tribes", and "the aim is to describe and discuss not only the 'finished products', that is, the forms and groupings, but also the social, economic and environmental features associated with their production. Where possible details of materials and techniques are also given" (pp. 2—3).

The illustrations and their captions are intended to be as important as the text and are used as evidence to establish and reinforce a conceptual framework. There are in fact some 329 illustrations, photographs and drawings, selected from a wide variety of sources to document distinctive building characteristics and record Africa's rich architectural heritage. Traditional architecture in Africa was a society's solution to its habitation problems. The houses erected by a particular society were in a style which had been communally worked out over several generations and consequently were closely tailored to the needs of its people (p. 4). The book is also meant to defy notions of a homogeneous material culture throughout the continent as well as the widespread tendency to generalize from a very narrow base of experience. The wide diversity of styles illustrated in this book clearly demonstrates the falseness of the common theory maintaining that the continent was originally covered with round houses, since a circular plan may be 'a sign of nature's rhythm', and only under the influence of foreign contacts these were gradually giving way to rectangular ones. As Susan Denyer puts it: "This idea, together with the associated notion that the metamorphosis represents 'development' from a primitive to a more advanced state, has received such powerful advocacy over a period of almost 250 years that it has now to a large extent been accepted as true both by Africans and by non-Africans" (p. 159). This work shows that most styles were very specific to local conditions, cannot be satisfactorily explained simply by foreign, Portuguese or Islamic influences, and should rather be thought of as a complex interweaving of many different ideas. The emergence of any one house style was probably due to a fusion of ideas from within and without. Truly, the exceptional variety of Africa's building styles, techniques and forms demonstrated by this valuable collection is surprising even to an Africanist.

The book is organized into ten parts, including a short introduction, each followed with an illustration section. In the second section the characteristics of rural settlements are examined. The following section on States and Towns covers the urban architecture and planning in the West African Sudan Zone, the Forest Zone of West Africa, on the Coast of East Africa, in Inland East Africa and in Central Africa.

While Section Four attempts to provide a survey of sacred, ceremonial and

community buildings, Section Five describes defensive arrangements adopted by traditional African societies. Section Six, on the building process, assesses different techniques and traditional methods of construction in tropical Africa and gives valuable details on various materials, such as mud, vegetable materials or stone, on various techniques for preparing the material for building, as well as the construction process. Particularly invaluable is Analysis of Materials and Technology, the four pages of drawings documenting different construction techniques used at building walls and roofs.

Section Seven discusses African architectural decoration, various designs, styles and decorative motifs which are well illustrated by the drawings on pp. 120—121.

Perhaps most important are, however, the following two sections — A Taxonomy of House Forms and The Distribution of Styles that embody some of the author's principal conclusions on African architectural forms and styles and their distribution. In constructing each category — Sudanese Style, Impluvial Style, Hill Style and Beehive Style, emphasis is placed on historical and ecological factors to support carefully worked out and formulated conclusions and hypotheses. One such plausible alternative hypothesis, that challenges and contradicts the theories of foreign influence and migrationist interpretations, explains the Sudanese style as an urban one, rather than a Muslim one. The arguments for and details of such tentative ideas are convincingly and painstakingly argued and can be proved valid by more detailed research.

The remaining section on The Impact of Modernization points to the sweeping changes of traditional life and culture over the last century and the rapid decay of the traditional architectural styles.

*African Traditional Architecture* is a seminal effort, it is a breakthrough in terms of insights and articulation of the tremendous wealth and variety of Africa's building styles and forms. With its valuable collection of more than 300 illustrations it is perhaps so far the most important book dealing with African folk architecture that significantly contributes to the task of documentation. Traditional architecture of Africa is one of the important, though so far neglected aspects of Africa's cultural heritage. Architects who are turning to vernacular architecture for inspiration have not as yet discovered African traditional architecture. Against this background, Susan Denyer's work emerges as a meaningful event: it is, hopefully, a signal that a necessary correction may come and African vernacular architecture will gain the attention of African, and not only African, architects and the recognition it deserves.

Viera Pawliková



the Society for the Study of Human Biology. Volume 16. London, Taylor and Francis Ltd. 1977. 200 pp.

In 1966 when the symposium organized by the British Ecological Society and the Society for the Study of Human Biology was held on the theme of the interaction of man with the natural environment in the tropics, ecology or human ecology still belonged to emerging themes and "the idea that man might be studied as part of an ecosystem was somewhat novel". Scientists from several quite diverse fields who had worked in the tropics, namely plant and animal ecologists, those concerned with human and animal diseases, physical and social anthropologists, were thus brought together by their common interest in the natural environment and the environmental constraints to which man is subject in the tropics.

Participants in the symposium and the contributors to this volume covered a broad range of topics that in the years since 1966 have lost nothing of their relevance and importance. Nevertheless, three new chapters have been added to the volume and the original papers were up-dated in the light of subsequent research. Of the ten contributions all stressing the importance of the study of a total environment and the need to understand man's relationship with an ecosystem, only the first one deals with peoples other than African — the land use and social organization of tropical forest peoples of the Guianas, the Akawaio and Waiyana Indians and the Boni Bush Negroes, descendants of African refugee slaves from the coast plantations in the eighteenth century.

The following three contributions by G. B. Masfield, former Provincial Agricultural Officer for the Buganda kingdom of Uganda, R. P. Moss and W. P. Morgan and R. W. J. Keay attempt to understand man's relationship with an ecosystem as revealed by his various efforts to obtain food by growing crops and rearing animals, to demonstrate some aspects of the relationship between soils, plants and farmers, the effect of man on soil-plant systems and the ecological perception of the indigenous cultivators in satisfying their economic ends, or to suggest the vital role played by the forest ecosystems in economic development and their extensive interaction with economic factors which have a major influence on the landscape as man's habitat.

Then there follows a broad survey of the problems of health in the tropics by W. L. Barton and D. L. Ingram's study of man's physiological reactions to heat and of fundamental physiological problems of life in a hot climate. A. M. Thompson's report based on a field research in Keneba, Gambia, and integrating nutritional, agricultural and sociological aspects, gives a brief sketch of the development of young children in the small West African village and of the major causes of their high mortality rate and impaired growth.

Perhaps most interesting and revealing to historians of Africa, some of whom have recently taken an interest in African ecological history and adopted an ecological

approach that “makes it possible to delineate the parameters within which man and physical resources interact, and to explore the great variety of types of interaction”,<sup>1</sup> are the two following studies — *The Ecology of African Schistosomiasis* by C. A. Wright and *Interactions between Human Societies and Various Trypanosome-Tsetse-Wild Fauna Complexes* by J. Ford — dealing with the ecological relationships between man and two major tropical diseases. J. Ford’s major study of the role of the tsetse fly in human ecology in tropical Africa<sup>2</sup> showing “how the spread of agriculture led to the creation of cleared and settled lands separated by virgin territory, where fauna and their disease-bearing parasites lived, how maintaining a certain density of population, cultivation and livestock was necessary for containing the natural eco-system, and how this ecological balance was upset by European conquest and by migration”,<sup>3</sup> has been highly praised as “one of the principal starting points for research into African ecological history”<sup>4</sup> and stimulated some African historians, namely John Iliffe, to pursue some of the topics noted here. Also in the present study Ford, while showing the complex ecology of trypanosomiasis studied in the light of the catastrophic epidemics and epizootics which followed the European invasion, describes the interaction between the trypanosome-tsetse-wild fauna ecosystem and the surrounding human communities in southern Busoga in Uganda and compares it with four other interactions. Similarly, Wright studies the ecology of schistosomiasis or bilharziasis and the ecological relationship between man, the schistosomes parasitic and vectors of disease with an intention of suggesting practical measures to control and eradicate the disease.

In the last paper D. Turton examines the way in which the mode of subsistence and the social and economic organization of transhumant pastoralists and cultivators, the Mursi of Ethiopia, are adapted to the exploitation of a marginal and isolated environment. He is especially concerned with a situation when, during a period of extreme hardship, this rational adaptation was upset and the Mursi had to respond to severe drought and famine conditions, the worst in living memory, such as have afflicted the Sahel region of Africa and similar semi-arid regions in the last few years. The study dealing with the social and health effects of drought and extreme food shortage on the Mursi thus assumes great practical importance.

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<sup>1</sup> See Hopkins, A. G.: *Clio-Antics: A Horoscope for African Economic History*, p. 36. In: Fyfe, Christopher (Ed.): *African Studies Since 1945. A Tribute to Basil Davidson*. London, Longman Group Ltd. 1976.

<sup>2</sup> Ford, J. *The Role of the Trypanosomiasis in African Ecology: A Study of the Tsetse-Fly Problem*. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1971.

<sup>3</sup> See Hopkins, A. G.: *Clio-Antics: A Horoscope for African Economic History*, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. A natural temptation for a historian of Africa would be to apply the ecological approach to the study of a mutual interdependence between migrations, conquests and ecological change in pre-colonial period. An extension of this theme would be to investigate the relationships between migrations and patterns of drought and famine as the cause of ecological change.

*Human Ecology in the Tropics*, the second edition of this collection of papers on the interaction of man with the natural environment (the first one was published in 1969 by Pergamon Press), testifies to the growing interest in certain themes in human ecology, ecological history and change, and indicates the importance of such research topics for specialists from various fields, historians of Africa included.

Viera Pawliková

Porgès, Laurence: *Bibliographie des régions du Sénégal. Complément pour la période des origines à 1965 et mise à jour 1966—1973*. Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique. Paris—La Haye, Mouton 1977. 637 p., une carte.

Cet énorme travail est le deuxième volume d'une bibliographie analytique spécialisée sur les régions du Sénégal. Le premier volume achevé en 1967 et publié en 1969 par le Ministère du Plan et du Développement du Sénégal concerne la période allant des origines à 1965; la période couverte par le deuxième s'étale de 1966 à 1973, et ce volume aussi complète le précédent pour les références non localisées en 1966. Les textes publiés avant 1966 qui avaient été omis dans la précédente bibliographie et ont pu être localisés, sont également cités et analysés dans le volume présent.

Il y a une introduction détaillée indiquant au lecteur la méthode de travail mise en œuvre et les règles d'utilisation de la bibliographie, mais dans cette introduction le fait régional au Sénégal est aussi présenté, ainsi que les principales caractéristiques et localisation des sources consultées et du contenu des références régionales. Après, il y a sept chapitres régionales, chacune comprenant une introduction, des rapports périodiques concernant la région et des références.

Deux index facilitent l'utilisation de cette bibliographie. Le premier classe les références par auteur et comprend aussi, outre les personnes physiques, les instituts de recherche, les sociétés d'études, les directions ministérielles etc. qui ont élaboré ou financé les recherches. Le second, un index de matières et un index géographique très détaillé, répartit les références par sujet et en fonction de critères géographiques.

Une carte des régions administratives de 1965 complète utilement l'ouvrage.

Cette bibliographie rétrospective ne comprend que les références concernant les régions; les ouvrages généraux sur le Sénégal n'ont pas été retenus malgré leur intérêt, mais chaque référence a été localisée et analysée. Le mérite du travail de Laurence Porgès est donc d'avoir réuni et classé plus de quatre mille références: ouvrages publiés, littérature non conventionnelle et articles de revue, classées par région, de 1966 à 1973, un total de 3594 titres, plus les 533 références antérieures à 1966 recueillies pour le présent travail. Tel quel, c'est déjà un précieux instrument de travail pour les régions du Sénégal, qui présente à tous les spécialistes du Sénégal

ainsi qu'à toute personne s'intéressant au Sénégal, un état dévaillé des sources disponibles sur les régions du Sénégal, essentiellement dans ce pays et en France.

Viera Pawliková

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.

Bounded on one side by the East African coast between Kilwa and the mouth of the Zambezi river, the area which this study covers lies north of the Zambezi and includes what is today southern Tanzania, northern Mozambique, Malawi and north-eastern Zambia. The chronological range of this study extends from the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498 until about 1850. Within this chronological range it focuses on African activities in the framework of international trade which began to penetrate East Central Africa from about 1400 and became particularly intensive and widespread during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or more specifically, on the roles played first by the Maravi and then by the Yao and Makua within the system of international trade in East Central Africa.

Dr. Alpers' book originally began as a thesis submitted to the University of London in 1965 and bore the much different title of *The role of the Yao in the development of trade in East Central Africa, 1698—c. 1850*. While the original thesis shared the predominant assumptions of the mid-1960s and regarded the pre-colonial Yao trade as a demonstration of positive African initiative and a verification of the role which Africans played in making their own history, the author's present argument is "that the changing patterns of international trade in East Central Africa during these centuries, including the initiatives taken by Africans themselves, must be set within the context of the historical roots of underdevelopment in Africa" (p. xvi). Though, as he argues, "in the long run, of course, the main architect of Africa's underdevelopment was, and remains, Western capitalism" . . . (p. 265), . . . "the historical roots of underdevelopment in East Central Africa must be sought in the system of international trade which was established by Arabs by the thirteenth century, seized and extended by the Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, dominated by Indians in the eighteenth century, and finally commanded by a complex admixture of Indian, Arab, and Western capitalisms in the nineteenth century" (p. 267).

Thus we are told in Chapter Eight, embodying some of the author's principal conclusions on International Trade in the History of East Central Africa, that "the international trading economies of the Maravi, Makua, and Yao (to take only the peoples whose histories have dominated this book) were excessively dependent

upon the foreign markets that brought them into being" (p. 265) . . . and whilst "the Yao and others showed themselves to be resourceful and adaptable traders within the system of international trade in East Central Africa, still they were in no ways masters of that system" . . . and "such adaptations as were made in response to the international market were virtually all connected with the exploitation of either the human or natural resources of the country for export" (pp. 265—6). For centuries trade was conducted adversely for Africans, there was no mutually advantageous exchange of manufactured products and, especially in the case of the slave trade, no compensatory exchange of technology for the debilitating depletion of the African working force, and no possible way of rectifying the cruel distortions which the slave trade induced in the fabric of African societies. Instead, argues Dr. Alpers, "all that Africans received in exchange for ivory and slaves and the other raw materials of the continent were luxury items, inexpensive consumable goods, and Western means of destruction which were always inferior to those which Europeans maintained for their own use" (p. 266). As a consequence, emphasizes Professor Alpers, "the multiplier effects of this trade did nothing to promote either economic development or social equality in African societies" (ibid.) and the profits of the trade just put more wealth in the hands of a few individuals who build up upon it their own personal or dynastic power.

All this is argued against the detailed history of trade demonstrating the various factors which led to the integration of this particular area into the larger Indian ocean economic system. Professor Alpers meticulously sifted myriads of facts pieced together from fragmentary and basically rather limited materials found in the archives of Portugal, India, France, England, Italy, Spain, Tanzania and the United States and supplemented them with recent anthropological and historical works such as Yohannah Abdallah's history of the Yao or Nancy Hafkin's unpublished thesis on *Trade, Society and Politics in Northern Mozambique, c. 1753—1913*<sup>1</sup> and some oral data to draw a picture of the Yao and the Makua-Lomwe entrepreneurial skills. This contribution to the studies in pre-colonial African trade helpfully clarifies many points and demonstrates convincingly the commercial acumen of the Yao and their neighbours who expanded their previous trading and social patterns to participate in the transport of ivory, copper, slaves and Maravi iron and cloth handicrafts down to the coast and manufactured goods from the coast back to the interior. The study is organized principally as a narrative analysis of changes in the commercial history of East Central Africa over the course of some four centuries during which the staple of African trade changed from gold to ivory to slaves and with the shifting fortunes of

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<sup>1</sup> See Abdallah, Yohannah B.: *The Yaos*. Arranged, edited, and translated by M. Sanderson. Zomba 1919; Hafkin, Nancy Jane: *Trade, Society, and Politics in Northern Mozambique, c. 1753—1913*. Ph. D. thesis, Boston University, 1973. Also some other Ph. D. dissertations, see Sources. Unpublished manuscripts, pp. 270—271.

the coastal towns and cities, with the decline or growth of Mombasa, Gedi, Kilwa, Sima, Chaoueni, Zanzibar, Ibo or Quelimane, corresponded changes in the movement of inland caravans and the coming and going of the main mercantile nations involved in the trade of the Indian ocean, Arabs, Indians, Portuguese and French. The Portuguese intervention in 1505 destroyed Kilwa's wealth and prosperity based on the gold of Sofala. Kilwa's fortunes, however, gradually revived and by the end of the seventeenth century there was a thriving, well-organized long-distance international trade in ivory between Yaoland and Kilwa. The next two centuries saw two major redirections in the flow of ivory to the coast. The fall of Mombasa and Kilwa into the hands of the Omani Arabs in December 1698 brought about the shift of the ivory trade south to Mozambique where Indian merchants provided the Yao with the goods they wanted. However, a century later the pattern was again reversed, the ivory trade on the Kilwa coast was again revived and the Yao and other peoples of the interior began gradually to transfer most of their trade to the Kilwa coast. Thus, with the reaffirmation of Omani involvement in East Africa and the Indian investments in Zanzibar, the elements of the nineteenth century long-distance trading system were established. The traders of Mozambique, on the other hand, tried to sustain the decline in the ivory trade and the removal of Yao trade away from Tete and Mozambique to Kilwa and Zanzibar by channelling more of their capital into the trade in slaves. This process was effected initially and most effectively during the last quarter of the eighteenth century at Mozambique, while at Kilwa ivory still continued to dominate the international trade, but there were also signs of the growth of the slave trade and of the expanded role which slaves were to play in the trade of Kilwa and the Yao after 1810.

This is the framework which Dr. Alpers filled with carefully selected material and provided an admirably rounded and detailed account of the rise of the Yao and Makua-Lomwe trade in response to Swahili and Portuguese stimulus. The most important assets of this meticulously produced book are the general sophistication and the exemplary and imaginative approach and use of the exceptionally difficult sources. It does not provide only a coherent and detailed account of the economic history of southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique and their hinterland, but also contributed a suggestive and provocative theory, though unfortunately argued at greater length elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> to the ensuing debate over the origins of African underdevelopment.

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<sup>2</sup> E.g. Alpers, Edward: *Re-thinking African Economic History: a contribution to the discussion of the roots of underdevelopment*. Ufahamu, III, 3, 1973, pp. 97—129.

Thompson, Leonard: *Survival in Two Worlds. Moshoeshoe of Lesotho 1786—1870*. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1975. 389 pp., maps, plates.

The period covered by this study was in South Africa as elsewhere a revolutionary era in terms of the formation of new states, the ethnic fusions which were taking place and the local political upheavals which often led to the shift in the local balance of power. This was, however, also the period when the impact of European presence and interference started to create problems and when African leaders of the time had to deal with their paramount problem, the European penetration and conquest of African societies.

Moshoeshoe or Moshesh, as his name is sometimes simplified and spelt, belongs to those African leaders of stature who, through their outstanding capacities and activities, have most significantly influenced the history of nineteenth century Africa. The book under review is primarily a biographical account of Moshoeshoe who "had emerged as the leader of the southern Sotho during the 1820s, when their political system of small, autonomous, segmentary chiefdoms was smashed by the Nguni invasions. The system he then created was a reconstruction of the traditional order, with two innovations: the kingship itself as a new top tier, and the placement of his kinsmen as territorial chiefs over the heads of all other lineages (except in the outer marches)" (pp. 216—217). Though this system had become partially stabilized by the 1850s, still the state that Moshoeshoe had created depended too much on his active leadership, political skill and the respect and personal influence he commanded among his kinsmen and chiefs, and not enough on durable, binding institutions. Moshoeshoe was not unaware of the serious limitations of his system of government and of the danger of its disintegration after his death and thought of the ways to improve his system of government through creating a central administration and a centralized army. Moreover, having succeeded in welding the Basotho together from the remnants of the different clans and chiefdoms that had been made refugees in the *lifaqane* wars in the early 1820s, Moshoeshoe found himself caught up in the wider British-Boer conflict. This second phase of his career started after 1836, the year of the Great Trek. Thereafter until his death in 1870 this remarkable leader had to use all his outstanding skill in diplomacy as well as war to maintain his loosely structured kingdom and still imperfectly consolidated nation against the pressures from land-hungry trekboers and voortrekkers, and to preserve for his people as much territory, social cohesion and political autonomy as he could in the face of white expansionist imperialism. "... I am not wishing to fight with the Queen or any of her subjects, but only to protect my people from the aggression of the Free State Government, and I trust that my English neighbours will act towards them, and that they will not assist the boers openly or secretly to crush me, for all persons know that my great sin is that I possess a good and fertile country," proclaimed the old king in 1865, heavily pressed by the Free State aggression (pp. 277—278). Moshoeshoe's

kingdom had eventually suffered the lot of almost every African people and lost its independence, but by having his people in 1868 annexed by Britain Moshoeshoe in his last diplomatic coup had managed to secure the lesser of the two evils available to him. The existence of the now independent Lesotho totally encircled by the Republic of South Africa, is his legacy.

The subject of biography through which Professor Thompson approaches to explain the changing conditions in south-eastern Africa in the nineteenth century which were the background to Moshoeshoe's career, is a rewarding one. In Professor Ajayi's words "it highlights the subtle ways in which the circumstances and events of history shape personalities, and how strong personalities and leaders help to make history . . . Biography is a particularly fruitful introduction to the study of the history of any society, movement or period. It adds the perspective of the individual to the interest inherent in the confrontation of ideologies and events, and of chance and design. The impersonal forces and factors of history become meaningful in relation to a human being with whom the reader can all the more easily identify".<sup>1</sup> Drawing on the very impressive body of documentation collected in his bibliography, so far as both primary and secondary sources are concerned, as well as the impressive list of the principal informants consulted during his field researches, Professor Thompson has certainly achieved a fine synthesis of the evidence gathered from the readily available primary and secondary sources with sources that are not so easily available to other scholars and with the results of his own field researches. His attention to detail is remarkable and he evidently tried and managed to grasp and explain some obscure details and facts of Moshoeshoe's career and especially of Sesotho culture and history in pre-1833 period for which there are no eye-witness accounts written. Moshoeshoe grew up in the traditional society isolated from the wider world and it was not until 1833 when he was about forty-seven years old that the first white missionaries arrived in his kingdom. From then on until his death he had to grapple with the growing and ultimately overwhelming white expansion from the long-established colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The first chapter sketches Moshoeshoe's youth and Sesotho culture, history and social organization before the Shakan revolution. The origin of this revolution, the consequences of the Nguni invasions for the Basotho and the lifaqane wars are traced in Chapter Two. Then there follows a sensitive account of the whole story of the arrival of the first French Protestant missionaries and the initial impact of their work on Sesotho society. The following chapters IV, VI and VII deal largely with the responses of Moshoeshoe and his people to the growing encroachments of the British and Boers, with an analysis of the kingdom of Lesotho at its apogee in the mid-1850s in Chapter V. There is also a short

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<sup>1</sup> See *Leadership in 19th Century Africa*. Essays from Tarikh. Edited by Professor Obaro Ikime. Published for the Historical Society of Nigeria by Longman and in the United States by Humanities Press 1974. Foreword by J. F. Ade Ajayi, p. vii.



Epilogue on modern, independent Lesotho, a valuable discussion and a critical assessment of the source material in Additional Notes (pp. 331—337), Sources (pp. 338—341), and a meticulously prepared bibliography (pp. 341—362). Moreover, the book is equipped with Chronology, Genealogical Tables, Index, and very useful maps and tables.

Professor Thompson has made good use of the whole corpus of available sources and managed to produce a beautiful and well-balanced picture of this remarkable African leader and outstanding diplomat, politician and warrior, of his objectives, attitudes and problems within the wider south African and imperial context.

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