ASIAN AND AFRICAN

STUDIES

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ARTICLES

ORIENTAL PEOPLES' CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ITS ROLE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

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The present study discusses ways and means of the ideological struggle concerning the cultural heritage of the Oriental countries; it is an attempt at determining what in this cultural heritage is a living, creative strength and what reveals the development of the cultural advance. The study concentrates upon the attitudes of the cultural workers of different ideologico-aesthetic orientation to their own cultural heritage.

The treasure of spiritual, intellectual, cultural and material values, accumulated over several centuries, which forms the cultural heritage of the peoples of the East, does not belong to the past only. It is very much alive today, and is constantly making inroads into contemporaneity while influencing the socio-political, cultural and spiritual life of the countries of the East. The organic relationship between tradition and continuity is the most important differentiating feature of the entire historico-cultural process in the East.

Each epoch has its own level of production and social relations, its own artistic perception, advances new ideas, new tasks requiring renewal, critical reinterpretation, and creative development of long-standing traditions.

The relation between the traditional and the innovative acquires special actuality at turning points of history, when the progressive and retrograde elements in a country's cultural heritage stand out in bold relief. The cultural heritage of the East was reassessed and reinterpreted in the nineteenth century, at a time when the East was awakening to national consciousness and the national liberation movement was making its first steps. Religious and social reformers, progressive personalities in literature, education and the arts, drew on the cultural legacies of their peoples, interpreting them in a way that facilitated the assertion of progressive ideas. "In the hands of the Arab enlighteners, the Koran became a weapon against the feudal institutions. In it they found the principles of an ideal social and government system... and sought guidance in the struggle against despotism..."[1] writes Z. Levin about Jamal ad Din al Afgani and other late-nineteenth-century Syrian religious reformers and enlighteners. Kemal Atatürk was a determined opponent of the reactionary Islamic dogmas which had brought Turkey to a state of chaos and

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[1] El-Kawakibi, Abdel Rahman: *Priroda despotizma i konets rabstva* (The Nature in Despotism and the End of Enslavement). Moscow 1964 (translated from Arabic and researched by Z. Levin), p. 129.

degradation. And he, too, drew on the humanistic principles of Turkey's culture, synthesizing them with European culture.

Drawing on the cultural heritage for support was a reaction to the nihilistic attitude towards culture fostered by the colonialists and Western-oriented sections of the intelligentsia. "The time has come", Rabindranath Tagore wrote, "to open the treasure trove of our ancestors and put its riches to serve life, let them help us build our own future."[2]

However, like many other progressives, Tagore did not believe that genuine renewal of India's culture was possible without a creative assimilation of world culture. Rabindranath Tagore and Muhammed Iqbal in literature and art, Amin el-Reihani and Atatürk, Radharkrishnan and Jawaharlal Nehru in politics, tried to solve the "modernization" problem through a synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures. Nehru wrote: "Lack of this contact with the West leads to stagnation and loss of vitality and creativeness... We have now to lay greater stress on the synthetic aspect and make the whole our field of study."[3]

Tagore's own writings are an excellent example of this East – West synthesis, based on genuine interaction of the progressive elements of the two cultures.

Ideological and theoretical aspects of the problem concerning principles of "modernization" of the contemporary literature as well as of the entire spiritual, social and political life of the countries of the East through the synthesis of cultures were developed in certain nationalist concepts. The problem is, in our opinion, of great scientific interest and should be studied thoroughly. The question of the use of cultural heritage in the interests of national renaissance and social progress has acquired a great importance in countries that quite recently became free of colonial dependence. They have to decide what part of it is obsolete and what still retains a creative power. As can be seen from history, two lines of cultural continuity are manifested in the countries of the East — the progressive line oriented to humanist traditions and serving vital national interests of the peoples, and the conservative one opposing social and cultural progress. The latter is based on the idea of isolation and uniqueness of the Oriental cultures, on idealization of the past, and desires to cut off the East from the world cultural progress.

The problem of the cultural heritage comes out sharply in the ex-colonial countries. The spiritual, intellectual, cultural and material values accumulated over the centuries are still extant and intrude into modernity, actively influencing all aspects of the life of society. Hence, the problem of the cultural heritage is of more than theoretical interest, it involves the life of broad sections of the population.

After independence, there was a growing differentiation among social and political leaders, scholars, writers and artists in assessing the cultural heritage and in

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[2] Tagore, Rabindranath: *Izbrannye proizvedeniya* (Selected Works). Vol. II. Moscow 1962, p. 244.
[3] Nehru, Jawaharlal: *The Discovery of India*. Bombay 1964, pp. 551—552.

determining its progressive, democratic, humanist, and, on the other hand, conservative and retrograde, obsolete traditions. The questions of whether one or another tradition accords with cultural progress and national rejuvenation and how to reinterpret cultural traditions in the new conditions of independence, are being hotly debated.

The question as to how the cultural heritage of the peoples of the East should be used in the interests of their national revival and progress, what is outdated and what is still a living and creative force in it, becomes one of the most important aspects of the ideological struggle being waged at present in the countries of the East between the forces of reaction and progress in their quests for effective ways for national revival.

In ex-colonial countries, there are two distinct attitudes towards the classical heritage: the progressive attitude, which conforms with the interests of the masses, and the conservative attitude, which impedes social progress and is based on idealization of the past and on the allegedly exclusive nature of Eastern culture. It is not easy to draw a hard-and-fast line between these two trends in cultural continuity in the complex development of Eastern countries. For, first, the same features of the cultural past are often differently manifested and differently employed, and, second, elements of tradition are differently interpreted, depending on historical conditions. The following examples relating to India are cited by way of illustration.

Nehru once commented on the way the *Bhagavadgita*, that bible of Hinduism, was differently interpreted. He wrote: "Even the leaders of thought and action of the present day — Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose, Gandhi — have written on it, each giving his own interpretation. Gandhi bases his firm belief in non-violence on it, others justify violence and warfare for a righteous cause."[4]

Ramrajya (The Kingdom of Rama) was regarded in mediaeval India as a component of a great social Utopia that kept alive people's hopes of a better future, of an end to oppression and violence. The just ruler Rama, protector and patron of his subjects, was the theme of a remarkable poem, *Ramacharitamanasa* (The Sea of Rama's Heroic Deeds) by the great sixteenth century Bhakti poet Tulsidas. Progressive Indian literary critics justly regard him as one of the founders of democratic literature in the Hindi language. However, in modern India the poem *Ramrajya* has had its democratic colouring and is often exploited by communalist elements in the furtherance of their nationalist and chauvinist aims.

Students of Tagore usually note that he was strongly influenced by the ideas expressed in the Upanishads, which were largely responsible for his optimism, humanism, and sensitivity. Nehru says his mind was "saturated with the wisdom of the Upanishads". But we also know that the Upanishads are a nutritive milieu for escapist philosophers and cultural leaders, and not only in India. The list is a long

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[4] Ibid., p. 355.

one, beginning with Schopenhauer, with his pessimistic concept of the world, his marked indifference, his counterposing of artistic intuition to scientific cognition.

The aesthetic thought that thrived in ancient India had a determinative influence on many writers and helped create artistic works which even today amaze one by their perfect form, profound content and nobility. But some contemporary writers, clinging to tradition, see every new departure in literature either as violation of the very foundations of classical aesthetics, or as sheer ignorance.

In the opinion of the Indian writer Brijkishor Chaturvedi, we should expect nothing good from Nirala, Pant, Dinkar, Bachan and other leading Hindi poets who played an outstanding part in the development of modern Indian poetry, because, in exploring new paths, they retreated from the traditional canons of poesy. Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature are the fertile soil on which Hindi language and Hindi poetry will grow and blossom, says Chaturvedi.[5]

There is no denying that Sanskrit continues to play an important part in Indian literature today, too. Many Indian authors of widely differing ideological and aesthetical persuasion subscribe to that concept. "Sanskrit is the cementing force, the connecting link helping to maintain the continuity and integrity of Indian culture, a source feeding by its plentiful stocks many streams springing from it,"[6] writes Krishna Kripalani, a leading Indian writer.

Nor is there any denying of the fact that Sanskrit poetry, with its distinct prosody, metre and imagery plays an important role in India's cultural progress and in the development of its national languages. But we should not absolutise or exaggerate this; Sanskrit is an important, but by no means the only, source feeding modern Indian culture.

There can be no doubt that ancient Indian literature is the foundation for the multi-storey edifice of modern Indian literature, and is liberally drawn upon by writers in neighbouring countries, developing its ideas, themes and forms on their own national basis. However, not everything in ancient Indian literature can today be accepted as a living creative force. The Indian Marxist critic Prakashchandra Gupta remarks that not everything relating to antiquity can today be revived under the slogan of continuing old traditions... Retention of these traditions lies not in overloading the Indian language with cumbersome and largely artificial Sanskrit words, nor in blind subservience to mysticism (Rahasyavad), pessimism (Birashavad) and determinism (Niyativad). "We should retain and develop only the progressive, democratic elements of India's cultural heritage", he wrote. "Indian traditions can be raised to the highest level only by assimilating the scientific world-outlook of our times."[7]

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[5] Chaturvedi, Brijkishor: *Adhunik Kavita ki bhasha* (The Language of Modern Poetry). Agra 1952, p. 10.

[6] Kripalani, Krishna: *Modern Indian Literature*. Bombay 1968, p. 26.

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The works and philosophies of many outstanding Eastern cultural leaders are differently assimilated today. This is especially apparent in celebrating the jubilees of Eastern scholars, writers, public and political leaders. Thus, during the 700th anniversary of Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, in 1976, several Indian and foreign scholars sought to present him as a traditional Moslem poet, a preacher of Islam who eulogized the wisdom and grandeur of the Prophets. He was a pious Sufi, firmly confident that he who loves himself does not see God, writes Safdar Ali Baig, the Indian literary critic. Amir Khusrau Dehlavi was no more than versificator of Moslem philosophy, maintains American Orientalist V. M. Takston. But the international symposium held on the anniversary of this great humanist poet emphasized that he was one of the remarkable figures in Indian culture, whose writings and activities opened new vistas for the life and consciousness of the people, stimulated the blending of India's multi-national and multi-lingual population. The famous Indian writer Prabhakar Machwe writes: "When one reads the body of his poems, as preserved by oral tradition, Khusrau's cosmopolitanism, liberalism, perspicuity, perceptivity, sensitivity and long-range view astound us. For his age, he looms out to be a Renaissance figure."[8]

Today there are various interpretations of works of many outstanding poets and philosophers of the past in the countries of the East. For example, the great poet of the sixteenth century Tulsidas is often regarded now in India as a writer who expressed ideas of conservative Brahmanism and communalist ideology. Therefore quite frequently conservative elements eulogize him while trying to adjust ideas on which his wonderful poem the *Ramacharitamanasa* (The Sea of Rama's Heroic Deeds) is based to their own purposes. In an effort to understand the complex ideology and the work of the great poet, progressive Indian scholars give priority to the humanistic and democratic ideas asserted by Tulsidas in feudal India.

"We should not regard Surdas and Tulsidas only as religious preachers", wrote Ramchandra Sukla, the founder of modern Hindi literary criticism in the 1930s. "With enthusiasm and brilliancy characteristic of them they asserted new moral and ethical principles of a perfect society."[9] "The purpose of Tulsidas's works", the progressive Indian scholar Prakashchandra Gupta said later, "is to serve the people, and despite the fact that reactionaries try to depict him in a different way, the highest appreciation of this work is the love and respect of the people and the time-test his work stood."[10]

It is well known that the ideas of the Upanishads — philosophical treatises of

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[7] Gupta, Prakashchandra: *Democratic Traditions of Hindi Literature*. Delhi 1955, p. 14 (tr. from Hindi).

[8] *Life, Times and Works of Amir Khusrau Dehlavi*. Bombay 1975, p. 307.

[9] Shukla, Ramchandra: *The History of Hindi Literature*. Benares 1965, p. 164 (tr. from Hindi).

[10] Gupta, Prakashchandra: *Hindi sahitya ki janwadi parampara* (Democratic Traditions of Hindi Literature). Allahabad 1954, p. 62.

ancient India — exerted influence on the ideology of Tagore and contributed to the development of the life-asserting optimism and humanism in his works. At the same time, the philosophy of the Upanishads was a nutritive medium for philosophers and thinkers who had a pessimistic view of the world or strived to escape reality.

Many other examples might be quoted. In this connection it is also necessary to define more precisely such terms as "humanist", "popular", "progressive", "democratic" traditions since they are often used in different ways. It is important to determine also the sources and the essence of ideological contradictions, the character of the struggle going on around the cultural heritage of the Oriental peoples, to find out what can be termed "national" or "international" in their literature, in views and concepts of those who adhere to ideas of "modernization" and "westernization" of culture, on the one hand, and of those who try to rely upon "traditionalism" and "Asia-centrism", on the other.

These widely different interpretations and assessments of India's cultural past are due to its complex and multilayer structure. The important thing is to single out the progressive line of continuity and examine the contradictory assessments of cultural traditions.

Reinterpretation of the cultural heritage holds a prominent place in the nationalist ideology of the developing countries. Where nationalism has a democratic colouring and is reflected in the ideology of the ruling element, the dominant trend is retention and development of humanist cultural traditions, which become a factor in carrying out policies in the interests of the masses.

In their fight for a genuine democratic culture, the progressive forces have to overcome the nihilist attitude towards the cultural heritage of the Western-oriented intelligentsia. They argue that drawing on tradition is but a manifestation of backwardness and spiritual atavism, and urge restructuring culture on models borrowed from the West.

The record, however, will show that these Westernization trends do not enjoy wide currency. This is due not only to the stability of traditional cultural forms, but also to the disenchantment of wide sections of the people with Western bourgeois culture, which totally disregards the key social and economic problems of developing countries.

The second line, reflecting the interests of the reactionary petty-bourgeoisie and feudal-merchant circles, is oriented to more retrograde, obsolete traditions in national culture, is apologetic of exclusiveness, "specific spiritualism", mystic character of Eastern culture, idealizes the feudal past. This line is shaped into all sorts of politico-ideological conceptions of the East- or Asiacentrism.

Unlike the Westernization trends, all manner of traditionalist trends adapted to the new conditions enjoy much wider support. Expressing chiefly the interests and attitudes of the conservative elements of society, they are oriented, as a rule, to the more retrograde, obsolete traditions and find their expression in the preaching of

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exclusiveness, the "unique spirituality" and mystical nature of Eastern culture, as also in idealization of the feudal past. They understand strengthening of national cultural principles as a return to antiquity, preserving intact all the archaic spiritual stereotypes and institutions.

Here is one example. The Indian writer and literary critic Gurudatt maintains that the present political structure, based on the principles of democracy and parliamentarism, is unacceptable to the Indian people and suggests its replacement by one more in tune with the "spirit of India", "dharm rajya" (a religious state), with all power concentrated in the Brahmans.[11]

In Turkey, clericals of the National Welfare Party are out to eradicate Kemalism and reestablish orthodox Islam. In Egypt, the so-called "Egyptism" doctrine is being advocated by forces seeking to emphasize the exclusiveness of the Egyptian nation which, they allege, has its origins in the days of the Pharaohs. A similar negative role is played by the ideas about the racial and intellectual superiority of the Jews as the "chosen people" propagated in Israel, and Zionist exploitation of Judaism, with all its orthodoxy and obscurantism. This line is manifested in the assertion by the right-wing forces in India of the spiritual and moral superiority of Hinduism over other religions, in the propaganda of the chauvinistic ideas in Japan, in Maoist China etc.

Especially dangerous are all kinds of Oriental-centrist ideas, when they are raised to the rank of state politics, are used for the purpose of fanning racial, national, caste, religious hatred, military conflicts in Oriental countries (military confrontations between India and Pakistan, Ethiopia and Somali, in the Near East, on the African continent, etc.).

At the same time, in the struggle for national independence, the peoples of the East strive to find a bearing in their national cultural traditions. (For instance, in the struggle for national independence, the Bengalis, separated from Pakistan, strive to find a bearing in their national traditions, in the Bengali language and culture.)

Progressive cultural leaders of the East are mobilizing the people to combat reactionary traditionalism. The popular Indian writer Namvar Sing, in appealing for a decisive struggle against the influence of communal ideology on Indian literature, says that "only genuinely revolutionary, scientific and realistic philosophy can shake the foundations of religious-communal ideology".[12]

The spread of chauvinist, Orient-centred sentiments is an obvious impediment to democratic development. However, it should be noted that traditionalist ideas are sometimes identified with national traits and used as a shield against Westernization and imperialist ideological expansion, or to prove that Eastern cultures date back to

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[11] Gurudatt: *Dharm, Sanskriti, Rajya* (Religion, Culture, State). Delhi 1966, p. 30.

[12] Singh, Namvar: *Sahityakar aur Sampradayakata* (The Writer and Communalism). Jodhpur 1973, p. 51.

antiquity and have their own social stability. In their campaign against the spread of imperialist ideology, the democratic forces seek support in the cultural values of their people and reject Western bourgeois culture. Thus, the Turkish novelist Kemal Tahir, in his novel *Devlet Ana* (Motherland) (1975) contrasts Turkey's 700 years of independent development to corruptive foreign influence and the penetration of US imperialism. The leaders of the Iranian revolution, it will be recalled, used religious slogans to muster the forces of the people against the Shah's regime.

The quests turn out to be highly fruitful of renewal of national revival in the countries of the East on the lines of a synthesis of the culture of the East and West. The concept of "synthesis" of culture has left deep roots in the countries of the East and is actively implemented by many governments; it serves the struggle with all kinds of reactionary aspirations of traditionalists as also the supporters of "Westernizations" of culture, can facilitate the process of the revival of national culture on an essentially new base. However, it should be kept in view that the ideas of "synthesis" and its practical accomplishment can turn out to be fruitful, only when they interact and when progressive tendencies of the cultures of East and West are synthesized. The hopelessness of a "modernization" of the East so widely publicized in the West and based on attempts at a synthesis of materialism and idealism, Marxism and Gandhism, socialism and Islam, all sorts of idealistic, philosophical and aesthetic conceptions of the East with existentialism and other bourgeois subjective conceptions is clearly obvious.

What in the cultural heritage of the East should be considered its democratic, living, creative element, what is the progressive line of continuity? This question is central to the work of many Eastern writers, and their answers differ widely. Nehru, for instance, regards the ancient Indian epic poems as a progressive element. He writes: "Dating back to a remote antiquity, they are still a living force in the life of the Indian people... That influence is a good influence both culturally and ethically, and I would hate to destroy or throw away all the beauty and imaginative symbolism that these stories and allegories contain... Most of the myths and stories are heroic in conception and teach adherence to truth and the pledged word, whatever the consequences, faithfulness unto death and even beyond, courage, good works and sacrifice for the common good."[13]

We can see the progressive creative elements in the Indian cultural heritage. The cult of nature, its poetization, lyric aspiration, typical of the Vedic literature, are connected with exalting of man. Indians of ancient times imagined deities in a human image. The Vedic deities are endowed with features corresponding to the notion of an ideal man, as the ancient Indians understood it. For example, Indra, the deity of herdsman's tribes is represented in the Vedic hymns as a brave fighter, struggling against demons; at the same time, he is a deity of thunder, rains, of fertility,

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[13] Nehru, Jawaharlal: op. cit., p. 104.

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embodying a masculine force. Another deity — Ushas, the deity of dawn — is represented there in the image of a charming woman and so on.

The lines of the Upanishads given below sound as the assertion of the independent value of human personality, glorifying joy of life on the Earth: "Indeed, the essence of these creatures is the Earth, the essence of the Earth is water, of water — plants, of plants — flowers, of flowers — fruit, of fruit — man, the essence of man — family." At the same time, one should undoubtedly take into consideration a specific nature of such thoughts. They are expressed within the limits of traditional ritual, religious and dogmatic prescriptions of Brahmanism.

Authors, who wish to find a foundation in modern science, try to discover behind the mystic sense of the Upanishads, their humanist essence. They try to discover the sense of man's existence, man's nature in his connections with the surrounding world.

Religious and philosophical ideas of Upanishads are reflected in the Indian literature in two ways. The literature, which reflects the ideology of conservative elements of society, develops pessimistic and mystic ideas, which are typical of the Upanishads. The poets, who express ideology of progressive elements of the Indian society, try to find the assertion of an independent value of personality there. Tagore's creative life may serve here as a good example. The philosophy of the Upanishads greatly influenced Tagore's world outlook. The humanist ideas of the Upanishads appeared as one of the sources of his life-asserting optimism, of his invincible belief in man, his strength and abilities.

The concept of man in Buddhism is also far from being consistent; and this is the cause of various idealist interpretations of Buddhist philosophy which put forward, at the expense of everything else, the idea of transmigration, the doctrine of nirvana, the sermon of humbleness — that is, a pessimistic side of Buddhism.

Some scholars suggest a different interpretation of early Buddhism. One of them is I. P. Minaev who, studying Buddhist texts at the end of the last century, discovered in them humanistic tendencies, opposed to conservative ideology.

Some Sanskritists, keeping up with the way of thinking of our times, lay stress upon the fact that Buddhist philosophy made the law of dialectics, of permanent and universal change to be its hallmark. According to Rahula Sanskrityayana, Buddhism denies the existence of everything constant and static in this world.

An important feature of early Buddhist dialectics is its orientation towards man, taken along with his contacts with the world around him, an emphasis on the practical activity of man.

The role of active struggle for happiness in this world in early Buddhism is also insisted upon by a well-known Russian scholar S. T. Oldenburg and a German Indologist Walter Ruben. Some Indian authors (as, for instance, Rahula Sanskrityayana) also stress the idea of equality which in their opinion, is the corner stone of early Buddhism.

Speaking about a humanist orientation of Buddhist philosophy, these authors point out, at the same time, such features of this philosophy as played a negative role in the development of a humanist basis of Indian cultural tradition.

I. P. Minaev also underlines the ambiguous character of the way man is considered in the ancient Indian literature connected with religious-philosophic ideology of Buddhism. On the one hand, we would like to point out the orientation of early Buddhism upon personality, upon man's practical activity, stressing the idea that man can attain perfection by means of his daily actions; on the other hand, we can mention pessimistic trends in Buddhism.

Such contradictions in early Buddhist philosophy determine the peculiar concept of man in old Indian literature connected with Buddhism. That applies, in the first place, to the jatakas, the sources of which are clearly folkloristic. For the first time an ordinary man, with all his daily troubles, joys and sorrows, always a part of the surrounding world, behaving in an active way in life, seeking truth, striving for justice, makes his appearance in Buddhist literature. Defending his interests, he may even engage in a struggle with people around him — these conflicts, it is true, are always settled thanks to the wisdom of Buddha, the obligatory hero of all jatakas. Art and literature of Buddhism depict Buddha as an ideal human personality.

Old Indian epics may be considered as the most important link in the chain of Indian literary tradition. The heroes of the old Indian epics are characterized, on the whole, by an established set of good qualities; they come to struggle with evil forces, with wild, inhuman beings marked by all possible vices. The high moral examples of epic heroes were later followed by many generations of Indians.

There are, however, some deviations from traditional norms of depicting an ideal hero in the old Indian epics. It is probably due to the fact that some folklore themes belonging to various ethnic groups were incorporated into the epic poems. In spite of the tendency to make up epic heroes as ideal as possible, we find in those poems frequent reminiscences of social and political events of that epoch — of the time when feudal relations were being established in India, and becoming reflected in the struggle for power among Indian princes.

Many outstanding writers seek in the cultural heritage of their people the ways and means of rejuvenating and developing their literatures.

Social progress in India in the early centuries of the Christian era led to the flourishing of culture and a new approach to ancient Indian epic poems. Old legends and tales from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* that were a basis of Kalidasa's works acquired a new humanist and realistic content in accordance with the new situation in the country. Traditional plots and images in the works of the great Kalidasa not only helped to assert socio-political, moral and ethic ideals, that may be regarded as progressive for his time, but are still alive and after many centuries have a universal as well as national significance.

The problem of an ideal ruler, which was a vital issue in India of the Guptas when

a strong centralized monarchy was a progressive historical phenomenon has retained its importance up to the present days. Kalidasa's poem *Kumarasambhava* based on stories from the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*, though describing deeds of deities and other mythical characters, is concerned with man and his reality. According to V. G. Erman this poem "...is written in a traditional religious manner, but contains, in fact, a heretical protest against the stifling dogmas of the Hinduistic ethics".[14] Kalidasa glorifies the beauty of love and the triumph of human emotions over ascetic attitudes to life and implicit obedience to fate. It is believed that Kalidasa was criticized by those who upheld traditional values and norms and in particular the well-known theoretician of poetry Anandavardhana (ninth century) for ascribing human feelings to gods. Kalidasa's best drama, the *Sakuntala*, also derived from the *Mahabharata* and *Padmapurana*, is a story of a king who seduced a girl living in a forest ashram, deserted her and kept his promise only by obeying the voice of the heaven. A short epic story is transformed by the great poet into a poetic and colourful picture of a noble and pure woman's soul, showing greatness of a truly selfless love.

The problem of reassessment of traditions acquires particular importance at turning points of people's history of the East, when democratic and conservative elements in national traditions, juxtaposed in a complex interaction, become evident. Interaction of popular and democratic tendencies, connected with reformist trends in religion, on the one hand, and aristocratic and dogmatic ones in the mediaeval Eastern culture, on the other, gave rise to various heresies and religious reformist movements (Bhakti, Sufism, etc.) stimulating democratic elements of this culture. A great number of Bhakti poets in mediaeval India glorified Krishna, using themes of the *Bhagavadpurana*. But only those made their names immortal who approached traditions in a creative way, who shared democratic religious and philosophical ideas of Bhakti, which became popular in mediaeval India as a reaction to religious dogmas giving legal and divine sanction to oppression of working people, those who expressed people's craving for freedom and happiness in traditional stories and images. Though the great Indian poet Surdas whose five hundredth anniversary was widely celebrated last year was a Bhakti poet and therefore followed religious tradition in his poem *Sur-Sagar* (The Sea of Hymns), his attitude towards tradition was not dogmatic in the least. Canonical treatment of Krishna's life in the *Bhagavadpurana* did not restrict the artistic imagination of the poet for whom description of man's everyday life remained the principal subject.

In the feudal India Surdas's poetry ennobled man; it revealed his rich inner world, asserting his faith in his own power and his right to be the master of his own fate. The idealized, heroic concept of man in Surdas's poetry may, to a certain extent, be regarded as a counterpart of the idea of man born for great deeds, which is central to the European Renaissance.

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[14] Erman, V. G.: *Kalidasa*. Moscow 1976, p. 110.

Once again the cultural heritage was reappraised in the nineteenth century, with the awakening of national consciousness and the emergence of the national liberation movement in the countries of the East. Many writers who helped to create modern Oriental literature which liberated itself from mediaeval scholasticism turned, serving the cause of social progress, for inspiration to their cultural heritage. The fact that they relied upon their classical national heritage was due to a specific reaction opposed to the nihilist attitude towards the culture of the Eastern countries on the part of colonialists and some strata of national intelligentsia of a pro-Western orientation. "The time has come to open the treasure-house of our ancestors and to put its wealth to use in our life time", wrote Tagore. "Let it help us to create our own future, because it is high time to stop gathering shabby rags of other peoples."[15] But like many other progressive writers and artists of the East, Tagore considered renovation of his native literature impossible without a creative assimilation of the experience of the world literature.

Indian writers of our days have drawn on traditional characters in ancient literature to portray dedicated fighters for independence. The thoughts and feelings of the man of the new era, the fighter for national independence, go back to the traditional images of the gods and heroes of the ancient Indian epos, and they did much to bring to modern literature the ideals of morality and dedicated service to the Homeland. Imbued with this new meaning, these images of the past are in a way linked with the country's pressing social and political problems.

To cite yet another example: The Bengali writer Madhusudan Datta, in his poem *Meghnadbadh Kabya* (1860) (The Death of Meghnad) describes the battle of Rama's troops with the hordes of Rawana, adapting it to the India of his day. Contrary to tradition, the negative personage Meghnad is shown as a patriot who gives his life in defence of his country. This eulogy of self-sacrifice in the struggle for liberation, death for the sake of victory over the oppressors — such, in brief, is the message of this great poem.

Another poem, *Priya Pravas* (1914) (The Beloved in Exile), by Hariauddh, is the story of Krishna, who leaves his home, family and beloved, Radha, and chooses voluntary exile in another country, where he is welcomed as the liberator and defender of the disinherited. Radha accepts the parting with fortitude, for she knows that her beloved is true to his patriotic duty. She devotes her own life to serving the people. Hariauddh created a character in whom are concentrated the finest traits of the Indian woman, an active participant in the national liberation movement. A similar character is central to the poem *Yashodhara* (1933) by Maithilisharan Gupta, in which he portrays a woman who sacrifices her own well-being for that of her country, a portrait that has nothing in common with the traditional image of a woman abandoned by her husband.

[15] Tagore, Rabindranath: *The Centre of Indian Culture*. Vol. II. Moscow 1965, p. 224 (tr. from Bengali).

In this way, popular myths and legends are converted in the works of progressive writers into realistic stories in which the fantastic elements of the past give way to truthful contemporary situations. Gods and heroes acquire the features of ordinary men and women of noble character, participants in the great struggle for national independence.

This progressive trend is present in all the literatures of ex-colonial countries of the East. Strength, courage, nobility — features common to all the heroes of mythology — reappear in the heroes of today. Thus, the poem *Savitri* (1953) is based on the *Mahabharata*, and in it Aurobindo Ghose, the Indian poet and philosopher, infuses his fellow countrymen with faith in a better future. In the moral-philosophical poem *Urvashi* (1961), the Hindi poet Ramdharisinh Dinkar poses the problem of a woman's place in modern society, the problem of love and marriage. The spirit of optimism, faith in the future, a better life for the people and prosperity for India, permeate the historical-mythological poem *Nagarjuna Sagar* (1967) by the Andhra poet Narayan Reddi. Various facets of the image of Parashuram, the intrepid soldier of folklore, are to be found in the works of many poets. In *Parashuram ki pratiksha* (1962) (Waiting for Parashuram), a poem written by R. Dinkar shortly after the Chinese aggression against India, the author appeals to the legendary warrior to use his titanic strength and help defend the country and crush its enemies.

And so, drawing on traditions does not imply merely blind imitation of the past, but its reinterpretation, casting aside all that is obsolete and developing, all the popular, democratic elements that accord with the vital interests of the masses and can assist the progressive development of Eastern countries.

A study of the cultural heritage and its role in the development of the literary process makes for a better understanding of the national specificities of Eastern literature at various stages of its history. The organic link with the past has produced, specifically in modern Indian literature, an atmosphere of striving for lofty ideals, self-sacrifice for the happiness of the people. For even today the heroes of the ancient Indian epos, their thoughts, words, actions are familiar to millions, to whom they are a code of morality and behaviour. They stand out as examples of chastity, fairness, honour, duty, dedicated struggle for a just cause. They are examples, too, of patience and perseverance, fortitude, readiness to endure measureless hardship for the achievement of noble aims. All these traditional moral standards are embodied in the heroes of Madhusudan Datta, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya, Tagore, Harinarayan Apte, Premchand and many other writers who can justly be called the founders of modern Indian literature.

In Japanese literature, the long influence of Buddhism has left its definite imprint and has evolved a distinct principle of artistic thought, described by the Soviet scholar T. Grigorieva in these words : "The sensation that everything is illusionary, unstable, changeable, that things are not the same at any given moment — all this defines the character of Japanese art. All being is temporary, vanishes like the dew,

but the process of emergence and vanishment is eternal, everything is finite, but at the same time endless. For there is no end in the absolute sense: one thing mutates into another. This sensation permeates Japanese art and it gives it a special colouring: beauty lies in endless mutation...".[16]

A thorough study of the process of continuity in China has enabled another Soviet scholar, I. S. Lisevich, to conclude that the determinative principle of traditional Chinese literature is the idea of Dao Tao (the path of the Universe, the absolute), as manifested in the concept of the emotional and moral Wind of the Universe and its life-giving ether. Characteristic of Chinese literature, Lisevich believes, is domination of the lyrical element, specific assimilation of time, constant reference to the past, etc.[17]

The progressive forces in the Eastern countries strive to discover genuine folk and humanist tendencies in their cultural heritage. At the same time, it should be noted here that these concepts demand confirmation and concretization, for the terms "folk character", "humanism", "progress", etc. often convey different connotations.

Speaking about "humanist" traditions, one does not often think about the content of this concept. These terms are widely used by the "traditionalists" and votaries of Westernization of culture. To speak about humanism is still not enough for defining the character of any phenomenon of the past culture. After all, those thinkers and poets of the past were also called humanists, though without any foundation, who, for instance, approved of the stability of the caste system, class principles of the organization of the society, etc.

It is the task of the scholar and investigator to disclose the sources, the substance of contradictions, the confrontation of trends that go into the cultural heritage, explain the reasons for their emergence, show how this heritage is being employed today to advance a genuine democratic culture, and what is cast aside, consigned to oblivion.

In the light of the ideological-political struggle in the countries of the East about problems of the cultural heritage, specially important and immediate tasks come up before our Orientalists, viz.:

To show the importance of the ideological and political struggle for questions of the cultural heritage in the general process of ideological and political life in the developing countries.

To unfold the ideological content and national distinctiveness, the specificities of this ideological struggle over the problems of cultural heritage in different countries and regions.

To establish what social strata, political parties and groupings are attracted into this struggle and what concrete aims they pursue. Here it is necessary to study the

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[16] Grigorieva, T. P.: *Yaponskie khudozhestvennye traditsii* (Japanese Artistic Traditions). Moscow 1979, p. 32.

[17] Lisevich, I. S.: *Literaturnaya mysl Kitaya* (Chinese Literary Thought). Moscow 1979.

social psychology of the masses and establish those cultural stereotypes which prevail in this psychology and identify their orientation to any cultural values. In this connection, it is necessary to unfold to the full correlation between the national and international in the socio-political cultural life of the peoples of the East.

To render effective assistance on the basis of a profound Marxist analysis of these processes to the progressive forces in the developing countries (first of all, it is understood, by the communist and workers' parties) in the cause of the right orientation in this struggle.

To carry out research and accumulate material for the subsequent creation of a generalized work depicting the condition and trends of the ideological-political struggle in the countries of the East over the cultural heritage.

Of special significance to a research into the problem is the creative elaboration by the Orientalist of the Leninist methodological principles in the study of cultural heritage adapted to developing countries of the East.

The complexity and variety of the given problem dictates the necessity of its complex elaboration with the participation of Orientalists studying questions of literature, history, social thought, philosophy, economics, politics, state and law, ethnography, education and languages of the Eastern countries.

Success in solving the given problem can be achieved only with a well-organized creative interaction of specialists studying the present and the past peoples of the East.

Within the framework of the given problem a special significance is acquired by a scientific analysis of the interaction and fusion not only of the cultures of the East and West, but also of the peoples of the East among themselves. A sharp ideological struggle may be observed in the countries of the East in the context of cultural correlation.

An important role in the elaboration of the given problem is acquired by the place and function of religion in the cultural heritage of the peoples of the East. It should be taken into consideration that religion in Eastern countries commands considerable influence among the broad strata of the society and plays a significant role in the ideological and political struggle. At the same time, one cannot but note that many ideas of the past which have played a positive role in the national-political life and culture of the East are active in the form of religion.

Among the important aspects of the ideological struggle over the cultural heritage are efforts by certain forces trying to correlate this heritage with the Marxist-Leninist ideology. One observes here attempts to eliminate the influence of this ideology, to prove its incompatibility with the national peculiarities of the Eastern countries, as well as various types of attempts to "prove" that at some time immemorial there existed elements of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in the national, spiritual traditions. In this connection, the pressing need arises for a critical analysis and exposure of similar approaches.

The experience of modern development of the countries of the East testifies to the fact that in comparison with bourgeois nationalism which strengthens its position in these countries, the traditionalist and East-centrist tendencies in the culture of social thought, which are modified and adjusted to new conditions, are more widely accepted there than the tendencies of "Westernization". This is explained, apparently, by the considerable disenchantment of the broad circles of the society of the Eastern countries with the bourgeois Western culture which keeps out of the sphere of attention the most important socio-economic problems worrying the peoples of the developing countries and by their disenchantment with the decadent Western culture. The traditionalist and East-centrist ideas sometimes identify themselves with the distinctive national character and are used as a shield against the ideological imperialist expansion with the aim of self-confirmation, of underscoring antiquity, perseverence and stability of the Eastern culture,etc.

The development of democratic culture is inseparably connected with the socio-economic progress of the Eastern countries, with the successes of the democratic forces in their struggle against the forces of external and internal reaction. The material revival was largely caused by the fruitful development of democratic traditions of the Eastern countries: it was assisted and will in future be assisted by the expanding and strengthening contacts with the socialist countries, with all the progressive world culture. It is from here that the problem of organizing and coordinating these ties, their scientific analysis and perspective planning acquires considerable importance.

THE CONCEPT OF "POSITIVE HERO" IN CHINESE LITERATURE OF THE 1960s AND 1970s

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The study aims to follow up the development of the concept of the so-called positive hero during the sixties and the seventies, particularly during the "Cultural Revolution" as revealed by an analysis of the theoretical, critical and creative writings of that period.

A thorough treatment of this topic would require far more space than has been allotted to this paper. The roots of this conception go beyond the sixties and seventies of this century, are older than the People's Republic of China itself, they reach far back into the traditional Chinese literature.

Yet, a few remarks of a general and particular character should be made here that relate directly to this important topic in Chinese literature from the period of the "Cultural Revolution", but also before and a few years after it.

Every epoch has had its heroes. Hebrew and Greek mythologies speak of Titans and numerous other such gigantic personages. Mediaeval literature is full of roaming knights; the picaresque novel, the ancient and mediaeval epic can hardly be imagined without their heroes, and likewise the poetry of various nations.

Something similar applies also to China. It had its mythical age and along with it also its "age of heroes" (as G. W. F. Hegel put it).[1] Suffice it to mention Yü [1] as a flood-controlling superman or deity,[2] or another Yü [2], the foolish old man who removed the mountains, from the book of Lieh-tzu [3].[3] It had a rich tradition of knights-errant histories (*yu-hsia shih-chi*) [4] in its socio-political life and its artistic and literary works.[4] These writings, whether historical or fictitious (most frequently short stories, novels or dramas) described people who often were in opposition to the social and intellectual establishment, although, on the other hand, in times of a strong censorship and control of every unorthodox mode of behaviour or expression in the most diverse fields of social and cultural life, they helped the ruling

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[1] Hegel, G. W. F.: *Ästhetik*. Herausgegeben von Fr. Bassenge. Band 1. Berlin — Weimar, Aufbau Verlag 1965, pp. 180—192.

[2] Cf. the passages on Yü in Schneider, L. A.: *Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History: Nationalism and the Quest for Alternative Traditions*. Berkeley — Los Angeles, University of California Press 1971, pp. 223—231.

[3] Graham, A. C.: *The Book of Lieh-tzu. A New Translation*. London, John Murray 1960, pp. 99—101.

[4] Liu, James J. Y.: *The Chinese Knight-Errant*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1967.

class to nip in the bud everything that was progressive, or that which in some manner tended to disrupt the monolithic action of the ruling ideology. Such a shift in the evaluation of "heroism" took place, for instance, in the mid-nineteenth century. At that time, as a reaction against the ideologically "defective" novel *Shui hu chuan* [5] *Water Margin*, the writer Yü Wan-ch'un [6] wrote the novel *Tang k'ou chih* [7] History of Suppression of Bandits. *Water Margin* was at that time one of the favourite novels of the Chinese reading public. The adventure novel of Yü Wan-ch'un (as also several others) were meant "to praise the heroic deeds and acts of rough justice only if these accord with the feudal concepts of loyalty and right".[5]

Each epoch has its heroes, whether positive heroes or positive figures. That in itself, however, does not mean that positive heroes or positive figures are also parts of valuable literature and art. Each epoch also renders homage to its heroes (as Carlyle stated),[6] but that does not imply that these are always worthy of the worship.

Almost simultaneously, though independently of each other, two voices rose in 1929—1930 against "hero-making" in modern Chinese literature. One was that of Lu Hsün [8] (1881—1936), and the other Mao Tun's [9] (1896—). In a short essay called *Liu-mang-ti pien-ch'ien* [10] *Evolution of Roughs*, Lu Hsün shows how knights during the course of Chinese literary history turned into roughs (*liu-mang*), and when speaking of such "positive heroes" as may be met with in *Shih kung-an* [12] The Cases of Lord Shih, *P'eng kung-an* [13] The Cases of Lord P'eng, or *Ch'i hsia wu i* [14] Seven Knights-errant and Five Fighters for Justice, he does not omit to underline that their "making" has not ceased yet (*chih chin mei yu ch'iung chin*) [15]. Lu Hsün had in view older Chinese literature, but also contemporary works. It was on design that on that occasion he mentioned the so-called revolutionary writer Chang Tzu-p'ing [16] (1895—1947).[7]

At that time, Mao Tun was busy studying European mediaeval literature and he began the book, that was the result of that study, even with satirical remarks aimed at modern Chinese literature of the twenties. He remarked that five hundred years thence, professors and students will feel bored and will laugh when reading contemporary revolutionary and proletarian literature. In his view, its authors will appear as "mentally abnormal" (*shen-ching i yang*) [18] to future generations. He then had in mind a few of the typical figures of the literary world of those days, some of whom were considered by the critics to be models worthy of imitation. Such were "revolutionaries who only knew to shout out slogans", or "revolutionary martyrs who, shouting out slogans, honourably (went to death thereby) in order to give satisfaction to righteousness" (*ts'ung jung chiu i*) [19].[8] Mao Tun, of course, was not

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[5] Lu Hsün: *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*. Peking, Foreign Languages Press 1959, p. 355.

[6] Carlyle, Th.: *On Heroes and Hero-Worship*. London, Cassell and Co. 1908.

[7] *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi* [17] The Complete Works of Lu Hsün. Vol. 4. Peking 1957, pp. 123—124.

[8] Hsüan Chu [20] (Mao Tun's pseudonym): *Ch'i-shih wen-hsüeh ABC* [21] ABC of Chivalric Literature. Shanghai 1929, p. 1.

mocking at either the revolution or revolutionary writers, nor at characters described in the works of revolutionary and proletarian literature of the times, but at the artistically unconvincing and false manner of their "being heroized".

When comparing certain phenomena in modern Chinese literature with mediaeval novels, Mao Tun recalled also further types. Indeed, they were not "positive heroes" at all, but we refer to them because they indirectly cast light also on recent Chinese literature. They were images of old village inhabitants who thought only of the arrival of a "righteous emperor" (*chen-ming t'ien-tzu*) [22], neurotic spinsters that only dreamt of falling in love, or stubborn, conservative fathers who never understood the spirit of the times, the changes in the overall family and social system.[9]

Mao Tun, an eminent Chinese writer and outstanding literary critic and historian, could not even suspect that not five hundred years later, but in less than fifty years, in fact during his lifetime, even more boring and funnier (i.e. ridiculous) romances would be written in China. The myth of the "righteous emperor" who was to have saved his people and assured him a bright future, was replaced by another, even more sophisticated, but a more transparent myth, that of Maoism, which not only old men and women in the country, but allegedly all the inhabitants of the PRC had to believe. The works of Chinese literature of the past two decades contain no conservative fathers, encounter no "generations" problems, nor family or personal problems.[10] Human relations there are absolutely governed by a militarily tainted, so-called class morale. The "good daughter of the Party" Shen Hsiu-chin, one of the models of Chinese youth in preceding years, differed only anatomically from her male counterparts, such as Lei Feng [23], Ou-yang Hai [24], Wang Chieh [25] and others, now dead and canonized heroes of the PRC.[11] Lei Feng, an otherwise mentally underdeveloped personality, became the hero of numerous literary and artistic works,[12] and Ou-yang Hai had even an extensive novel devoted to him by Chin Ching-mai [26] (1930—).[13]

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[9] Loc. cit.

[10] There are exceptions to this rule in the literature after November 1977.

[11] On Shen Hsiu-chin see Wen Tzu-pien: *Good Daughter of the Party*. Chinese Literature (henceforth only CL), *3*, 1971, pp. 3—30. On Lei Feng and other "heroes" see Chomczyńska, E.: *Chinese Youth Personality Models in the Sixties*. Asian and African Studies, *XV*, pp. 101—117.

[12] E.g. Hsiao Chuan: *A Common Soldier*. CL, *5*, 1965, pp. 110—115, Chen Kuang-sheng: *Lei Feng, Chairman Mao's Good Fighter*. Peking, Foreign Languages Press 1968; there were also a few ballets and operas compiled, one play and many poems written in order to make him known and popular among the Chinese audience.

[13] Chin Ching-mai: *Ou-yang Hai chih ko* [27] The Song of Ou-yang Hai. Peking 1966.

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In order to treat adequately of the problem relating to a positive hero in Chinese literature of the given period, note must be taken first, of the way this issue has been processed theoretically, and secondly, of its practical implementation in literary works. During the "Cultural Revolution", when literature practically ceased to exist, this practical implementation has to be investigated in works of art close to literature (in the so-called modern revolutionary Peking operas). In the first case, we shall learn a great deal from the principal lines of the cultural policy of the PRC and the theoretical works from these years; in the second case, from analyses of selected representative works.

The period of the sixties and seventies in Chinese literature is confined by the 3rd and the 4th Congresses of the All-China Association of Literary and Artistic Workers (July 1960 — November 1979). During this span of less than twenty years which were to have been a period of a "socialist literature and art", Chinese creative intelligentsia, but also the rest of the people had but few quiet moments, but many dangerous years of persecution, enforced silence and physical liquidation.

On reading the address by Chou Yang [28] (1908—), the principal speaker of Chinese cultural policy in the literary and artistic domain from the year 1942 until the eve of the "Cultural Revolution" in 1966, a historian has the impression that a "new age of heroes" had come up in China. At the time of the unsuccessful "Great Leap Forward", the drop in production and famine, he said: "Never before have the masses of our people displayed so fully their firm revolutionary will..."[14] On the same occasion he also remarked: "The heroism displayed by our people in the revolutionary struggle, and in productive labor, their lofty ideals and moral qualities, have won the praise of progressive mankind all over the world... Step by step China is changing its state of poverty, weakness and backwardness to take its stand in the world with a magnificent revolutionary attitude and in all glory of youth."[15]

According to his words, but also according to further representatives of the critical part of Chinese literature of that time, the characters described in the various literary works are a reflection of the changes that had taken place in China after the year 1949. The theory came to be gradually, not suddenly, enforced that heroism as a manifestation of revolutionary consciousness, expresses the spirit of present-day China.[16]

The above speech by Chou Yang and also others that were made at the 3rd Congress of the All-China Association of Literary and Artistic Workers did not find

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[14] Chou Yang: *The Path of Socialist Literature and Art in Our Country.* CL, *10*, 1960, p. 43.

[15] Ibid., p. 13.

[16] Fang Sheng [29]: *Lun wen-hsüeh tso-p'in fan-ying shih-tai ching-shen-ti wen-t'i* [30] How the Literary Works Are Reflecting the Spirit of the Age. Shou-huo [31] The Harvest, *6,* 1964, pp. 131—141.

full support on the part of Chinese writers and critics. Although the period of "adjustments" which was to have corrected the errors of the "Great Leap Forward" in the most diverse domains was ushered in officially only after the 9th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in January 1961, certain trends of another development than the one officially presumed as late as the mid-1960s, began to manifest themselves already towards the end of 1960. Literary history shows that the line of the 3rd Congress was disregarded, at least in part, by people who were in the leading ranks of the All-China Association of Literary and Artistic Workers, in the Union of Chinese Writers, or belonged among foremost Chinese writers.

Just a few months after the 3rd Congress, Shao Ch'üan-lin [32] (1907—1971) at that time vice-president of the Union of Chinese Writers and secretary of its party organization, allegedly said about the figure Liang San lao-han [33] from the well-known novel *Ch'uang-yeh shih* [34] (Builders), by Liu Ch'ing [35] (1916—1978) that he incorporated the "spiritual burden that peasants had borne during several millennia".[17] This was in December 1960. If this be really true, these words must have sounded like an insult to those who were in charge of the cultural policy, for the image of the Chinese peasant was to have been presented in quite a different light within the framework of this policy. According to a subsequent report (which, unfortunately, cannot be verified either), Shao Ch'üan-lin tried to enforce his concept of the middle characters (*chung-chien jen-wu*) [38] also at an assembly in 1961 and at an editorial meeting of Wen-i pao Literary Journal in 1962, and is said to have written also an article *Tien-hsing wen-t'i* [39] Questions of Typicalness, which in all probability never came out in print. Allegedly he stated in it that an extension of the theme of contemporary Chinese literature will not help. He saw a means of saving Chinese literature from collapse in an extension of the palette of characters described in these works.[18] Similar views expressing a direct or an indirect criticism of the concept of a "positive hero" in Chinese literature of those days were voiced by a few further writers and critics: K'ang Cho [40] (1920—), Shen Ssu [41], and Mu Yang [42].[19]

Shao Ch'üan-lin took a clear stand in the fight against the concept of the "positive hero" only at the conference devoted to questions of stories from the rural environment, held in Dairen in August 1962. Shao's performance at the conference and his theory presented a grave threat to further development of Maoist literary theory and practice. Despite the policy of "adjustments", nobody dared publish even a single sentence from his paper (or papers). But even the little that later reached the

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[17] *Kuan-yü "hsieh chung-chien jen-wu" ti ts'ai-liao* [36] Material Concerned With the "Middle Characters". Wen-i pao [37] Literary News, *8—9*, 1964, p. 16.

[18] Loc. cit.

[19] Ibid., pp. 19—20.

public permits us to infer that there was question of a solid, compact theory. Its publication might have raised the same sensation as Ch'in Chao-yang's views [43] (1916—) concerning the "realism — the broad way",[20] or those of T'ang Chih [47] (or T'ang Ta-ch'eng) [48] relating to "scholastic formulae"[21] propagated by Chou Yang, as suitable in creating positive heroes.

The reading public could become acquainted with Shao Ch'üan-lin's views only towards the end of summer 1964 in the form of shorter or longer quotations taken out of context.[22] This probably resulted in the original message being somewhat distorted. The circles responsible for the cultural policy, primarily the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CCP, where Chou Yang was the second in command, forced the editorial board of Wen-i pao, certainly not without reason, to publish Shao Ch'üan-lin's paper in such a distorted form.

What was the essence of Shao Ch'üan-lin's theory? It may be said to have been directed against the "new" method of Maoist literature, the so-called combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism. He was primarily concerned with a deepening of realism (hsien-shih-chu-i shen-hua) [50]. According to him: "The revolutionary side of the creative works (i.e. of contemporary Chinese literary works, M. G.), is very strong, yet I feel that the depth by which this reality is being reflected, its long-term character and complexity, are inadequately reflected."[23] Or: "Realism is the basis of our creation and without realism there is no romanticism. Our creative efforts must come closer to real life, must strongly (cha-cha shih-shih-ti) [51] reflect reality."[24]

The principal obstacles to a truly realist representation of reality were positive heroes, idealized heroes. "The characters are described in a simplified way, for only their heroism is being shown", and then it happens that even if their missions, destinations, designs, functions differ, "their temperaments are similar, all are red faces and people do not like to read that".[25]

If everybody writes only about heroes, then it is "a narrow road" of literary development, a road that creates only "models" (mo-fan) [52], faultless prototypes, the so-called types of one class "worthy to be imitated".[26]

Shao Ch'üan-lin was not against representation of positive heroes and recognized them to be autochthonous participants of the literary process and representation of

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[20] Ho Chih [44] (pseudonym of Ch'in Chao-yang): Hsien-shih-chu-i, k'uang-k'uo-ti tao-lu [45] Realism, the Broad Way. Jen-min wen-hsüeh [46] People's Literature, 9, 1956, pp. 1—13.

[21] T'ang Chih: Fan-suo kung-shih k'o-i ch'uang-tsao ma? [49] Can the Scholastic Formulas Guide in Creating the Heroic Characters? Wen-i pao, 10, 1957, p. 1—3.

[22] See note No. 17.

[23] Wen-i pao, 8—9, 1964, p. 16.

[24] Ibid., p. 19.

[25] Ibid., p. 18.

[26] Ibid., pp. 16—17.

reality just as negative characters; he only demanded that in their portrayal also the life complexity, its depth be also taken into account, along with what he called the "long-term character", i.e. the developmental process which ran in the PRC since its foundation and had for aim the total transformation of the society.

His postulate to write more about the middle characters was intended to lead Chinese literature out of the blind alley where it got bogged through a hypertrophic underscoring of heroes and creating of villains (their negative counterparts), while the major part of objective and subjective reality remained outside the reach of literary processing. These "middle characters" were to have been something like "small people" in a certain part of Russian literature (although Shao does not mention anything like that, but such an idea incidentally does occur to a literary comparatist). They were to have been individualized characters, psychologically adequately portrayed, connected with the ambient environment and history, that would carry, for instance, the "mental burden" referred to above as did Chinese peasants, or what Shao had designated as the "process of suffering" (*k'u-nan-ti li-ch'eng*) [53][27] and referred to the distress inflicted on the intelligentsia during the continuous campaigns designed to re-educate it. It had not been in vain that in the forties, Shao Ch'üan-lin translating Dostoyevsky's Poor Folk, was thrilled by this work, "was overwhelmed by it and shed tears because of it".[28] The great Russian writer depicted in this work the tragedy of "small people" in a czarist city.

At the time when Shao Ch'üan-lin spoke for the first and last time about "middle characters", preparations were afoot for the Tenth Plenary Session of the CC CCP. At this session, towards the end of September 1962, Mao Tse-tung within the context of the slogan "Never forget the class struggle", also turned against writers and artists.[29] When on 27 June 1964 Mao directly and emphatically demanded the enforcement of that principle and its inclusion also into literary and artistic works,[30] Chou Yang and people from his entourage decided to launch an attack on Shao Ch'üan-lin and his concept. The campaign against him was to serve several designs; the most important of them probably was "to discredit" the concept of "middle characters" as a bourgeois and antisocialist slogan, a thing harmful to literature and

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[27] Ibid., p. 18.

[28] Quoted according to Wang Hsien-p'ei [54]: *Kuan-yü "mao-tun ti jen-wu" ho "jen-wu ti mao-tun"* [55] On the "Contradictory Characters" and "Contradictions of Characters". Wen-i pao, *11—12*, 1964, p. 15.

[29] Cf. Markova, S. D.: *Maoizm i intelligentsiya* (Maoism and Intellectuals). Moscow, Nauka 1975, p. 113, and Dorrill, W. F.: *Power, Policy, and Ideology in the Making of the Chinese Cultural Revolution.* In: Robinson, Th. W. (Ed.): *The Cultural Revolution in China.* Berkeley — London, University of California Press 1971, p. 52.

[30] For the translation of this "instruction" see Goldman, M.: *The Chinese Communist Party's "Cultural Revolution" of 1962—1964.* In: Johnson, Ch. (Ed.): *Ideology and Politics in Contemporary China.* Seattle — London, University of Washington Press 1973, p. 240.

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art and thereby to workers, peasants and soldiers. During the subsequent years, the overall developmental trend proceeded even more consistently along the road of laying stress on "positive heroes" and their role in literature and art. Another equally important design was to find a scapegoat that would satisfy Mao Tse-tung and the ultra-leftist elements in the cultural sphere, unceasingly calling for carrying out class struggle, for making an end to revisionism, for portraying the fight of the so-called two lines, and for enforcement of the ephemeral political efforts of Maoist-oriented holders of power in the Party and the State.

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In 1963 the campaign was launched under the slogan "Learn from Comrade Lei Feng" (Hsiang Lei Feng t'ung-chih hsüeh-hsi) [56].[31] Its initiators were leading political cadres in the army, together with Lin Piao, and with the knowledge and support of Mao Tse-tung and, after him, of the top representatives of the Party and the State. Neither did Chinese writers and artists stand aside. Liu Pai-yü [57] (1916—), a well-known writer and at that time the vice-president of the Union of Chinese Writers, wrote a eulogistic article *Lei Feng hsing-hsiang* [58] Lei Feng's Image. Right at the beginning we find a downright hagiographic description: "A clear heroic image emerges before us — Lei Feng... This image, by its incomparable radiance, its enormous strength, very gravely proclaims: the new communist man has become a concrete reality in Chinese life. Yet, whether in the sense of real life or literary creation, we must thoroughly know and evaluate this phenomenon. For our revolution, our building up has created a new man of a socialist and communist thinking and qualities. It is a new man of a proletarian spirit, communist morals..."[32] According to this highly-placed dignitary, Lei Feng is then a hero made of "a special material", "a pine-tree in the midst of winds and rains", and "a never rusting screw" of Chairman Mao. Such a man is "the most beautiful man".[33] Lei Feng is a paragon not only of Maoist virtues, but also of literary creativeness, and the production of "positive heroes" similar to him is "the principal task of contemporary literature".[34] Lei Feng's image, as one of the variants of "positive heroes", will allegedly be "ever living" (*yung sheng*) [59] in Chinese literature, he will not remain to be the "only swallow of the spring", but will create a new "poetry of this great, sublime epoch".[35]

In reality, there is nothing heroic about Lei Feng. A "rough ascetism"[36] characteri-

[31] Chomczyńska, E.: op. cit., pp. 103—105.

[32] Liu Pai-yü: Lei Feng's Image. Wen-i pao, *3*, 1963, p. 7.

[33] Loc. cit.

[34] Ibid., p. 11.

[35] Loc. cit.

[36] Cf. Nadeev, I. M.: *"Kulturnaya revolyutsiya" i sudba kitaiskoi literatury* ("The Cultural Revolution" and Fate of Chinese Literature). Moscow, Nauka 1969, p. 87.

zes the moral side of Lei Feng's personality and an expression of a "soulless creature"[37] his epistemologic bearing. Lei Feng could not have become Chairman Mao's "idolizer and martyr" had he not studied and constantly propagated his teaching. "To me, Chairman Mao's works", Lei Feng is alleged to have written "are like food, weapons and the steering wheel of a vehicle. To live, you must have food, to fight you must have a weapon, to drive a vehicle you must have a steering wheel, and to work for the revolution you must read Chairman Mao's works."[38] We see in these words — if we decipher their symbolic meaning, their mutual connection, their communicative impact on the reader — of course insofar as he believes in them — that Mao's teaching in Lei Feng and those akin to him, turns into a mystical "way, truth and life", achieves even a religious and in any case an irrational character. Lei Feng, wandering through China and carrying a satchel with different essays by Mao[39] which he constantly read and memorized, became the "prototype" of millions of his countrymen listlessly waving the now-forgotten "little red book" — *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung.*

Although Lei Feng had become a "positive hero" to a considerable number of major or minor literary works, the subject of numerous essays and articles, there were also such as never spoke of him, or proposed other heroes who should be a subject of writing in those years. To some theoreticians he just seemed not to exist and Chou Yang himself, evidently realizing the lack of expressiveness of this image, wished that heroes be represented also from the ranks of "outstanding scientists".[40]

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One of those who probably influenced also the subsequent development of the concept of the "positive hero" and simultaneously presented a thorough survey of its most important traits, was Chou Yü [60], with his extensive theoretical study *Kuan-yü chen-mien jen-wu-ti su-tsao ho p'ing-chia wen-t'i* [61] On the Moulding and Evaluation of Positive Characters. The article makes no mention of Lei Feng, although it fully admits and proclaims that the contemporary period in China (i.e. the year 1963) "is a heroic revolutionary period, uniting closely ideals and reality full of a heroic popular spirit striving earnestly for an implementation of revolutionary ideals".[41] The author likewise fully supports what he calls the most important mission of Chinese writers of the present time: "to create heroic images of our epoch" and in

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[37] See Fr. Gruner's review of Nadeev's book in Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, *XVII*, No. 3, 1972, p. 506.

[38] Chen Kuang-sheng: op. cit., p. 60.

[39] Ibid., p. 61.

[40] Cf. Goldman, M.: op. cit., p. 235.

[41] Wen-hsüeh p'ing-lun [62] Literary Review, *5*, 1963, pp. 2—3.

this manner "to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the reading masses".[42] A rather remarkable feature is that as regards "positive characters" or "heroes", he does not mention a single concrete example from the history of the new Chinese literature, although he finds positive heroes in old Chinese literature, in past participants in peasants' rebellions in the novel *Water Margin*, the father and son of the Yüeh family from *Shuo Yüeh ch'üan chuan* [63] The Complete Story of Yüeh Fei, in the generals from the Yang family from *Yang chia t'ung-su yen-i* [64] Popular Version of the History of the Yang Family, in Chia Pao-yü [65] and Lin Tai-yü [66] from the novel *Hung lou meng* [67] *Dream of the Red Chamber*.[43] Of foreign literature of critical realism, he states that it had produced many negative and few positive characters.[44] Of the positive characters from realist literatures of the past century, this Chinese critic does not mention a single one that would have satisfied him, and of those that at least partially corresponded to his creative concept, he pointed only to Rakhmetov, from the novel *What to Do?* by N. G. Chernyshevky. In Chou Yü's terms, this book had become "the Gospel of Russian progressive people", and although images similar to Rakhmetov were imperfect from the artistic point of view, they could thrill human hearts and were of great significance.[45]

In the years 1962—1963, articles appeared in several Chinese literary journals on "positive heroes" of contemporary Chinese literature. Chou Yü endeavoured to generalize the remarks of critics and the experiences of writers when he wrote that "to create positive characters is more difficult than negative ones".[46] Even where "positive characters" were relatively well done, he found that they were not adequately "highlighted" (*t'u-ch'u*) [73] and not sufficiently "complete" (*feng-man*) [74].[47] As shall be seen presently, the expression *t'u-ch'u* became notorious in that it was instrumental in setting up probably the most monstrous characterizing method in literary history. This Chinese author sees the cause of an inadequate depth of positive characters, of their weak emotional charge, the greyness of their temperament to reside in the gnoseological field. In his view, there are new people and new things, *hsin jen hsin shih* [75] in contemporary Chinese literature and these have to be known both in theory and in practice, particularly on the basis of what Chou Yü designates as a correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism. At another place in this

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[42] Ibid., p. 3.

[43] Ibid., p. 2.

[44] Loc. cit.

[45] Loc. cit.

[46] Ibid., p. 4. Cf. also Ch'en Liao [68]: *Shih-tai pien-la, jen-wu pien-la, tso-chia ti pi-mo yeh pu neng pu pien* [69] Time Has Changed, People Have Changed, the Pen of Writers Could Not But Change. Shang-hai wen-hsüeh [70] Shanghai's Literature, *11—12*, 1963, pp. 128—134; Kao Yün [71]: *Kuan-yü hsin jen hsing-hsiang ti tien-hsing-hua* [72] On the Problem of Typification of New Characters, ibid., *10*, 1963, pp. 54—60.

[47] Chou Yü: op. cit., p. 4.

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study, mention is made of Mao Tse-tung's literary theory,[48] but not of the subsequent obligatory Mao Tse-tung's way of thinking. Moulding of the positive characters brought in a related question, viz. how "to discover and describe the heroic essence of the new heroes". What is the repertory of heroic traits? Chou Yü enumerates the following: unselfishness, far-reaching revolutionary ideals, an optimistic, heroic spirit and a strong will manifested in a tough fight.[49] As examples, he speaks of heroes (though without analysing or naming them) from the novel *Hung yen* [76] Red Crag by Lo Kuang-pin [77] and Yang I-yen [78].[50] This novel was a bestseller in 1961—1963 in all the modern Chinese literary history. Within two years its publication exceeded four million copies.[51] This undeniable reader success was due to a series of thrilling episodes. As a matter of fact, in describing the last two years of the Civil War (1948—1949), the inhuman conditions in a Kuomingtang-American prison in Ch'ung-ch'ing and the situation in the resistance movement, the authors made use of well-tried methods of an adventure novel. It is partially autobiographical, which only helps to enhance its attraction and imparts to it a certain sign of authenticity. An irony of late is that Lo Kuang-pin who had survived the adversities of Kuomingtang despotism and the white terror, fell a victim to the outcome of the cruel torture of the "Red Guardists", or committed suicide during the "Cultural Revolution".[52]

A key position in the systemo-structural entity of Chou Yü's views and his literary theory relating to "positive characters" is held by *ssu-hsiang* [83] thinking, ideology. Writers must create heroic characters of the present times so that their "ideological brilliance" (*ssu-hsiang kuang-hui*) [84] might be discovered and enhanced.[53] It is uniquely with the aid of this ideology incorporated in deeds that these characters can affect readers emotionally and educationally. And even the value of a literary work is alleged to be in its ideological-communicative influence: a work must "proclaim (*chieh-shih*) [85] a deep, sublime ideology to readers".[54]

Besides underscoring an "ideological brilliance", heroic characters (*yin-hsiung hsing-ko*) [86], too, have to be emphasized.[55] Since new heroes manifest themselves

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[48] Ibid., p. 3.

[49] Loc. cit.

[50] Ibid., p. 6.

[51] Chu Chai [79]: *Shih-tai ko-ming ching-shen ti kuang-hui. Tu "Hung yen"* [80] The Brilliance of the Revolutionary Spirit of the Age. After Reading of the "Red Crag". Wen-hsüeh p'ing-lun, 6, 1963, p. 64.

[52] Cf. Lin Man-shu [81] et al.: *Chung-kuo tang-tai wen-hsüeh shih-kao* [82] A History of Contemporary Chinese Literature. Paris — Hong Kong 1978, p. 177, and Fokkema, D. W.: *Report from Peking. Observations of a Western Diplomat on the Cultural Revolution.* London, C. Hurst and Co. 1971, p. 82.

[53] Chou Yü: op. cit., p. 6.

[54] Loc. cit.

[55] Ibid., p. 9.

in a struggle with backward or negative characters, use may be made of the method of contrasts (*tui-chao*) [87] and emphasis (*ch'en-t'o*) [88] with the addition of a few villains and backward people into the bargain.[56] However, he cautions that "the measure must be kept well in hand".[57] He even admits the possibility of describing only "positive heroes" in literary works, whereby his concept comes closer to the subsequent theory of the beginnings of the "Cultural Revolution". In the matter of emphasizing "positive heroes", Chou Yü recognizes three ways of doing this: concentration (*chi-chung*) [89], exaggeration (*k'ua-chang*) [90] and idealization (*li-hsiang-hua*) [91].[58] While the first manner is fairly frequent even in outstanding literary works and consists in an organic connection of the traits of various models in the described character, the other two easily lead to a swollen, bombastic monumentality, deceptive allegoricalness, a repression of individual features, artificially constructed monstrosities which become all the more remote from life's reality, the more consistently they are applied in literary practice. F. Engels wrote of one such character that "it becomes dissolved in principle".[59]

Chou Yü's statement that "positive characters" produced on the basis of the above three modes ought to have a "rich individuality"[60] is but a concession to the general literary theory in the domain of characterization. Within the framework of a triple "highlighting" the demand for an application of individual temperamental traits is a specific form of *contradictio in adiecto*. The same also applies to a "rich inner life" of characters thus portrayed,[61] with the exception of emphasis on the ideational aspect.

On reading Chou Yang's speech of November 1965, written some two years after Chou Yü's article, we notice that the climate in the domain of literary and political production had become adjusted to the political situation rapidly inclining to the "Cultural Revolution". "Write first and foremost about socialism, write first and foremost about heroic characters" was one of the motifs and an important part of Chou Yang's speech at the All-China Conference of Young Writers-Amateurs in Peking.[62] According to Chou Yang, it behoved to write more about people "like Lei Feng and Wang Chieh, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, completely loyal to the revolution, who fear neither hardship nor death, people like those of Taching or Tachai who struggle to transform the world in the spirit of the 'Foolish Old Man who

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[56] Loc. cit.

[57] Loc. cit.

[58] Loc. cit.

[59] Marx, K. — Engels, Fr.: *Über Kunst und Literatur.* Erster Band. Berlin, Dietz Verlag 1967, p. 156.

[60] Chóu Yü: op. cit., p. 9.

[61] Ibid., p. 10.

[62] Chou Yang: *Raise High the Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking, Be Fighters on the Literary Front Who Can Labour as Well as Write.* CL, 3, 1966, pp. 115—116.

Removed Mountains'. Today such heroes are legion".[63] To these he still added "young scientists, technicians and students going to the mountains and the country-side".[64] He did not forget to praise soldiers highly, which was evidently connected with the enhanced role of the army in Chinese life after the year 1963.[65]

Chou Yang gave support to Mao Tse-tung's understanding of the slogan "Never forget the class struggle" uttered when condemning the so-called "feudal and bourgeois forces"[66] in the years 1961—1962, by which were meant those who produced historical plays, the best known of which were Wu Han's [92] .(1909—1969) *Hai Jui pa kuan* [93] *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, and which served as a catalyst of the "Cultural Revolution". Chou Yang also gave support to Chiang Ch'ing [94] (1914—) and her group when he praised (though he did not mention her name nor her "merits") the so-called modern revolutionary Peking operas *Hung teng chi* [95] *The Red Lantern* and *Sha-chia-pang* [96][67] in the production of which Chiang Ch'ing had collaborated. But he also attacked his colleague and collaborator of many years, Shao Ch'üan-lin stating that the aim of his concept of "middle characters" had been "to spread doubts about socialism, to undermine morale, to reject and stand up against portraying of heroes of the socialist age in literary works".[68]

Chou Yang refrained from speaking about Wu Han, for he assumed, as did his colleagues in the Propaganda Department of the CC CCP and members of the Peking Municipal Party Committee with P'eng Chen at their head [97] (1899—), that the controversy around Wu Han would be confined to the academic sphere and would not come to be a political affair. However, Yao Wen-yüan's [98] article *P'ing hsin pien li-shih chü Hai Jui pa-kuan* [99] On the New Historical Play Hai Jui Dismissed from Office provoked a chain reaction of events in the subsequent years that had unforseeable consequences in Chinese cultural, economic and political life in the following decade.[69]

One of them was the invitation "of some comrades from the armed forces" to the Shanghai conference, where a new form of Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* was to be formulated, suitable for the present period. Mao Tse-tung did not attend, but had himself represented by his wife Chiang Ch'ing, "respected and beloved Comrade",[70] otherwise "a great standard-bearer of the

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[63] Ibid., p. 115.

[64] Ibid., p. 116.

[65] Ibid., pp. 116—117.

[66] Ibid., pp. 100 and 103.

[67] Ibid., pp. 103—104.

[68] Ibid., p. 100.

[69] Wen-hui pao [100], 10th November, 1965; later reprinted both in Shanghai's and Peking's newspapers.

[70] Cf. CL, 1, 1970, p. 76. and CL, 2, 1970, p. 94.

cultural revolution".[71] "The Shanghai talks" took place on 2—20 February 1966 and their outcome was the famous *Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching*. Mao Tse-tung "examined and revised" this document three times and therefore undoubtedly agreed with its content. In this work compiled under the supervision of the most demagogic cultural politician and the least educated literary and artistic theoretician and critic ever to have occupied such a high place in China (this refers to Chiang Ch'ing), the mystique of the "positive hero" is moved to a further stage. There, no mention is made any more of "positive heroes", but only of "heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers";[72] there, criticism is levelled at every trait that would imply any imperfection in their characters. The "middle characters", as fancied by Shao Ch'üan-lin, are allegedly nothing but "backward people or caricatures of workers, peasants and soldiers".[73] New literary works of the "Cultural Revolution" were to show only the "arduous struggles and heroic sacrifices, revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism".[74] As against this, the horrors of war, or the sufferings of revolutionary struggles should not be exaggerated nor glorified. Love and death as everlasting topics of literary production were declared to be "bourgeois and revisionist trash".[75]

The number "3" mysticism led authors of literary and artistic works of the period of the "Cultural Revolution" to formulate a key method of characterization and an overall organization whether of "model heroes" or of literary works as such. They called this method "*san t'u-ch'u*" [101] and has been translated into English as e.g. "three principles of stress" or "three highlights".

As has been shown earlier in this study, the idea of emphasizing "positive heroes" had been known in China before Chiang Ch'ing. The new feature here was the "tripling" of this "stress" or "highlight". Although it has been ascribed to Chiang Ch'ing, it had probably a collective origin and, as far as can be established, was presented for the first time to the non-Chinese world by Yü Hui-yung [102],[76] a close follower of Chiang Ch'ing, and later minister of culture. In an article by Shen Hung-hsin called *Models in Depicting Proletarian Heroes,* this method is characterized as follows: "Highlight the positive characters among all the roles, highlight the heroic characters among all the positive characters, and highlight the principal hero, that is, the chief character among the heroic characters."[77]

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[71] CL, 7—8, 1968, p. 115.

[72] *Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching.* Peking, Foreign Languages Press 1968, p. 19.

[73] Ibid., p. 20.

[74] Ibid., p. 19.

[75] Ibid., p. 21.

[76] Yu Hui-jung: *Let Our Theatre Propagate Mao Tse-tung's Thought for Ever.* CL, 7—8, 1968, p. 111.

In formulating this definition, Shen Hung-hsin speaks about "our experience", hence there is probably question of a "collective pseudonym", such as were frequent at the time of the "Cultural Revolution" and prior to the fall of the Gang of Four. Similar "collective experiences" are also spoken of by Yü Hui-yung, originally a musical composer.

The theory of "three highlights" has a visual and a mechanical character. It bears signs of having originated on the stage. What was at stake, as regards those in control of Chinese literature during the fateful decade between 1966 till 1976? Their aims were manifold. But in the "creation of ideal characters" as a "central task of literature and art"[78] — which, according to the Maoists was a perpetual development in every art and literature, and hence also in the art and literature of that decade — emphasis or highlight was laid "on the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts as the first tenet".[79] That which we saw in 1963 in Chou Yü, is here accurately concretized. Chiang Ch'ing and those around her showed that the "ideological brilliance" can only be the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This "brilliance" usurped a pivotal place for several years in the systemo-structural entity of Maoist literary sphere and, as will be shown later, also in literary practice.

The excessive emphasis on "heroic models" and neglecting of other characters in literary works of the so-called revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism, that derive from the *Summary* spoken of above, proved to be unrealizable in practice. Therefore, in diverse works, but particularly in *yang-pan-hsi* [103], i.e. revolutionary model works, and in the seventies also in *belles lettres*, negative characters are portrayed, but only at the periphery of the plot, they form "a foil", usually in the form of caricatures to the "principal hero" and other positive characters.[80]

Only one and a half years after the fall of the Gang of Four did Huang Chen [105] (1908—), successor to Yü Hui-yung in the post of Minister of Culture, officially condemn the "three highlights" as one of the expressions of a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. It was on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*.[81] Some may find it of interest to note that it was precisely Yü Hui-yung who, in the name of Chiang Ch'ing, and in the interests of propagating "the shining thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" had officially proclaimed this formula as a "scientific summary of the rules of creation achieved by applying the thought of Mao Tse-tung".[82]

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[77] CL, *11—12*, 1969, p. 109.

[78] Ibid., p. 104.

[79] CL, *7—8*, 1968, p. 109.

[80] *Strive to Create the Brilliant Images of Proletarian Heroes. Appreciations in Creating the Heroic Images of Yang Tzu-jung and Others*. CL, *1*, 1970, pp. 67—68.

[81] Jen-min jih-pao [104] People's Daily (henceforth only JMJP), 21 st May, 1978, p. 1.

[82] CL, *7—8*, 1968, pp. 115 and 111.

The official condemnation of the "three highlights" mystique had been prepared beforehand in the Chinese press. In November 1977, twenty writers and critics repudiated it at a seminar on short story writing, organized by the journal Jen-min wen-hsüeh.[83] Towards the end of 1977, this was done by Liu Meng-ch'i [106].[84] The latter, among other things, made a defence of the theory of "middle characters" and pointed out that this involved a matter of creative orientation. Mao Tun called the "three highlights" masking (lien-p'u-chu-i) [107]. In the characterization of person-ages, he designated it as a direct schematism (kung-shih-hua) [108] and an abstraction (kai-nien-hua) [109]. Such characters could not win readers admiration and still less evoke an emotional response.[85]

The "decanonization" of the "three highlights" and the consequent removal of the "principal hero" from the glossary of literary theory and criticism did not mean a weakening of the "positive hero's" positions in Chinese creative and critical practice of the end of the seventies. We see also in Mao Tun, when comparing his presentiment from the year 1929 with his concept from the year 1977, that "heroic characters" occupy a firm place in the literature, only these literary products ought to be an expression of "human characters". At the present time they are to serve four modernizations.[86] Towards the end of 1977 only the most bigoted forms of characterization began to be removed, along with the fabrication of incredible romances, impossible in social and political life, artistically valueless, and ridiculous to an educated reader or cultured viewer. They were formally condemned only in May 1978. But the Maoist myth remained in the post-Mao era and lingers on.

Shao Ch'üan-lin's rehabilitation, approbation of his theory of "middle charac-ters", as also a recognition of various phenomena of current life[87] as possible and utilizable literary topic, give hope that ideal "positive heroes" will not completely dominate the scene of literary life.

4

Mei-hsi Tsai, in his work dealing with theoretical and practical analysis of positive types in contemporary Chinese literature, states that there exist two of them: the Invincible and the Indefatigable. The former is made up of heroes in action and are to be found in historical romances drawing their theme predominantly from three decades of revolutionary struggles between the years 1924—1953; the latter consists of agricultural and industrial heroes who might be called heroes of labour.[88]

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[83] Cf. JMJP, 19th November, 1977, p. 2.

[84] Ibid., 22nd December, 1977, p. 3.

[85] Ibid., 25th November, 1977, p. 2.

[86] Loc. cit.

[87] Loc. cit.

The very characteristic of these two types indicates that an error of allegory is involved which is proper to literary and artistic works of the period under analysis, but also to numerous works of the preceding period.

A careful reading of theoretico-critical works from the period of the "Cultural Revolution" will convince us that Mao's ideology is univocally characterized as invincible and ever-victorious. Literary works written in the sixties but published later (those that could be published only after the year 1971),[89] and those published after the fall of the Gang of Four show that the stage of "invincibleness" could often be attained only through "indefatigability" and therefore these two characteristics have but a partial applicability.

One such hero was Tung-tzu [110] Winter Boy, later P'an Chen-shan [111] P'an Shaking the Mountains, the principal hero in the novel *Shan-shan-ti hung hsing* [112] *The Bright Red Star* by Li Hsin-t'ien [113]. It had been written before the "Cultural Revolution" but was published in 1972.[90] The principal hero, as a six-year-old boy, receives as present from his father a red star and a blood-stained bullet with which he had been wounded by the White dogs. The father goes with Mao Tse-tung on the Long March and the son does not see him for over fifteen years. When he learns about him it is always something in common with Mao Tse-tung. The only song that he sings as a child is one about Mao Tse-tung. Their common enemy — the local landlord — has his mother burnt alive. The blazing pyre that swallowed up her body, became the emblem of his hatred.

In lieu of maternal love and fatherly guidance, the little orphan, as the principal hero, found class love and guidance in Mao's party. When only seven, they convinced him that "Chairman Mao is the best leader we can have". The novel devotes most space to the education of the new "proletarian hero". The little boy on his "wanderings" lasting several years (similarly as the hero of the first novelette in modern Chinese proletarian literature by Chiang Kuang-tz'u, from the year 1925, or the heroes in old Chinese novels), by means of his own study, ideological instructions by older comrades, masters little by little Mao's "omnipotent thought" as a means to heroic dealings.

The novel was written in the spirit of the dogmatic literary theory in the first half of the sixties and was to a large measure filled with Maoist requirements. Various positive heroes "highlight" the image of the principal hero, while negative villains are more caricatures than living people.

An item of interest is the symbolism in the novel. In my view, the red star which the boy received from his father did not give the title to the novel, for according to the

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[88] Tsai Mei-hsi: *The Construction of Positive Types in Contemporary Chinese Fiction* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation). University of California, Berkeley 1975, p. 20.

[89] They began to appear after Mao's instruction expressing the hope that "more and better works" of art and literature should appear (JMJP, 16th December, 1971).

[90] Peking, Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she [114] People's Literature Publishing House 1972.

original intention it was meant only to remind the boy of his father and was to him only a general emblem of the revolution. That "bright red star" was the fixed pole-star, the North Star which the principal hero saw when swimming across the Yang-tzu (as Mao Tse-tung in 1966) and this symbol of Mao's thinking showed him the way and direction, revived his energy and faith. Mao's ideas were his constant companions in life and work. That could not be said about the bullet from his father's body which he left buried in his native village and took it with him only after the victory over the hated Japanese, when he again joined the fight, this time against the White dogs. The blazing flames, too, had but a limited signification in his ideological and political development, for that was but an emblem of a personal emotion. His constant companion was "the ideological brilliance of Mao's teaching" showing him how to defeat external and internal enemies and ensure the victory of the revolution.

The superiority of Mao's thought and ideology may be seen in an even more striking measure in Hao Jan's [115] (1932—) novel *Chin kuang ta tao* [116] The Highway of Golden Light.[91] Its principal hero is Kao Ta-ch'üan [117]. Here, the symbolism becomes an integral component of the novel's structure. The very name Kao Ta-ch'üan means, partly semantically, partly homophonously, high, great, perfect (*ch'üan*) [118]. The last, just intimated meaning was used as perfection in the aesthetic and artistic sense, e.g. in Ch'eng Fang-wu [119] (1897—),[92] and the expression *ta-ch'üan* then emphasized this perfection, and in connection with *kao* makes of it some sort of a "sublime perfection" in the sense of greatness, impressiveness and heroic pathos. Similarly as in the novel by Li Hsin-t'ien, so also here the principal hero goes through long revolutionary wanderings that represent the gradual process of his ideological development. This development is lined by the vision of the "highway of golden light". This is another symbol embodying a broad scale of meanings, but as an allegory of the Way (Tao) in the first part of the Chinese name, it clearly implies that thereby is meant Mao Tse-tung's thinking expressed in his works. Golden light is an "epitheton constans" of this new "Way". Kao Ta-ch'üan is its most outstanding follower from among all the "heroes" depicted in the novel. And he achieved this pre-eminence solely thanks to Mao's thinking and the Maoist theory. Kao Ta-ch'üan, although far above all the others and forming the focus and the climax of the novel, accepts the system of Mao Tse-tung's ideas relating to various questions connected with setting up cooperatives in agriculture, or the so-called "struggle of the lines" through Liang Hai-shan [121] i.e. Liang Who is Like the Mountains and Seas. Kao fights with all his strength against Chang Chin-fa [122], i.e. Chang Who Wants To Have Gold and Be Rich, otherwise a village head standing behind the line of "building up the family fortunes", or Fan K'o-ming [123], homophonous with Fan Ko-ming [124], i.e. a Counter-revolutionary landlord who

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[91] Ibid., Vol. 1 (1972) and Vol. 2 (1974).

[92] Ch'eng Fang-wu: *Shih-ming* [120] The Mission. Shanghai 1927, p. 10.

has usurped the name of a poor peasant he had killed. No wonder that Mao Tun termed such characters "masks". Their very names indicate their characteristic traits, and their thoughts, words and deeds express allegories serving the pragmatic interests of Maoist policy.

This unfinished novel was written during the period of Chiang Ch'ing's dictatorship and of "model revolutionary operas", and carries the seal of the "three highlights".

"Three highlights" could best be made use of in "revolutionary operas", eventually in other theatre forms, principally through exploitation of their visual and dramatic possibilities. Two of the more prominent might be mentioned, the first of which more or less shows a caricature of the "indefatigable" and the second again one of the peak caricatures of the "invincible" type.

The principal heroine in the opera *Hai-kang* [125] *On the Docks*[93] is a party secretary Fang Hai-chen [126], i.e. Sea Gem. Under her leadership, a group of Shanghai dock workers seek a torn sack of wheat mixed with fibre-glass and boarded on the wrong ship that carried rice to Africa. Hai-chen endeavours to resolve this action along the ideological and political line. She discovers that a hidden "class enemy" took advantage of the negligence of a young worker and intended by this deed to harm the good will and prestige of the PRC and of Chairman Mao in the developing countries. The sack with the spilled wheat was found and was put into a "class education exhibition". The young worker regretted his lack of vigilance and, as a class comrade, was forgiven everything. Like other operas, this one, too, was constantly revised and amended according to political needs. For instance, a very cordial reference to Lin Piao, with which the first act published in the script in January 1969, opens, fails to appear in that of January 1972. In this last text accessible to me, the hidden class enemy is arrested and probably also punished, while this is not the case in the text from the year 1969. There is nothing heroic about this opera. The plot is a primitive one, very improbable, its artistic processing is of a very low standard. According to it, to be heroic is "to be a never-rusting cog in the great revolutionary machine",[94] on condition, of course, that the revolution be guided by Mao's ideas.

The most Maoist hero of the past two decades probably was Yang Tzu-jung [127], the principal hero in the opera *Chih ch'ü Wei-hu shan* [128] *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, arranged on the basis of an adventure novel with a political theme and called *Lin hai hsüeh yüan* [129] *Tracks in the Snowy Forest*, by Ch'ü Po [130].[95] Little is known of Yang Tzu-jung's road to heroism. In 1967, it was sung about him in an aria that he was the son of a hired-hand peasant, suffered poverty from childhood

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[93] This opera is known to me on the basis of two scripts published in CL, *1*, 1969, pp. 3—53, and from the booklet which appeared in Peking in 1973.

[94] See the end of Scene Six.

[95] The Chinese original appeared in 1958 and an English translation in 1962.

and because of the landlord's oppression and exploitation, his father "hanged himself, while his mother died of epilepsy".[96] In 1969, as part of Mme Mao's and her aides, "embellishing strains", the latter fact was not mentioned. Yang Tzu-jung was often awarded distinctions, and saved fellow fighters. He had a heart "red as fire" and his will was strong "as steel".[97] As evident from an article written by the Group of the Peking Opera Troupe of Shanghai, entitled *Strive to Create the Brilliant Images of Proletarian Heroes*, with the subtitle *Appreciation in Creating the Heroic Images of Yang Tzu-jung and Others*, Chinese opera singers, stage designers, and also Chiang Ch'ing and others reflected on the question how to depict the so-called proletarian heroes who would be "lofty and mature and shining with brilliance".[98] They were to have been heroes unreservedly dedicated to Mao and his thinking, such as would have the "morning sun" (likewise a symbol of Mao) in their hearts, would be set against the typical background of the revolutionary struggle, would have contacts with the masses and would be resolved to put into practice Mao's strategic and tactical thinking.[99]

A gradual revision of the opera resulted in Yang Tzu-jung's (i.e. Son of Glory) image to become more and more idealized and less credible. In the original script from before the year 1963, he had been far more authentic, truer to life and more adapted to his role, i.e. as a masked officer of bandits, to gain entrance into the fortress on Tiger Mountain and prepare a successful attack by the Chinese army on this nest of resistance. At that time, Yang Tzu-jung behaved like a bandit and thus succeeded in deluding his adversaries.[100] In the scripts from the years 1967 and 1969, we find nothing reminiscent of banditry either in his appearance or his behaviour. He "deludes" his adversaries solely by mastering their argot. Besides the ideological brilliance of his image, considerable emphasis in both scripts was laid on the voluntaristic traits of his character, his ability "to shake the heights of the mountains and to fill the valleys with his courage".[101]

This principle in the description of character was applied, though in a lesser measure, also in the case of other "positive heroes" of this opera. On the other hand, negative characters served solely as a background to the principal hero. Here too, we witness a gradual literary cacomorphism. It is the case of the Vulture (earlier an Eagle), or of the Terribles (earlier the Invincibles). As the word Eagle might have evoked a positive image in some minds, the chieftain from Tiger Mountain had to be turned into a Vulture. And as Invincibles could only be proletarian heroes as the

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[96] CL, *8*, 1967, p. 146.

[97] Loc. cit., and CL, *1*, 1970, p. 21.

[98] CL, *1*, 1970, p. 61.

[99] Cf. ibid., pp. 61—62.

[100] Ibid., p. 62.

[101] Cf. CL, *8*, 1967, p. 150, and CL, *1*, 1970, p. 25.

bearers and realizers of Mao's thinking, the Vulture's colleagues had to be turned into the Terribles. Even the nickname Tuft Cheek appeared too euphemistic for a negative character and had to be named Howling Wolf.[102] In this and other operas, styled modern revolutionary Peking operas, negative characters could appear only on the periphery of the stage, never in the centre.[103] That was reserved solely to the principal hero, usually to Madame Mao's "stars".

In the story entitled *T'o-pieh-ti kuan-chung* [131] A Special Audience, by a beginning working man writer-amateur, Tuan Jui-hsia [133], there are no negative characters.[104] The principal hero wishes to resemble Yang Tzu-jung. The worker, formerly a soldier, Chi Ch'ang-ch'un [134] (i.e. Eternal Spring) is captivated by Yang Tzu-jung's aria in which he sings: "Well, I know that there's danger ahead, but I am all the more set on driving forward"[105] and promises the ensemble playing *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, to make for them, together with his fellow-workers, an improved panel for sound control. Chi Ch'ang-ch'un tries to transfer Yang Tzu-jung from the Manchurian mountains into his guild and factory. The result is something like directions how "to learn from Yang Tzu-jung". However, this is not the point of the story. That one shows that Yang Tzu-jung, too, must learn from the masses, from workers, peasants and soldiers; to these Yang Tzu-jung alone is not enough, but also Fang Hai-chen and Kao Chih-yang [135] from the opera *On the Docks* referred to above, are models, as is Chiang Shui-ying [136] from the opera *Lung-chiang sung* [137] *Song of the Dragon River*, and others.[106] "A Special Audience" is the product of "a special theatre" and vice versa, "literary heroes engender life heroes" and vice versa, and Maoist mythopoiea is illustrated by further examples out of which the present story has been selected only as a typical sample.

However, precisely the overwhelming nature of the so-called "special audience", (if everybody is a hero, where is the sense in being a hero at all?), its bombastic gigantism (in reality theatricalness), incorporates also the superiority of its literary greyness, wretchedness and worthlessness. In reality, it is a very painful result of what in 1925 Lu Hsün called deceit and dissimulation. At that time this Chinese writer of world renown characterized part of Chinese literary scholars of his time and of the past by the words: "They close their ears before very reality in order to deceive not only themselves but also others." Lu Hsün called such writings "a literature of concealment and deceit".[107]

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[102] Cf. CL, *8*, 1967, pp. 132, 142 and 151, and CL, *1*, 1970, pp. 7, 17 and 26.

[103] CL, *1*, 1970, pp. 68—69.

[104] See *Tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo ch'uang-tso t'an* [132] On the Writing of Short Stories. Shanghai, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she 1974, pp. 67—85.

[105] CL, *8*, 1967, p. 148, and CL, *1*, 1970, p. 23.

[106] Cf. *Song of the Dragon River*. Peking, Foreign Languages Press 1972.

[107] The Complete Works of Lu Hsün. Vol. 1. Peking 1956, pp. 329 and 332.

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In 1977, a reaction set in to such a "monumentalization" (and allegorization) and the attendant caricaturist portrayal of reality. Its range and impact can hardly be appreciated as yet. In an article *Kuan-yü hsieh yin-hsiung jen-wu li-lun wen-t'i-ti t'an-t'ao* [139] A Research into the Problem of the Theory of Heroic Characters, Wang Ch'un-yüan [138] calls for positive heroes to be de-mythologized.[108] He states that those literary heroes in particular who emerged after the "Great Leap Forward", hence, in the sixties and seventies, "did not really exist, but they were only desires of the hearts"[109] of their authors. Although Wang Ch'un-yüan defends the theory of combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romantism (if he did not do it, his study would not appear), yet he is of the opinion that every writer in his work and, therefore also in creating characters, should behave like Antaios towards his mother Earth.[110] But he forgot to recall that what happened to Antaios after his meeting with Heracles, may well happen to the writer, or even the entire literature if these take no account of it. When Wang Ch'un-yüan propagates the creation of such "sublime images as was the great communist martyr Chang Chih-hsin"[111] [140] it may well be but a tactical move, for his strategic aim is to create in a greater measure "images of ordinary 'people of practice' making contemporary history".[112] According to him, it is necessary for literature to become again literature. Wang Ch'un-yüan's attack on heroes was not aimed at the concept of the "positive hero" in contemporary Chinese literature, but only an attempt at abolishing the concept of an ideal hero such as the Maoist "positive" or "proletarian" hero really was.

It appears, however, that Chinese literary practice since the end of 1977, at least judging by a few examples, differs somewhat from the most daring literary theory. Such stories as *Shang-hen* [141] *The Wound* by Lu Hsin-hua [142][113] or *Hsien-shang-ti meng* [143] *Melody in Dreams* by Tsung P'u [144],[114] describe young girls that have lost one or both parents persecuted by the Gang of Four (an allegory for the Cultural Revolution and for the last years of Mao Tse-tung's era). They are readable works. It only remains to be seen how long they will be allowed to appear in Chinese literature.

Their existence is generally known in the PRC, they have won readers' appreciation[115] and they were mentioned also at the 4th Congress of the All-China

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[108] Wen-hsüeh p'ing-lun, *5*, 1979, pp. 63—67.

[109] Ibid., p. 64.

[110] Ibid., p. 65.

[111] Ibid., p. 67.

[112] Loc. cit.

[113] Wen-hui pao, 11th August, 1978, and CL, *3*, pp. 25—38.

[114] Jen-min wen-hsüeh, *12*, 1978, and CL, *8*, 1979, pp. 78—99.

Association of Literary and Artistic Workers, by the rehabilitated Chou Yang, now in the function of President of this biggest organization of Chinese writers and artists. However, is not this *pao-lu wen-hsüeh* [145] literature of exposure a fad of the moment? Something like an elemental campaign of dissatisfied people, particularly the young members of the intelligentsia who have been wronged? Will it not come to an end as soon as the leadership of the CCP considers it fit?

Among the new "glorious tasks", the need is underlined to create within the demands of the four modernizations, i.e. "to reflect the bold and beautiful perspectives of the 'great new march'" and "to mould the artistic images of contemporary people standing in the front ranks of the times".[116] How long will the characters of the "literature of exposure" stand in the front ranks of the times? They never stood there while the "Cultural Revolution" and PRC lasted, and reached the literary scene only in the intervals when literature got out of Maoist leadership's hands. Alongside the heroic characters, it will be possible, according to Chou Yang, to create also others, middle, backward and negative ones. In future too, it will be possible to criticize the adherents of Lin Piao and of the Gang of Four and their "social basis", to unveil the atmosphere of "bureaucratism" (it is not said which kind), certain remnants of feudalism, capitalism, and petty bourgeoisie, "with the aim to help people to know life and to change it".[117] As "heroic characters" that will have to be moulded in literature, Chou Yang mentions first and foremost revolutionary leaders and members of the early revolutionary cadres.

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The entire Chinese literature of the period under study (with certain exceptions of the last years) is a modern objectivization of a combination of the Sisyphean myth with that of Tantalus: enormous pains, expended efforts that never achieve their aim (in the former), and magnificent promises, sublime visions presented and accepted in a state of lasting fear, uncertainty and other difficulties (in the latter). The one and the other myth is exemplified by "positive heroes" of the type of the Invincibles and the Indefatigables with the difference that the myths, artistically processed by Homer, Pindar, Ovid and others, are simultaneously literary works of great value, while the literary or artistic concretization of Maoist myth has failed to create works of any value.

Literature cannot be a mere exemplification of thinking, ideology, an allegorical expression of a certain political or moral attitude, nor can it be made solely to teach and educate, and then absolutely not by means of black-and-white ready-made

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[115] Jen-min wen-hsüeh, 4, 1979, pp. 3—22.

[116] Kuang-ming jih-pao [146], 20th November, 1979, p. 3.

[117] Ibid., p. 4.

schemes, "morning suns", and other transparent, literary primitive clichés. Literature and its works are living systemo-structural entities that have their own artistic specificity.

It has been seen earlier that normative demands of "highlighting" had been enforced in the PRC quite vehemently already in the early sixties. During the "Cultural Revolution", in virtue of the "three highlights", only "ideal heroes" and extremely negative villains could be created. Neither the ones, nor the others have any place in serious literature and valuable art.

"As a matter of fact, typifying has its own snags", wrote our eminent literary critic A. Matuška, "...excessive endeavours to set up types, excessive efforts at typifying *en masse*, heedlessly, i.e. an attempt, so to say, to divide people according to type into two halves from the aspect of historical evolution, ended in a caricature of both sides."[118]

It is not possible to set up an epic, dramatic or lyric correlation of reality, without characters. It can, nevertheless, be set up quite well and effectively as regards the artistic aspect without any a priori schemes insisting on a black-and-white technique, on dubious stereotypes of bearers of positive or negative traits — "heroes" or "villains" — as elements of the structural texture of a literary work.

Neither the positive, nor negative signs speak for literary characters, but solely their objective literary-artistic value, which also through their intermediary, exerts a positive or a negative action.

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[118] Matuška, A.: *Od včerajška k dnešku* (From Yesterday to Our Days). Bratislava 1959, p. 156.

1.禹 2.愚 3.列子 4.游侠事迹 5.水浒传
6.俞万春 7.荡寇志 8.鲁迅 9.茅盾 10.流亡民
的变迁 11.侠 12.施公案 13.彭公案 14.七侠
五义 15.至今没有穷尽 16.张爱平 17.鲁迅
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146. 光明日报

QUELQUES REMARQUES SUR LE ROMAN VIETNAMIEN MODERNE

JÁN MÚČKA, Bratislava

Cet aperçu traite des premiers efforts vers un roman moderne dans la littérature vietnamienne à une époque quand les mouvements littéraires et philosophiques externes commençaient à pénétrer au Vietnam, provoquant dans la vie littéraire de nombreux phénomènes complexes et contradictoires. En outre, l'étude fait cas des péripéties de son développement pendant les années d'avant-guerre, c'est-à-dire, au temps où le roman comme genre littéraire se stabilisait dans la littérature vietnamienne.

Comme période préparatoire à l'avènement du roman vietnamien moderne, on peut indiquer les années de la troisième décade de notre siècle quand l'écriture latinisée (*chu quoc ngu*) était introduite et mise en valeur. Par roman nouveau on comprend à présent un genre littéraire qui prédominait et marquait le plus grand développement dans la plupart des littératures européennes du 19ᵉ siècle. Il est à remarquer ici que dans la littérature vietnamienne, lors même qu'il fût question de mettre en jeu cette conception du roman, le roman vietnamien originait à partir d'éléments constructifs de base et de méthodes de représentation tout à fait différentes ; il exploitait d'une manière nouvelle les moyens linguistiques, et les normes classiques de symétrie lui étaient étrangères.

Le mode de vie et la manière de penser nouvelle de la bourgeoisie naissante, des intellectuels et des fonctionnaires, introduisaient de nouvelles demandes aussi dans le domaine de la culture, de la littérature et de l'art. Des périodiques et des journaux vinrent à être lancés, parmi lesquels Huu Thanh (Voix amie) et les collections Dong-duong tap chi (Revue indochine) et Nam Phong (Vent du Sud) jouaient le rôle le plus important.

La plupart des écrivains et hommes de lettres qui commençaient à se grouper, appartenaient à la petite bourgeoisie instruite (Hoang Ngoc Phach, Ho Bieu Chanh, Pham Duy Ton, Nguyen Cong Hoan, et autres). La période de 1925—1930 marquait une différentiation prononcée dans la petite bourgeoisie vietnamienne. Une partie d'elle inclinait vers le mouvement réformiste, une autre ressentait sur elle même les conséquences de la crise économique du capitalisme, quelques uns étaient impressionnés par la victoire de la grande révolution socialiste d'octobre dans la Russie czariste et par la révolution chinoise, d'autres encore cherchaient un expédient dans le surréalisme. La section la plus progressive de la petite bourgeoisie prit une part active dans le mouvement pour la libération nationale mené par Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh. Une autre partie proclamait des idées d'un

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démocratisme bourgeois et fonda le Parti national vietnamien (Viet-nam Quoc dan dang), alors que la partie la plus pauvre des membres de la petite bourgeoisie joignit le Mouvement révolutionnaire des jeunes (Viet-nam thanh nien cach mang dong chi hoi), qui déja portait certains trait socialistes. Ce qui importait, c'était que la petite bourgeoise intellectuelle vietnamienne entière avait des prétensions et des révendications dans le domaine de la culture et de la pensée complètement différentes des aspirations propres aux hommes de lettres de la couche confucianiste dans les vingtièmes années de ce siècle. La rencontre avec la culture européenne (en premier lieu avec la littérature française) évoquait elle aussi une réponse inouie dans le mode de penser des jeunes intellectuels vietnamiens approximativement du commencement de ce siècle. Elle stimula une activité de traduction très vive, que était orientée vers les œuvres les plus connus de Rousseau, Hugo, Balzac, Dumas, Bourget, Châteaubriand et autres, ce qui joua un rôle créatif-vivifiant très positif dans la vie littéraire naissante.

Au début de 1929 les premières organisations communistes commençaient à se former au Vietnam, menant à la fondation du Parti communiste de l'Indochine (le 3 février 1930). Simultanément avec ce mouvement, on vit apparaître les premières œuvres de la littérature révolutionnaire nouvelle et cela dans le domaine de la poésie, du drame et de la prose courte, publiées dans des journaux et périodiques prolétaires faisant œuvre de pionniers, tels que Bua liem (Faucille et marteau), Tien len (En avant) et Cong hoi do (L'union rouge).

Alors, en ce qui concerne les demandes objectives de toute la société, la littérature vietnamienne des vingtièmes années faisait face aux tâches de la modernisation, du changement du contenu et de la forme, de la solution des questions linguistiques et de la technique artistique, problèmes de la prose (qui n'avait pour ainsi dire aucune tradition dans le passé), de la traduction artistique et enfin la question des genres littéraires nouveaux, tel le roman, le conte et le drame moderne.

A partir de 1925, les premiers romans commencent à paraître dans la littérature vietnamienne : *To Tam* écrit par Hoang Ngoc Phach, *Qua dua do* (Pastèque) par Nguyen Trong Thuat, *Kim Anh le su* (L'histoire de Kim Anh) par Trong Khiem, *Cay dang mui doi* (Vie amère) et *Tien bac, bac tien* (L'argent) par Ho Bieu Chanh, *Nho phong* (Traditions confuciennes) par Nguyen Tuong Tam. Tous atteignirent le niveau de portée nationale et contenaient un mélange hétérogène d'éléments historiques, romantiques et patriotiques. Ils faisaient preuve d'une tendance fort tributaire au mode de penser littéraire confucien d'un côté, et au mélodrame du romantisme français de l'autre, comme l'a relevé M. Durand aussi : «Il est vrai qu'à cette époque, le romantisme français était fortement à la mode au Vietnam...».[1] Mais en même temps, quelques uns de ces romans portaient un tranchant social

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[1] Durand, M. M.: *Nguyen Tran-Huan: Introduction à la littérature vietnamienne.* Paris, Editions G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose 1969, p. 156.

dirigé vers l'idéologie officielle et l'ordre social d'alors. «La littérature antiféodale du romantisme passif commença par le roman To Tam du professeur Hoang Ngoc Phach»[2] Truong Chinh a écrit dans un document culturel important.

La première édition de ce roman apparut en 1925 et fut enlevée en peu de temps ; la génération des jeunes l'a reçu tout à fait positivement, alors que la génération aînée y avait certaines réserves ou même le condamnait. Il s'y agit d'un roman d'amour libre (entre To Tam et Dam Thuy), fort sentimental par endroits que met en opposition la morale féodale confucienne et la liberté individuelle émanant d'une philosophie de vie humanistique. A cette époque-là, cette philosophie au Vietnam s'enrichissait de nouveaux éléments de connaissance, et cela tout d'abord par l'influence qu'exerçait l'œuvre de J. J. Rousseau dans la vie littéraire du Vietnam. La signification de ce premier roman vietnamien réside en ce qu'il a déterminé d'une manière artistique la position de l'individu dans la société et a sanctionné les droits vitaux de l'individu. La mort du personnage principal (To Tam) pour sauver l'amour toujours vivant était une condamnation de l'éthique confucienne et de la morale féodale de la famille. Il est à souligner aussi que «l'ego», en tant que facteur important de la vie sociale, apparaissait ici pour la première fois dans la littérature vietnamienne. Cependant, l'individualisme était encore bien restraint dans la production romancière et généralement dans la littérature de la troisième décade (à l'exception de Hoang Ngoc Phach et le poète et écrivain bien connu Tan Da) et on pourrait dire qu'il était fatalement lié aux postulats de base de la morale confucienne. Hoang Ngoc Phach en était conscient quand il écrivait dans son livre *Thoi the voi van chuong* (Le Présent et la Littérature) : «Si l'éthique influe sur la littérature, alors la littérature peut aussi créer une nouvelle éthique, tout spécialement à cette époque européenne-asiatique transitoire». Dans le roman *To Tam* on rencontre aussi pour la première fois des personnages aux traits d'isolement et d'abandon, traits charactéristiques de la littérature romanesque. Ils sont proches aux personnages de Julie chez Rousseau, de Corinne chez Madame de Staël, d'Atalie chez Châteaubriand ou de Werther chez Goethe. La publication du roman *To Tam* dans les vingtièmes années de notre siècle était une réalité qui transformait à fond la manière de la production romanesque traditionnelle (le mot romanesque est ici compris dans le sens épisodique). A un temps ou le lecteur vietnamien avait été acoutumé aux romans sorciers de cape et d'épé, Hoang Ngoc Phach est venu avec un nouveau type de roman moderne dont la structure est fondée sur des bases psychologiques.

Comparé au roman traditionnel de l'Asie Orientale, le roman *To Tam* fait plus attention aux facteurs naturels et aux paysages qu'il dépeint expressivement au moyen d'un haut degré d'individualisation. Les images de la nature ne servent pas ici

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[2] Truong, Chinh: *Chu nghia Mac va van de van hoa Viet-nam* (Le Marxisme et problèmes de la culture vietnamienne). Ha-noï, Hoi van nghe Viet-nam xuat ban (Edition de l'Association culturelle du Viet Nam) 1949, p. 45.

uniquement pour peindre le caractère du personnage (comme, par exemple dans le roman versifié classique *Truyen Kieu*), mais elles constituent une partie inséparable de la situation romanesque (comme dans le roman *La Princesse de Clèves* par Mme M. M. de La Fayette). Par sa structure générale, le roman *To Tam* s'avère supérieur au roman Les Coutumes confuciennes par Nguyen Tuong Tam qui garde les canons temporels et éthiques de l'épisode traditionnelle tout en étant plutôt tributaire à l'idéalisation.

Un auteur de romans très populaires dans les vingtièmes années de notre siècle au Vietnam du Sud était Ho Bieu Chanh (1885—1958).

En ce qui concerne la quantité et la qualité (il a écrit près de 60 romans et nouvelles), il était l'écrivain dont les œuvres connaissaient peut être le plus grand succès au Vietnam de cette période. Il était né dans une famille mandarine à Go-cong et son vrai nom était Ho Van Trung. Dans son enfance déjà il apprit le chinois et le français et plus tard exerça la fonction d'employé mandarin. Après 1940, il était conseiller de l'administration française au Vietnam du Sud.

L'œuvre littéraire de Ho Bieu Chanh embrassait beaucoup de phénomènes typiques de la vie au Vietnam du Sud dans les années après la 1ère guerre mondiale. Ses romans sont mis dans un milieu de campagne et de ville, avec une palette sociale de personnages étendue : y sont compris des mandarins, des propriétaires fonciers, des artistes, vagrants jusqu'aux prostituées. La plupart de ses œuvres contiennent aussi une critique relative de la classe des propriétaires fonciers et des grands mandarins féodaux et cela de l'aspect de la morale et des principes éthiques. Ho Bieu Chanh dévoilait le rôle amoral de l'argent (le roman cité plus haut l'Argent, 1926) qu'il mit en opposition à l'humanisme. Il réussit aussi à peindre la protestation inconsciente et l'opposition spontanée de l'ouvrier. Cependant, en conséquence de l'étroitesse de vue de ces temps, il assignait les gens tout simplement et quelque peu naïvement en deux catégories seulement : ceux qui sont humains et justes, et ceux qui manquent de ces vertues. Un tel point de vue naturellement limitait ses romans quant au contenu. En ce qui concerne l'aspect idéologique, Ho Bieu Chanh prit position avec un réformisme féodal (ceci s'est manifesté d'une manière éclatante dans le roman *Khoc tham* — Pleurs retenus, 1930). Cela lui était facilité aussi par sa propre théorie de fatalité fondée sur l'enseignement bouddhiste qu'il propageait, l'enseignement du karma et la théorie tolstoïenne de ne pas opposer le mal par la violence. Certaines de ses œuvres font preuve d'un mélange d'enseignement bouddhiste et de dogmatisme confucien (par exemple, le roman *Con nha ngheo* — L'enfant des pauvres, 1930).

Pendant la période de la troisième décade, des romans progressifs orientés vers une libération nationale pouvait être propagés au Vietnam illégalement seulement. Ainsi, le roman de Phan Boi Chau *Trung Quang tam su* — L'histoire de Trung Quang par exemple, était publié pour la première fois dans un journal en Chine du sud, depuis le mois de janvier 1921 jusqu'au mois d'avril 1925. Ce roman quelque

peu révolutionnaire était écrit en chinois et parut en vietnamien seulement en 1957 sous le titre Exploits remarquables de l'empereur Tran (*Hau Tran dat su*). Il s'agit d'un roman historique dont le sujet est la rébellion contre les armeés de Ming au commencement du 15ᵉ siècle, mais avec un dessein d'actualisation évidente touchant aux sociétés secrètes de renaissance nationale Duy tan hoi (Société pour la rénovation, 1904) et Viet-nam Quang phuc hoi (Société pour la Renaissance du Vietnam, 1912). Du côté de construction formelle, le roman Histoire de Trung Quang porte les signes classiques du roman chinois. Ceci est tout à fait naturel puisque l'auteur entretenait des relations contactologiques de grande portée avec la culture chinoise. Le plus caractéristique d'entre elles est le fait que, du côté de composition, c'est en effet une série d'épisodes mutuellement reliés dont plusieurs sont achevées et revêtent ainsi le caractère d'un conte. Chaque épisode traite d'un évenement indépendant (comme tel, or se reportant à la vie de quelque personnage). Lors même que certains personnages du roman soient expressivement individualisés du côté artistique (Chan, Chi), l'auteur néanmoins mets l'accent principal sur le côté compositionnel de l'œuvre. Cependant, comme l'a remarqué Phan Cu De, «Cette manière d'écrire n'a apporté rien de nouveau en comparaison avec les romans historiques précédents, comme *Hoang Le nhat thong chi, Viet Lam xuan thu...*»[3] Cependant, une certaine nouveauté réside ici dans le domaine idéologique du contenu, voire, qu'il relève le rôle d'unité et de solidarité du peuple pour la défense de la patrie sur des bases démocratiques. Ici pour la première fois des personnages de la classe ouvrière font leur entrée dans le roman historique vietnamien (le laboureur, le forgeron, etc.). De même, les caractères des femmes sont aussi dépeints d'une manière nontraditionnelle dans ce roman : dans une activité sociale positive pour une conscience nationale et la défense de la patrie.

En général, on peut constater que les romans historiques vietnamiens du début du 20ᵉ siècle (entre autres, par ex., le roman de Nguyen Trong Thuat *Qua dua do* — Pastèque), lors même qu'on y découvre des efforts pour une modernisation de thèmes historiques, restent, néanmoins, sur une plate-forme romancière des événements historiques. Tout de même, le roman sus-cité de Nguyen Trong Thuat possède ses côtés idéologiques et actualisantes positives. Ceci est évident aussi dans l'étude intéressante de N. I. Nikulin qui fait une comparaison de ce roman avec le fameux roman *Robinson Crusoe* par D. Defoe. N. I. Nikulin écrit: «Il est aisé de remarquer que la ressemblance de sujet (vie dans une île déserte) entre l'un d'eux, roman de Nguyen Trong Thuat (1883—1940) «Pastèque» et le célèbre Robinson Crusoe de D. Defoe... Probablement la ressemblance mentionnée ne fait pas quelque chose d'exceptionnel. Mail il convient de noter que le roman de l'auteur vietnamien, lui

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[3] Phan Cu De: *Tieu thuyet Viet-nam hien dai, Tap I* (Le roman vietnamien moderne, Tome I). Ha Noi, Nha xuat ban Dai hoc va Trung hoc chuyen nghiep (Edition d'Université et d'Ecole Secondaire) 1974, p. 40.

aussi vit le jour au début de la formation du genre et marqua le point de départ de son développement ; deuxièmement, dans ce roman vietnamien, de même que dans celui de Defoe, la tentative de présenter l'histoire de l'apparition de la civilisation à travers le sort d'un individu est faite».[4]

L'origine du roman vietnamien moderne se place alors dans les vingtièmes années de notre siècle. Son apparition avait été précédée d'une grande activité traductrice (traductions de chroniques et légendes classiques domestiques, traductions de romans classiques chinois et enfin des romans français), qui exerça une forte influence littéraire-artistique sur la production des premiers romanciers vietnamiens. Certes, ils étaient en maints aspects redevables au mode confucien de regarder la littérature et l'art (par exemple le roman de Phan Chu Trinh *Giai nhan ky ngo* — La belle singulière[5]), mais ils s'efforçaient avec plus ou moins de succès de parvenir à quelque sorte de «synthèse» de la tradition domestique (de l'Asie orientale) et des procédés artistiques et tendances occidentales. L'œuvre artistique de chacun d'eux était complexe et souvent représentait l'ensemble d'influences d'attouchements typologiques fort différents.

Le roman vietnamien prit un grand essor dans la période de 1930—1940, tout spécialement par rapport à l'avénement de groupe littéraire « *Tu luc van doan*» (Par nos propres forces) en 1932 sous le gouvernement du Front populaire en France (1936—1937), et par rapport au Mouvement pour répandre l'alphabet latin (*chu quoc ngu*), mené par le socialist vietnamien Phan Thanh. Dans la période suivante 1940—1945, le roman vietnamien entra dans une nouvelle étappe, marquée par des facteurs historico-sociaux du monde entier et d'ailleurs, bien connus.

Les historiens de la littérature vietnamienne ne sont pas d'accord quant à la classification du roman. Les différences sont conditionnées par des points de vue particuliers qu'ils font entrer en jeu dans la classification. Il est certain, néanmoins, qu'au cours de la deuxième et la troisième décade de notre siècle, le vrai roman prit naissance aussi dans la littérature vietnamienne comme antithèse à la nouvelle, au conte, à la chronique et autres genres historiques majeurs. Dans la production du roman de cette période on peut distinguer trois tendances fondamentales: a) la tendance romantique, comprenant la majorité des romans de cette époque (tout particulièrement les œuvres du groupe *Tu luc van doan* et les romans historiques) ; b) la tendance socioréaliste embrassant une partie des œuvres du groupe *Tu luc van doan*, les romans de mœurs, les romans de réalisme critique (avec les éléments naturalistes), et puis les romans satiriques ou humoristiques ; c) la tendance érudite, dont le contenu est donné surtout par les œuvres sur l'héritage culturel de l'ancient

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[4] Nikouline, N. I.: *Sujet de conte et de légende et roman vietnamien contemporain, communication.* IXe Congrès de l'Association Internationale de Littérature Comparée (AILC), Innsbruck 1979 (donnée à tirer).

[5] Phan Chu Trinh écrit le roman La Belle Singulière en 1913—1915.

Vietnam. Il est à remarquer que dans aucun de ces cas pourrait-on parler d'un mouvement littéraire stabilisé, constant et uniformément déterminé (ce qui est attesté même par le simple facteur temporel — rien que quinze—vingt ans).

Comme on l'a remarqué plus haut, la tendance romantique avait commencé à faire son apparition avant l'an 1930. C'était surtout l'œuvre prosaïque de Tan Da (1889—1939) et le premier roman vietnamien cité ci-avant *To Tam* par Hoang Ngoc Phach. Comparée aux œuvres de Tan Da et le roman *To Tam*, la tendance romantique ultérieure à l'année 1930 comportait beaucoup d'autres signes tant du côté du contenu, que du côté formel. Cela résultait en de nombreux changements socio-économiques de cette période. Le régime féodal authoritaire qui avait tenu le pays en souveraineté pendant des siècles, plus tard compliqué par le système colonial, n'était pas à créer des conditions favorables au développement de la personnalité humaine. Le confucianisme avait codifié et légalisé la hierarchie féodale et l'a tenue comme norme de la vie sociale pratiquement jusqu'à la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Une telle société ne permettait pas un développement congru de la production du roman dont le but serait une représentation artistique de l'homme et du monde. L'esthétique de l'enseignement bouddhiste elle non plus ne contribuait pas à une approche analytique des événements de la réalité. On peut alors constater à bonne raison qu'antérieurement à l'an 1932, le roman n'avait pas été développé en aucune notable. Des formations plus importantes (par exemple, des romans-cycles) n'existaient pas du tout. Les genres courts prosaïques prédominaient dans la vie littéraire (surtout le conte).

Selon V. G. Belinsky, l'épanouissement du roman se produit «à une époque de développement de l'humanité quand toutes les relations civiles, sociales, familiales et généralement humaines deviennent infiniment complexes et dramatiques et la vie s'est développée en profondeur et en largeur en une quantité infinie d'éléments».[6] Dans la troisième décade alors, des changements socio-économiques sont survenus au Vietnam, et cela au temps du Front démocratique (1936—1939), au caractère progressif et positif (par exemple, l'abolition de la censure et la légalisation de la presse) lors même que cela fût dans le cadre d'un régime colonial. Cette situation peut être caractérisée bilatéralement par les mots de Truong Chinh qui a écrit: «...la bourgeoisie vietnamienne, la petite bourgeoisie et les intellectuels trouvèrent un soupir lourd sur le régime colonial».[7] Dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne (tout particulièrement dans le roman), le thème de la relation de l'individu et de la société — un des problèmes principaux de l'art moderne en général — était non seulement posé, mais aussi résolu. Il s'agissait de mettre l'accent sur les corrélations entre la personnalité et la société. Cet approfondissement de l'aperçu du rôle de la personnalité se manifestait aussi dans la spécificité du genre, dans la structure de

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[6] Belinsky, V. G.: *Ecrits*, Volume II, Moscou 1948, Cit. selon: Rekho, K.: *Sovremennyi japonskii roman* (Le roman japonais moderne). Moscou, Nauka 1977, p. 4.

[7] Truong Chinh, op. cit.

l'œuvre et dans le choix des moyens de présentation stylistiques. Le développement et de ce fait aussi la croissance éthique et esthétique de la société vietnamienne et, en harmonie avec elle aussi de la personnalité, contribua beaucoup à un approfondissement du principe d'investigation, de problèmes aussi dans les genres littéraires nontraditionnels, tel le roman, qui en était certainement un. Une preuve en est son développement sans précédent; cependant, à cette étape, diverses formes de connaissance et de contacts avec la littérature européenne (surtout française, russe-soviétique et anglaise) ont joué un rôle important dans la dynamique de la production romancière.

Les représentants de la tendance romantique la plus poussée étaient contre le système des grandes familles, les dogmes féodaux confuciens et bouddhistes et contre les coutumes. En ce sens, ils ont réussi à accomplir relativement beaucoup dans leurs œuvres, ce qui avait une influence surtout sur les changements sociaux au caractère progressif dans les villes. La tendance romantique dans la vie littéraire du Vietnam commença à se développer plus activement à un temps où de nombreux mouvements artistiques apparaissaient dans les littératures européennes (y compris aussi ceux au caractère décadant); ceci résulta en ce que le roman vietnamien moderne a acquis de nombreux traits complexes et particuliers. Dans le domaine idéologique, il y avait l'aspect actif de la conscience nationale et des mœurs antiféodaux, mais aussi l'aspect passif dans une proclamation de la théorie de non-résistance au mal par la violence et en coopération avec l'administration coloniale. Quant aux méthodes artistiques créatives, c'était, dans un sens quelque peu élargi du mot, un mélange de différents mouvements du romantisme et du modernisme européens.

Les écrivains appartenant au groupe *Tu luc van doan* s'adonnaient à propager un réformisme graduel et généralement d'un optimisme irréel. Le «Manifeste» de ce groupe déclare: «Il faut créer et traduire des livres avec un thème social, concentrant les efforts à ce que les hommes et la société deviennent meilleurs de jour en jour».[8] La contradiction entre leur orientation et leurs desseins, et les lois du développement social amena chez la plupart d'entre eux des formes diverses de déviation face aux problèmes sociaux actuels. Ils créaient souvent des héros qui n'appartenaient pas aux conditions sociales du jour et qui étaient une personnification des efforts idéalistiques subjectifs et patriotiques. Un représentant typique de ce groupe était Nhat Linh (1906—1963) qui était contre les canons confuciens, pour une libération de la personnalité et pour l'adoption «du mode de vie européen». Mais on ne saurait nier un certain engagement social aux écrivains du groupe *Tu luc van doan*, une certaine attitude positive dans le domaine d'une critique indirecte des conditions sociales de ces temps. La preuve en est une production avec un tranchant social prononcé (par

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[8] Nikouline, N. I.: *Vietnamskaya literatura* (La littérature vietnamienne). Moscou, Nauka 1971, p. 186.

exemple, Thach Lam, 1909—1943). Les œuvres des romanciers vietnamiens contiennent dans leur ensemble un trait positif quant à leur conviction sur la valeur propre de la personnalité. Dans les polémiques (surtout Nhat Linh et Nguyen Cong Hoan), cette valeur de la personnalité était souvent posée d'une manière extrémiste en opposition directe aux valeurs de la société, où aucun des partis ne comprit correctement l'unité dialectique de cette forme de valeur. Cependant, rien que d'être posé, le problème de l'émancipation de la personnalité dans les écrits romantiques vietnamiens constituait déjà un élément progressif sur la voie vers une conscience nationale.

En 1934 le groupe *Tu luc van doan* a déclaré : «Nous voulons être nouveaux, jeunes, épris de la vie ; sans des qualités bourgeoises et aristocratiques ; estimer la liberté de l'individu et montrer aux gens que la morale confucienne n'est plus convenable à notre époque».[9] Cette déclaration montre clairement que les membres du groupe avaient à cœur une compréhension plus progressive de la vie, lors même que souvent ils répudiaient le vieux sans avoir une idée claire quant au contenu du nouveau. Tous les écrivains du groupe *Tu luc van doan* avaient pour base à peu près les mêmes conceptions idéologiques et esthétiques et faisaient preuve des mêmes efforts, mais chacun de sa manière propre. Par exemple, Tu Mo (1900—1976) dans son œuvre satirique (*Giong nuoc nguoc* — Contre le courant, 1934) s'est rapproché en beaucoup de la critique sociale du type de Molière, Voltaire et La Bruyère. Les deux écrivains déjà cités, Nhat Linh et Khai Hung (1896—1947) avaient une orientation tout à fait différente. Ils étaient les fondateurs et les représentants principaux du groupe *Tu luc van doan*. Ils coopéraient très étroitement et ont écrits plusieurs romans en commun. Parmi les plus connus de ceux-ci est le roman *Gach hang hoa* (L'Eventaire de fleurs, 1934) dans lequel les auteurs font valoir l'amour pur et vrai, un sentiment d'amitié profond et sincer, et en même temps se montrent critiques de la morale décadante. Cependant, ils ne comprenaient pas les causes complexes de la désintégration morale et souvent poétisaient ses aspects sombres (par exemple la prostitution). Cela s'est manifesté d'une manière accentuée dans leur roman *Doi mua gio* (Vie orageuse, 1936). Les romans écrits par Nhat Linh dignes d'être signalés sont *Doan tuyet* (Rupture, 1935) et *Lanh lung* (Isolement, 1937). Dans le premier, l'auteur se déclare contre le système des grandes familles classiques, dans le second, pour la liberté de la vie émotionnelle de la femme. Cependant l'attaque de Nhat Linh contre certains aspects de l'éthique féodale est relativement bornée, contient beaucoup d'idées utopistiques sur l'héroïsme individuel, et une philosophie sur le succès égoïste. Mais du côté linguistique-artistique, comme aussi formel-compositionnel, ses romans sont d'un très haut niveau artistique.

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[9] *So thao lich su Van hoc Viet-nam* (Une exquisse de l'histoire de la littérature vietnamienne). Ha-noï, Nha xuat ban Van hoc (Edition de la Littérature) 1964, p. 83.

Les romans de Khai Hung (plusieurs d'entre eux avaient paru en fascicule dans le journal Nam Phong — Vent du Sud) suscitaient un grand intérêt dès le début parmi les lecteurs et étaient très populaires. Pur la plupart, l'auteur y met en jeu les conflits sociaux qu'il résout dans le contexte de relations amoureuses ou celles de famille. Il s'agit des romans *Hon buom mo tien* (L'Ame du feu papillon, 1933) et *Nua chung xuan* (Au milieu du printemps, 1934). Dans certains de ses autres romans (en particulier dans ceux de la période 1936—1943), des idées sont apparues tenant d'un réformisme réactionnaire (par exemple, *Tieu son trang si* — La tombelle du héros légendaire, 1937 et *Gia dinh* — La famille, 1936).

On peut constater que tous les deux auteurs ont contribué remarquablement à un raffinement de la langue vietnamienne littéraire et ont relevé le roman de sorte qu'il est devenu le principal genre littéraire.

Antérieurement à l'année 1930, la création socio-réaliste de roman n'avait en fait presque aucune tradition au Vietnam. Dans la quatrième décade, elle prit un rapide essor dans son développement, lors même qu'aux débuts elle n'atteignit pas des succès aussi importants que la production romantique. Cependant, en 1935, dans une enquête organisée par la librairie *Huong giang* à Hué, Nguyen Cong Hoan (1903—1977) prit la première place, Khai Hung venant seulement après lui. C'est une preuve que la création socio-réaliste commençait à gagner des positions dans la vie littéraire-culturelle. Un important facteur positif qui avait joué le rôle principal dans la formation de cette production de roman, était la pénétration des conceptions esthétiques marxistes dans les pensées littéraires du Vietnam. Des discussions sur l'art, son essence, forme, contenu, sur le rôle social et la mission de l'écrivain commencèrent à paraître dans la presse légale en 1935. La polémique y était menée par un groupe de critiques littéraires qui défendaient des vues marxistes, avec Hai Trieu (1908—1954) en tête, et les avocats de la thèse formelle-idéaliste de «l'art pur». La discussion elle-même était suscitée par les besoins d'un développement socio-réaliste propre et ici un rôle clef fut joué par les œuvres de Nguyen Cong Hoan, tout spécialement ses romans *Buoc duong cung* (L'Impasse, 1938), et *La ngoc canh vang* (Feuilles de néphrite et branches d'or, 1939). Parmi les autres écrivains de ce mouvement, il faut relever Ngo Tat To (1894—1954) et ses romans *Tat den* (Lampe éteinte, 1939), *Leu chong* (Hutte et chaise de bambou, 1941), puis Nguyen Hong (1918) avec son roman *Bi vo* (La voleuse, 1938), et Vu Trong Phung (1912—1939) avec ses romans les plus valuables *Dong to* (Orage, 1936), *So do* (Bonne chance, 1938) et *Vo de* (La digue rompue, 1936).[10]

La base philosophique de cette création de roman était un objectivisme historique vu dans une réalité de recherche de l'essentiel et de son expression dans une œuvre littéraire. Une particularité de ces romans est que leurs auteurs s'efforçaient de

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[10] Pour plus de détails, consulter mon étude *Quelques remarques sur la prose réalistique vietnamienne.* Asian and African Studies, *IX.* Bratislava, Veda 1974, pp. 65—79.

peindre en détail les caractères des personnages dans leur développement. Leur côté faible était le style, relativement peu élaboré et encombrant par endroits.

En conclusion, on peut constater que quoique la tradition dans le roman vietnamien eut été relativement courte, cette création a réussi à tirer profit des riches sources de la littérature nationale vietnamienne plus ancienne et classique (en premier lieu les légendes, contes et chroniques) et en même temps à tirer parti de ses contacts avec la littérature européenne, tout spécialement française, dont la traduction remplissait en maints cas la fonction d'une littérature médiatrice. Grâce à ces faits, les romanciers vietnamiens pouvaient assimiler les méthodes analytiques créatives et la structure compositionnelle du roman moderne.

DIE REIFEZEIT DES PROSAISTEN
NECATI TOSUNER

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Im Schaffen des türkischen Prosaisten Necati Tosuner (geb. 1944) widerspiegelt sich die Krise des Denkens der jungen kleinbürgerlichen Intelligenz, die nicht imstande ist sich in der komplizierten gesellschaftlichen Situation der gegenwärtigen Türkei zurechtzufinden. Seine Erzählungen sind ein Ausdruck der tragischen Einsamkeit eines körperlich Behinderten, dem die Gesellschaft die Position eines Außenseiters aufzwingt. In der letzten Zeit wird das Streben des Schriftstellers immer markanter nach einem Durchbrechen des engen Kreises von Themen, die durch die Gestaltung subjektiver Gefühle und Launen begrenzt sind, um sich an die Abbildung von Erscheinungen der objektiven Realität begeben zu können.

Die hohe Anerkennung des Erstlingsromans des jungen Schriftstellers Necati Tosuner verkörpert durch den Preis der Türkischen Sprachwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft fand in den literarischen Kreisen in der Türkei einen großen Widerhall.[1] In den Ansichten über dieses zweifellos merkwürdige Werk herrscht in der türkischen Literaturkritik jedoch eine beachtliche Uneinigkeit. Zwei Musterbeispiele des diametral auseinandergehenden Zutritts zu Tosuners Roman *Sancı ...sancı* (Schmerz...Schmerz, 1977), zur Festlegung von dessen ideologisch-thematischer Grundlage, stellen die Rezensionen von Nedim Gürsel[2] und Mehmet Emin Lebe[3] dar. Während Gürsel lediglich die Gestalt Osmans analysiert, in die sich des Autors Subjekt projizierte, und diese als einen weiteren Träger des zentralen Motivs im Schaffen von Necati Tosuner, des Motivs des Sisyphos bewertet, richtet Lebe in seiner Beurteilung die Aufmerksamkeit vor allem auf die Problematik der zeitweilig in der BRD lebenden Türken, und auch die Position Osmans im Romansujet betrachtet er von diesem Blickwinkel.

In der Einleitung seiner Rezension charakterisiert N. Gürsel den Universalhelden von Tosuners Schaffen folgend: „Dieser ‚schmerzerfüllte' Held, der sich uns in unterschiedlichen Identitäten in den Erzählungen des Schriftstellers und zuletzt auch im Roman *Sancı...sancı* vorstellt, der zusammen mit der Schaffung neuer

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[1] Onaran, M. Ş: *Tosuner: Sancılı sevilerin öykücüsü* (Tosuner: Der Erzähler schmerzvoller Lieben). Türk Dili, Nr. 328, Ankara 1979, S. 76.

[2] Gürsel, N.: *Sancılı kambur ya da Türkiyeli Sizifos* (Der schmerzerfüllte Bucklige oder der Türke Sisyphos). Türk Dili, Nr. 323, Ankara 1978, S. 339—342.

[3] Lebe, M. E.: *Almanya sancısı* (Der deutsche Schmerz). Türk Dili, Nr. 336, Ankara 1979, S. 180—182.

Beziehungen in verschiedenen Bedingungen die immer gleichbleibende Hoffnungs-losigkeit, das immer gleichbleibende Gefühl der Verlassenheit miterlebt, ist Sisy-phos. Es ist ein einsamer Sisyphos der seine Verunstaltung als Schicksal entgegen-nimmt, leiderfüllt deshalb, weil er seine Unvollwertigkeit, die er nicht auf eine Zwangsvorstellung, sondern auf eine Form des Daseins transformierte, mit nieman-dem teilen kann, genauer, weil er seinen Buckel (seinen Felsblock) niemandem aufladen kann".[4]

Nedim Gürsel geht bei seiner Schaffung der Parallele Tosuners Held — Sisyphos aus A. Camus' *Le mythe de Sisyphe* (1942) betiteltem Essay hervor. Den tragischen Stoizismus von Camus' mythischen Helden, der seinen Felsblock zum Berggipfel hinaufwälzt trotz des Wissens, daß seine übermenschliche Anstrengung nie von Erfolg gekrönt sein wird, identifiziert der türkische Kritiker mit der verzweifelten Ausdauer von Tosuners Liebe- und Verständnissuchendem, der bei seinem Suchen immer und immer wieder lediglich an Enttäuschung und Niederlage stößt. Gerade die Vergegenwärtigung der Absurdität seines Tuns gibt nach Camus Sisyphos die Kraft und den Mut dem Schicksal zu widerstehen, zu leben und den klaren Verstand zu behalten in einer Welt, in der die einzige, durch nichts bedingte Wahrheit der Tod ist. Deshalb lenkt gerade jenes Moment von Sisyphos' Leidensweg Camus' Auf-merksamkeit auf sich, wenn Sisyphos, um den Felsblock zu holen zum Fuß des Berges hinuntergeht, wenn er sich für eine Weile seiner Last entledigt und das Bewußtsein in ihm wach wird. Auch Gürsel scheint im tragischen Schicksal von Tosuners bucklegem Helden jenes Moment das schwerwiegendste zu sein, wenn dieser nach einer seiner unzähligen Enttäuschungen an der Schwelle des neuen Suchens steht, von dem er im vorhinein weiß, daß es wieder mit einer Niederlage enden wird. Das sei, nach N. Gürsel, der leibhaftige, am Fuße des Berges stehende Sisyphos, und so könne Tosuners ganzes Schaffen auf den Sisyphos-Mythos reduziert werden.[5] Auch in Tosuners Bemühung nach einer Selbstrealisierung durch literarisches Schaffen sieht N. Gürsel das Trotzen dem Felsblock — dem Buckel. Der Schriftsteller weiß, daß es ihm nie glücken würde den Felsblock über den Berggipfel zu wälzen und ist trotzdem entschlossen ihm nicht zu unterliegen.[6]

Seit seinem vierten Lebensjahr körperbehindert gibt Necati Tosuner selbst zu, daß ihn zum Schreiben die Notwendigkeit führte das auszudrücken, was er in sich trug, auch wenn es ihm schwergefallen war darüber auch nur zu reden, geschweige denn zu schreiben. Er gibt auch zu, daß „dieses Eintauchen der Feder in sich selbst, das Durchforschen des eigenen Inneren" ihm geholfen hat, und daß das Schreiben zu einer Lebensform für ihn wurde.[7] Damit ist gleichzeitig die Hoffnung des Schriftstel-

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[4] Gürsel, N.: *Sancılı kambur ya da Türkiyeli Sizifos*, S. 339.

[5] Ibid., S. 341.

[6] Ibid., S. 340.

[7] *Necati Tosuner'in konuşması* (Necati Tosuners Rede). In: *Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı 1979*. Istanbul, Özel Matbaası 1979, S. 242.

lers verbunden, daß er durch die literarische Gestaltung der Gefühle eines von der Gesellschaft wegen seiner Verkrüppelung als nicht vollwertig, als minderwertig angesehenen und diversen Erniedrigungen ausgesetzten Menschen, die Gesellschaft zur Änderung ihrer negativen Haltung zu Millionen, von einem ähnlichen Schicksalsschlag wie er selbst betroffenen Menschen bewegen könnte.

Und letztlich ist hier noch die Tatsache, daß der Schriftsteller mit einigen Erzählungen seiner dritten Sammlung beginnend und seinem bislang letzten Werk, dem Roman *Sancı... sancı* endend neben der Gestaltung von subjektiven Gefühlen und Launen mehr oder weniger geglückt auch auf die aktuellen Probleme der ihn umgebenden Realität zu reagieren anfängt, ja in seinem, den Kindern bestimmten Schaffen sich sogar gänzlich vom Darstellen seines eigenen „Ich" loslösen vermochte. Diese Tatsache widerlegt gleichzeitig Gürsels Behauptung auch im ersten Punkt. Tosuners ganzes Schaffen lediglich auf den Sisyphos-Mythos zu reduzieren, es nur von diesem Aspekt her zu betrachten, heißt einen resignierenden, außer des schweren Felsblocks seiner Einsamkeit inmitten von Menschen nichts anderes wahrnehmenden Schriftsteller zu sehen, der sich der Absurdität seiner Bemühung den Felsblock über den Berg der menschlichen Gleichgültigkeit und des Unverständnisses hinüberzuwälzen bewußt ist. Das bedeutet dem Schriftsteller sein Suchen nach einem Weg abzustreiten, der ihn zu den Menschen, zum Begreifen auch derer Probleme und Schmerzen führen würde.

Die türkische Literaturkritik pflegt Necati Tosuner als einen sich selbst analysierenden Schriftsteller zu bezeichnen. Bereits in der ersten Sammlung von Erzählungen des damals noch sehr jungen Autors, die 1965 unter dem Titel *Özgürlük masalı* (Das Märchen der Freiheit) erschienen war, bekennt sich der Erzähler und gleichzeitig auch Held der einzelnen Erzählungen zu seiner Einsamkeit, Sehnsucht nach Liebe, nach Kontakten zu Menschen, nach deren Verständnis, zu seinen Träumen, die in schmerzlicher Ernüchterung enden. In den ersten drei Erzählungen der Sammlung finden wir aber noch nicht diesen drückenden Pessimismus und die Tragik, von denen die anderen Erzählungen gekennzeichnet sind und die in Tosuners zweitem Buch, in der Sammlung von Erzählungen *Çıkmazda* (In der Sackgasse, 1969) voll ertönen.

Die Erzählung *Yalnızlığa övgü* (Die Ode an die Einsamkeit), sowie die Titelerzählung der Sammlung *Özgürlük masalı* drücken die verworrenen Gefühle eines Knaben im Pubertätsalter aus, der noch nicht voll begreift, was ihn eigentlich quält und der Gedanke an den Tod ist lediglich eine Pose.

Martılar gülüştüler (Die Möwen lachten), die dritte Erzählung aus der Sammlung *Özgürlük masalı* ist unter den frühen Werken des Schriftstellers außergewöhnlich schon durch ihren Erzähler in dritter Person. Einen Abend und einen Morgen aus dem Leben eines Mädchens, das auf jemanden wartet, beschreibend, begrenzt der Erzähler die eigene direkte Bewertung der Situation fast auf das Minimum. Die gesamte Stimmung der Erzählung bietet jedoch den Schluß, daß die Einsamkeit,

obwohl im gegebenen Moment so dringlich, nicht das Attribut der Heldin ist, und auch wenn sie am Schluß der Erzählung sich selbst zu überzeugen sucht, daß man sich, so wie an alles, auch an die Einsamkeit gewöhnen kann, bedeutet das nicht, daß sie ihre gegenwärtige Lage als tragisch empfindet.

Die Erzählung *İnsan sayılmak* (Sich für einen Menschen halten) wurde zum ersten offenen Vorwurf der Gesellschaft, die für den schwerbehinderten Menschen bestenfalls nur ein erniedrigendes, trockenes Mitleid hat und dessen Sehnsucht zu lieben und geliebt zu werden auslacht. Sollte ein Mensch, den ein offener oder verborgener Schaden fürs ganze Leben gebrandmarkt hat, den Glauben an Gott aufgeben, ist seine einzige Flucht vor der Verzweiflung, die ihn bis an den Rand des Todes jagt, kann die einzige Rettung für ihn nur die menschliche Solidarität sein. Anstelle von Verständnis und Liebe erwartet ihn jedoch bloß Ablehnung und Kühle. Und so bleibt ihm nichts anderes übrig, als sich vor der Gesellschaft auf die Flucht zu begeben und entweder freiwillig seinem Leben ein Ende zu bereiten, oder, sollte er dazu nicht genug Mut aufbringen, vegetierend auf einen Zufall zu warten, der ein heiles Ende herbeiführt. Den Egoismus hält der Autor für die Hauptursache der Verständnislosigkeit zwischen Menschen.

Die Probleme, mit denen ein körperlich behinderter Mensch zu kämpfen hat, welche Tosuner in der Erzählung *İsan Sayılmak*, sowie in einigen anderen Erzählungen der Sammlung *Özgürlük masalı* vorgelegt hat, rekapituliert der Schriftsteller im Prolog und im Epilog der *Eksik adamın çizgileri* (Züge eines defekten Menschen) betitelten Erzählung aus der Sammlung *Çıkmazda*. In einer fiktiven Aussage vor dem Staatsanwalt klagt hier der Held der Erzählung den Egoismus an schuldig zu sein, daß ihm die Menschen ihre Humanität opferten. Der Prolog beginnt mit den Worten:

> „Jawohl, Herr Staatsanwalt. Ich bin es, der allen Menschen ins Gesicht spucken will. Und sie haben sich das wegen ihren Egoismus schon längst verdient..."[8]

Der im Geiste von Freuds Lehre als ein aggressiver Instinkt des Menschen aufgefaßte Egoismus erscheint Tosuner als das bewegende Prinzip allen menschlichen Tuns und wird so zu einem einzigen Urheber des in der Welt herrschenden Übels.[9] Im Abschluß der Erzählung setzt sich der Held zum Ziel gegen den, im Menschen verwurzelten Egoismus zu kämpfen und bringt seine Überzeugung zum

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[8] Tosuner, N.: *Çıkmazda*. Istanbul, Yeditepe Yayınları 1969, S. 5.

[9] Die Gestaltung der egoistischen Grundlage des Menschen und dessen Unterwerfung den Instinkten in der Sammlung von Erzählungen N. Tosuners *Çıkmazda* hat die sowjetische Turkologin S. N. Uturgauri einer Kritik unterworfen. Siehe Uturgauri, S. N.: *O frejdistskoj i ekzistencialistskoj tendencijach v tureckoj proze 60-ch godov* (Über die freudistischen und existentialistischen Tendenzen in der türkischen Prosa der 60-er Jahre). In: *Ideologičeskaja bor'ba i sovremennyje literatury zarubežnogo Vostoka* (Der ideologische Kampf und die gegenwärtige Literatur des ausländischen Morgenlandes). Moskau, Nauka 1977, S. 58—61.

Ausdruck, daß der Mensch eines Tages lernen wird glücklich zu sein, indem er einen anderen glücklich macht. Die Erzählung endet mit einem optimistischen Bekenntnis: „Und ich erwarte so manches vom Morgen".[10]

Ist der Abschluß der Erzählung *Eksik adamın çizgileri* auch die einzige optimistische Stelle im zweiten sehr bezeichnend *Çıkmazda* (In der Sackgasse) benannten Buch des Schriftstellers, so ist seine Bedeutung vom Gesichtspunkt des gedanklichen Inhalts von Tosuners Schaffen nicht unbedeutend. In den Erzählungen dieser Sammlung gelangte der Autor wörtlich in eine „Sackgasse" der Entfremdung, die von der Position des eigentlichen entfremdeten Wesens dargestellt wird. In den expressiv angespannten inneren Monologen, die in den Erzählungen *Düğüm* (Der Knoten) und *Bir takım şeyler gibi* (Wie manche Sachen) bis in surrealistische Visionen übergehen, analysiert der Autor das eigene psychische Innere in einer Isoliertheit von der Gesellschaft, indem er sich von der Welt abwendet, die ihm als ein apokalyptisches Bild des unentwegten Mordens erscheint, so, wie er dies bereits in der diskutierten Erzählung *Eksik adamın çizgileri* zeichnete. In seinem Glauben an eine hellere Zukunft der Menschheit, den er im Abschluß dieser Erzählung zum Ausdruck brachte, geht Tosuner mit der Idee der Existenzphilosophie, die die Möglichkeit einer positiven Entwicklung in der Geschichte der Menschheit ausschließt, auseinander, wenngleich er sich an die idealistische Überzeugung stützt, daß es zur Schaffung von neuen gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen reicht den Egoismus im Menschen auszumerzen.

Bei der Suche nach den Wurzeln der türkischen Literatur der Entfremdung, die mit dem Terminus „*bunalım*" bezeichnet wird, weist man meist auf die Verbundenheit mit westlichen Vorbildern hin,[11] und vergißt oft die Tatsache, daß sie mit einer existentialistischen Ideologie geimpfte Werke der jüngeren Generation türkischer Prosaisten ihre Vorgänger bereits in den dreißiger Jahren, im Romanschaffen von Peyami Safa (1899—1961), eines verbissenen Gegners des Realismus und Theoretikers der idealistischen ästhetischen Konzeption, die den objektiven Charakter des Schönen ablehnt, hatten. Für Peyami Safa stellt nur die innere Welt des Künstlers eine wirkliche Realität dar. Mit dem Gegenstand der Darstellung identifiziert, bringt der Künstler in der Kunst lediglich sich selbst zum Ausdruck.[12] Diese theoretischen Ansichten projizieren sich ins Romanschaffen von Peyami Safa. Widmete der Schriftsteller neben der Darstellung seiner selbst und seiner inneren Kämpfe die Aufmerksamkeit manchmal auch der Außenwelt, verzeichnete er nie Erfolg, genauso wie erfolglos er bei der Darstellung von anderen Menschen blieb.[13]

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[10] Tosuner, N.: *Çıkmazda*, S. 52.

[11] Näheres bei U t u r g u a r i, S. N.: *O frejdistkoj i ekzistencialistskoj tendencijach v tureckoj proze 60-ch godov*, S. 57—58.

[12] A j z e n š t e j n, N. A.: *Iz istorii tureckogo realizma* (Aus der Geschichte des türkischen Realismus). Moskau, Nauka 1968, S. 131.

[13] Y ı l m a z, D.: *Romanımız ve insanımız* (Unser Roman und unser Mensch). Istanbul, Nakışlar

In seiner Monographie über Peyami Safa hat der Dichter Cahit Sıtkı Taranci in der Analyse des Romans *Bir tereddüdün romanı* (Roman eines Zögerns, 1933) die gesellschaftliche Bedingtheit der Entstehung des Werkes richtig ergriffen, da das Hauptthema das Zögern, die Unentschlossenheit, die Infragestellung von allem ist, was bis jetzt die Grundlage der Lebenssicherheiten des Menschen darstellte. Von Lebensmüdigkeit, die nach dem ersten Weltkrieg aufkam, von Zerstörung humaner Werte, vom Zerreißen aller Bande mit der Vergangenheit, von moralischer Armut, materieller und geistiger Bedrängnis, vom Schmerz, hervorgerufen durch das Unvermögen sich an irgendetwas zu klammern, vom Schwanken zwischen Glauben und Nichtglauben, zwischen Aufbau und Zerstörung, zwischen dem Guten und Bösen, zwischen Leben und Tod spricht Taranci als von Grundpfeilern, auf denen Peaymi Safas Roman ruht.[14]

Die Existenzphilosophie entstand doch als Nebenprodukt einer Katastrophe oder einer langandauernden Etappe des Zerfalls einer historischen Gesellschaftsordnung und einer Krise des Systems aller jener Werte, die dieser Ordnung dienten.[15] Daraus entspringt die Verwandtheit von Peyami Safas Ansichten mit den Gedanken des westeuropäischen Existentialismus.

Die tragische Vereinsamung, die Isoliertheit des mit seiner Umgebung zu kommunizieren unfähigen Individuums, Angst- und Bangegefühle, die Leere seiner Existenz, das Betrachten von allem — der Natur, der Menschen und des Geschehens um sich — durch das Prisma des eigenen „Ich" im Roman *Bir tereddüdün romanı*, sowie im bekanntesten Werk des Schriftstellers, im Roman *Dokuzuncu hariciye koğuşu* (Der neunte Pavillon auf der Chirurgie, 1930), das sind die Fäden, die Peyami Safa nicht nur mit den westlichen Existentialisten, sondern auch mit jenen Darstellern der zeitgenössischen türkischen Literatur verbinden, in Werken derer sich Doktrinen der Existenzphilosophie mehr oder weniger widerspiegeln.

Da uns die Werke Peyami Safas nicht erreichbar waren, sahen wir uns außerstande diese zwecks einer Bestimmung von Kontaktbeziehungen mit dem erzählerischen Schaffen von Necati Tosuner zu konfrontieren. Trotzdem kann man auf Grund unserer Bekanntschaft mit Peyami Safas Werken mittels literatur-historischer und kritischer Arbeiten einige typologische Zusammenhänge im Schaffen beider Autoren setzen.

Der junge, namenlose Held (in der türkischen Literatur war dies der erste Fall, daß der Autor die Hauptgestalt seines Romans nicht durch einen Namen näher bestimmt hat) in Peyami Safas Roman *Dokuzuncu hariciye koğuşu* ist seit seinem siebenten Lebensjahr von einem Knochenleiden betroffen, das ihn der Möglichkeit

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Yayınevi 1976, S. 83.

[14] Taranci, C. S.: *Peyami Safa ve eserleri* (Peyami Safa und seine Werke). Istanbul 1940, S. 19.

[15] Kossak, J.: *Existencialismus ve filosofii a literatuře* (Der Existentialismus in der Philosophie und Literatur). Praha, Svoboda 1978, S. 18.

sein Bein zu verlieren Aug' ins Auge stellt. Er befindet sich also in einer analogen Lage, in der sich der unbenannte autobiographische Held Tosuners hinundhergerissen sieht und mit der er einen aussichtslosen Kampf führt. Alles was sich inner- und außerhalb dieser Lage abspielt, vernimmt Safas Gestalt durch die Schmerzen, die mehr als dem körperlichen Leiden, der Erkenntnis seiner inneren Isoliertheit, der Verbannung, in die ihn die Krankheit mit allen ihren Folgen getrieben hat, entspringen.

Schmerz, wörtlich ein krampfhafter Schmerz (sancı), gehört zu den frequentiertesten Wörtern des Wortschatzes von Tosuners Werken, es wird sogar zum kennzeichnenden Titel seines Romans.

Weder Einsamkeit, noch Armut oder Krankheit können jedoch in einem jungen Menschen die immer dringlicher sich meldende Sehnsucht nach Liebe, nach Verständnis eines geliebten Wesens zum Schweigen bringen. Wie sich die Hoffnungen und Träume des Helden im Roman *Dokuzuncu hariciye koğuşu* durch die Verlobung von Nüzhet in Trümmer verwandeln, genauso werden auch die Versuche von Tosuners Gestalten Kontakte mit dem Gegenstand ihrer Sehnsucht anzuknüpfen von einem Fiasko nach dem anderen verfolgt. Infolge dieser schmerzlichen Enttäuschung isoliert sich das körperbehinderte Wesen bei beiden Schriftstellern noch mehr von den Menschen, noch tiefer vergräbt es sich in sein Inneres, forscht in den dunklen Ecken seines Unterbewußtseins, und nichts vorfindend, an was es sich stützen könnte, erstickt es beinahe in den Wogen grenzenloser Verzweiflung und Angst.

Der Vergleich von einem Beispiel aus Peyami Safas Roman *Bir tereddüdün romanı* mit einem Beispiel aus Necati Tosuners Erzählung *Döğüm* weist auf eine analoge Ausdrucksweise dieser Gefühle bei beiden Autoren hin:

> „...Sind wir manchmal inmitten der Menschenmenge nicht mehr einsam, als wenn wir allein bleiben?... Manchmal bin ich schrecklich tapfer, ein anderes Mal fürchte ich mich vor allem, als wäre selbst in einem entfernten Geräusch von Schritten eine Katastrophe verborgen."[16]

> „...Unter so vielen Menschen bin ich wie einer, der den Weg in einem Ödland verloren hat. Allein und furchtsam."[17]

Zu Necati Tosuners erstem Versuch aus der „Sackgasse" der Entfremdung, der existentialistischen Gefühle und Launen zu entkommen, wurden manche Erzählungen aus der dritten Sammlung des Autors, die unter dem Titel *Kambur* (Der Buckel, 1972) erschienen ist. Wie bereits oben erwähnt, hat Peyami Safa keinerlei Erfolg bei der Gestaltung von anderen Menschen außer sich und der Umwelt gehabt. Bei Tosuner ist dies umgekehrt. Jene Werke, in denen der Schriftsteller seine Aufmerk-

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[16] Safa, P.: *Bir tereddüdün romanı.* Zitiert nach D. Yılmaz: *Romanımız ve insanımız,* S. 82.

[17] Tosuner, N.: *Çıkmazda,* S. 73—74.

samkeit vom eigenen Subjekt losreißen vermochte, oder wo in dem Blickwinkel seines Interesses neben ihn auch andere konkrete, in eine konkrete Umwelt verpflanzte Wesen gerieten, deren typische Merkmale der Autor in wenigen treffenden Worten anzudeuten weiß, gewinnen viel mehr an Tiefe und künstlerischer Überzeugungskraft als solche Erzählungen, in denen die von Gefühlen der Verzweiflung und Trostlosigkeit hinundhergerissene Hauptgestalt, die gleichzeitig die Rolle des personellen Erzählers erfüllt, ihre Monologe inmitten von ausgebleichten, anonymen Straßen, Parks, einen Meeresstrand oder ein Junggesellenzimmer darstellenden Kulissen, vorträgt.

Aus dem ganzen bisherigen erzählerischen Werk Tosuners kann die im Jahre 1970 mit dem Preis des Türkischen Rundfunks und Fernsehens preisgekrönte Erzählung *İki gün* (Zwei Tage) als die erfolgreichste betrachtet werden. Im Unterschied zu den früheren Erzählungen des Schriftstellers, die meist nur ein innerer Monolog des Erzählers waren, ist die Erzählung *İki gün* eine Sujeterzählung, deren Fabel klassisch von einer Exposition und einer Katastrophe umrahmt ist. Im Vergleich mit der strikten Einhaltung der Chronologie in den Erzählungen der beiden ersten Sammlungen, beginnt der Schriftsteller hier auch mit der Zeit etwas freier zu verfahren.

Die Geschichte des Helden und Erzählers, im Prinzip ebenfalls mit autobiographischen Zügen bedacht (ein kleiner Beamter aus Ankara, Studium in Istanbul, literarische Versuche, ein älterer Bruder, lediglich den Buckel ersetzt hier das Hinken), der um die Hand eines Mädchens aus der Nachbarschaft anhält, ist in einen Rahmen von zwei Tagen eingesetzt, die die aktuelle Zeit des Erzählens darstellen. Der erste Tag bringt dem gehbehinderten Helden die Hoffnung aus seiner bisherigen Lage zu entkommen, sich im Familienleben zu realisieren, der letzte Tag, oder vielmehr dessen zweiter Teil, bedeutet das Ende dieser Hoffnungen. All das, was sich im Laufe einiger Tage des gespannten Wartens auf die Antwort im Inneren des Helden, sowie in seiner Umgebung abspielt, rekapituliert der Held in seinen Gedanken, die ihm im Verlauf der ersten Hälfte des letzten Tages im Kopf umherjagen. Die dritte zeitliche Ebene stellen kurze, durch Assoziationen bedingte Digressionen dar, die des Helden Kindheit in einem Vorstadtviertel von armseligen Hütten näherbringen, sowie die unglückliche Begebenheit, bei der es zur Verkrüppelung des Helden gekommen war, dann die Jahre des Heranreifens und Änderungen, die sich in der Familie abspielten. Wir können jedoch auch von einer vierten Zeitebene reden, der Ebene der nahen Zukunft, so wie diese der Held selbst in seinen Vorstellungen, mal optimistisch ein anderes mal wieder pessimistisch, sieht.

Aus diesen, einander sich gegenseitig durchdringenden Zeitebenen steigt in immer deutlichen Konturen das Bild des Helden auf, das wir, obwohl der Held gleichzeitig als Erzähler auftritt, nicht nur von dessen subjektivem Blickwinkel wahrnehmen. Es wird vom konkreten sozialen Milieu, in dem der Held verwurzelt ist, von den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen dem Helden und seiner Umgebung

mitgestaltet. Zum ersten Mal schuf Tosuner hier eine Gestalt, die das alltägliche Leben eines werktätigen Menschen im Kreise seiner Familie und Mitarbeiter führt, und gerade dieser regelmäßige Rhythmus des Alltags scheint die Minderwertigkeitsgefühle, die Gefühle der Trostlosigkeit, der Trauer in den Hintergrund zu verdrängen und die Tragik dieser Gefühle zu lindern.

In der Sammlung *Kambur* dominieren Erzählungen, das Hauptthema derer die Liebe ist, die unerfüllte und unerwiderte Liebe, an Hohn stoßende, wehrlose und deshalb stets verletzte Liebe. Und obwohl der Held dieser Erzählungen die Flucht oft früher ergreift, als er es versucht hätte um seine Liebe zu kämpfen, ertönt seine Verzweiflung schon nicht mit einer solchen Intensität, wie das in den Erzählungen der früheren zwei Sammlungen der Fall gewesen war. In der Erzählung *Küf* (Schimmel) akzeptiert der Ich-Erzähler seine Enttäuschung und gleichzeitig die nicht beneidenswerte Lage, in die er infolge dieser geraten war, sogar mit Humor. Wichtiger als die Erinnerungen an eine verschmähte Liebe sind ihm jetzt die Sorgen, wie er dem Hungertod entfliehen soll.

Der Ich-Erzähler aus der Erzählung *Çilekli* (Erdbeere) stellt in ihrer Einleitung fest, daß alle Stützen, an die er sich verlassen hat, gefallen sind, daß er überall nur Niederlage erleidet und er wünscht sich tot zu sein, um zumindest auf diese Weise ein wenig Interesse in den Augen der Geliebten zu wecken. Eine kleine Anregung von außen her, in der Form von sorglosem Kindergeplapper jedoch reicht dem Erzähler um sich zu seiner Liebe zum Leben, zum Anklammern ans Leben in dessen alltäglichen Verwandlungen zu bekennen.

Des Erzählers Dialog mit seiner kleinen Nichte in dieser Erzählung ist Tosuners erster Versuch in die Psychik eines Kindes einzudringen, was ihm dann später, in größerem Ausmaß in den Geschichten des Knaben Keleş Osman erfolgreich zu realisieren gelang.

Zwei kleine, zehn- bis zwölfjährigen Kindern bestimmte Bücher Necati Tosuners *Keleş Osman evden kaçıyor* (Keleş Osman läuft von zu Hause weg, 1977) und *Keleş Osman'ın „tarih" le başı dertte* (Keleş Osmans Sorgen mit der Geschichte, 1977) verleihen, wie dies der Kritiker N. Güngör ausdrückte, dem Schaffen des Schriftstellers eine neue Dimension.[18] Zur Gegenüberstellung der Welt des Kindes mit der Welt der Erwachsenen von der Position des Kinderhelden tritt der Autor außerordentlich gefühlsvoll heran, indem er mit einem gutmütigen, liebevollen Humor alle Mißverständnisse und peinliche Situationen behandelt, die dem Kind aus dieser Gegenüberstellung mit der, für dieses oft unverständlichen und hinterlistigen Welt erstehen. Eine lebhafte Umgangssprache und ein der Mentalität eines zehn- bis zwölfjährigen Kindes angepaßter Stil, die Erzählungsart, die auch dann von ihrer Dynamik und Spannung nichts einbüßt, wenn es sich um ganz alltägliche Dinge und

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[18] G ü n g ö r , N . : *Keleş Osman'ın serüvenleri* (Die Geschichten des Keleş Osman). Türk Dili, Nr. 313, Ankara 1977, S. 359.

Begebenheiten handelt, an denen ein Erwachsener nichts Interessantes finden würde, was jedoch mit den Augen des Kindes betrachtet an Bedeutung und Wichtigkeit gewinnt, das alles sichert Necati Tosuner eine vorrangige Stelle unter den türkischen Autoren der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, die erst im letzten Jahrzehnt ihren Aufschwung verzeichnen kann.

Zurück noch zu zwei Erzählungen der Sammlung *Kambur*, in denen der Autor die Ironie ausgeprägt zu Worte kommen ließ. In der Erzählung *Çok şey* (Viele Sachen) stellt die fiktive Ansprache des Erzählers zu seinem Buckel eine Abrechnung mit der erfolglosen Bestrebung das menschliche Vertrauen, Verständnis und Liebe zu erlangen dar, indem er seine Lage mit der Lage eines, die Hand vergeblich ausstreckenden Bettlers vergleicht. Trotz Erniedrigung und Mißhandlung wähnt sich der Erzähler glücklich, weil es ihm gelang sein lauteres Herz zu bewahren, sich dem Götzenbild des Mammons nicht zu ergeben.

In der Erzählung prangert der Autor den Mythos über die unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten eines jeden Menschen im Kapitalismus an, einen Mythos, der tausende Arme einer falschen Illusion nachjagend in die Straßen treibt:

> „... Benzin fürs Feuerzeug, Zündsteine!... Und in der Pappschachtel zwei-drei Zündsteine und eine halbe Flasche Benzin... Seine Hoffnung jetzt in der Nacht jemanden zu treffen, dessen Feuerzeug ohne Benzin oder Zündstein geblieben ist... Und was einige betrifft, sogar die Möglichkeit, Millionär zu werden...".[19]

Nicht von ungefähr erscheint am Beginn der Erzählung ein satirischer Peitschenhieb gegen die amerikanische Filmproduktion, die einzig dazu gut sei, „den Menschen, sowie dessen Zeit totzuschlagen". Den erwähnten Mythos führt Tosuner so in einen direkten Zusammenhang mit den, aus der imperialistischen Überseegroßmacht in die Türkei eingeführten Pseudowerten.

Die Erzählung, deren etwas komplizierter Titel *Pastırmalı yumurtanın çokça dokunduğu gecesi* (Erzählung der Nacht, die schon lange der Eier mit Dörrfleisch überdrüssig ist) die ironische Stellungnahme des Autors zum Dargestellten ausdrückt, ist ein erbarmungsloser Hohn des Kleinbürgers, der zwischen dem Gefühl der eigenen Wichtigkeit und Allmächtigkeit und dem grenzenlosen Graus vor allem, was seine Position bedrohen, was seine Souveränität erschüttern könnte hinundhergerissen wird. Diese Gespaltenheit, die Leere des Lebens inmitten seiner Familie, welche in ihm lediglich ein Instrument zum Geldzusammenscharren sieht, Gewissensbisse, die trotz seiner scheinbaren Überzeugung von der eigenen Unschuld immer wieder aufkommen, rufen im Kleinbürger krankhafte Visionen eines fürchterlichen Abschlusses seiner Existenz hervor.

Erzählungen, die in den Jahren 1972—1974 entstanden sind, hat Tosuner erst im Jahre 1977 in einer Sammlung herausgegeben, die nach einer der Erzählungen *Sisli*

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[19] Tosuner, N.: *Kambur.* Istanbul 1972, S. 200.

(Der Nebelige) benannt ist. Die sechzehn Erzählungen der Sammlung hat der Autor in drei thematische Teile geteilt. Im ersten Teil kehrt er zum Thema der unerwiderten Liebe, der enttäuschten Hoffnungen, des ergebnislosen Wartens zurück. Bemerkenswert ist die Erzählung *Kibrit kutusu* (Die Zündholzschachtel), die mit ihrer tiefen Sonde ins Gewissen eines Mädchens, das sich ihres Teiles der Schuld an dem freiwilligen Tod des Menschen, der sie geliebt und ihr vertraut hat, bewußt wird, ein meisterhaftes Beispiel der psychologischen Mikroanalyse darstellt.

Die vier Erzählungen des zweiten Teiles des Buches knüpfen dank der Gestalt des jungen Terroristen aneinander an. Während ihr der Autor in den Erzählungen *Wanted* und *Güvercin* (Die Taube) die Hauptrolle zugedacht hat, erscheint sie in der Titelerzählung der Sammlung nur als Episodenfigur und in der Erzählung *Günün atacağı* (Der Hinauswerfer des Tages) kommt sie gar nur im Dialog von zwei anderen Gestalten vor:

„Das, was unser Neffe treibt, ist wirklich nicht gut," sagte Kâzım.
Der Mann stutzte, schaute, als hätte er nicht begriffen.
„Von Hasan rede ich, Schwager... Ich sehe ihn da und dort, sein Benehmen ist nicht in Ordnung..."
„Und was hat denn Hasan angestellt, Kâzım?"
„Sie vergifteten sie, Schwager... Gieß nur Whisky in dich... dann auch das Volk Mohammeds, seine Kinder... Nun sag mal, was wird schon daraus, wenn du gegen die Regierung losziehst, gegen das Volk, beende die Schule und verrichte deine Arbeit, he?"[20]

Hasans Tätigkeit, von der man im zitierten Dialog nur in Andeutungen spricht, wird zum Hauptthema der folgenden Erzählung, in deren Titel aus unverständlichen Gründen das Partizip des englischen Zeitwortes *to want* figuriert. Hasans Tätigkeit ist ein Bombenanschlag. Warum es dazu gekommen und gegen wen er gerichtet war, wird in der Erzählung nicht erwähnt. Zwei, mit dem Sujet der Erzählung scheinbar nicht zusammenhängende kurze Einlagen, die Szenen aus dem „wilden Westen" und aus der Zeit der Seepiraten darstellen, scheinen jedoch anzudeuten, daß diese gefährliche Tätigkeit der jugendlichen Attentäter von ihrer romantischen Sehnsucht nach Abenteuer und Heldentum motiviert wurde. Eine in dieses Licht gestellte Problematik des Terrorismus stellt dann in Frage auch die Pointe der Titelerzählung der Sammlung, die im Dialog zwischen dem Vater und seinem Sohn beinhaltet ist, der in der Nacht verwundet heimkehrt:

„Mir ist zu Ohren gekommen, daß du und deine Freunde euch in etwas verwickelt habt", sagte der Vater. „Du machst doch nichts unrechtes, nicht-wahr, mein Sohn?"

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[20] T o s u n e r, N.: *Sisli*. Istanbul, Derinlik Yayınevi 1977, S. 50.

„Vater, vertraue deinem Sohn," erwiderte mein Bruder. „Was wir tun, ist zum Wohl eines jeden…"[21]

Aus diesem Aspekt gesehen erscheint auch der Tod zweier junger Menschen in der Erzählung *Güvercin*, die auf ihre Hinrichtung warten, als nutzlos und unsinnig.

Durch ein Versehen gelangte bis in den letzten Teil des Buches die Erzählung *Özgürlük alanı* (Platz der Freiheit), die man als eine direkte Fortsetzung der Erzählung *Güvercin* auffassen kann. Hier widerspiegelt sich die gedrückte Stimmung und die Spannung jener, die sich mit den zum Tode verurteilten Terroristen solidarisieren. Das Wort Freiheit wird für sie unter den gegebenen Umständen lediglich zu einem abstrakten Begriff, der unsinnig und beharrlich in der Benennung des Platzes figuriert.

Diese fünf Erzählungen sollten den Beitrag des Autors zur sog. Literatur des 12. März werden, die in der Türkei zu entstehen begann nach einer Welle des Terrors, der von den Regierungskreisen nach der Ausrufung des unheilvollen Märzmemorandums am 12. März 1971 entfacht wurde. Von dem breiten Kreis der Probleme, die durch die Ereignisse um diesen Zeitpunkt hervorgerufen wurden, und die in einem größeren oder kleineren Maß ihren Widerhall in vielen prosaischen und poetischen Werken türkischer Schriftsteller gefunden haben,[22] widerspiegelte sich in Tosuners Erzählungen lediglich ein winziger Bruchteil, und auch der noch in verzerrter Form.

Die Thematik der Erzählungen des letzten Teiles des Buches *Sisli* hängt mit dem zweijährigen Aufenthalt des Autors in der BRD zusammen. Der Stoff dreier Erzählungen sind die Versuche ihres einsamen Helden den Kontakt zu einer Frau, einer Ausländerin, der er im Kaffeehaus, im Krankenhaus oder am Bahnhof einer näher nicht bestimmten deutschen Stadt begegnet ist, aufzunehmen. Diese Begegnungen helfen dem Helden für eine Weile seine Einsamkeit zu vergessen, hinterlassen jedoch in seinem Leben keine dauerhaftere Spur.

In den Erzählungen *Yengelerimiz* (Unsere Schwägerin) und *Bir soru* (Eine Frage) wendet sich Tosuner jedoch bereits jener Problematik zu, die dann später den ganzen Roman *Sancı… sancı* durchdringt.

Die andauernde Furcht des türkischen Gastarbeiters vor dem Verlust seiner Stelle (die Erzählung *Yengelerimiz*), die bedrückenden Verhältnisse der Familie und die sich daraus ergebenden Spannungen zwischen der Frau des Gastarbeiters und dessen Bruder, einem Studenten, stören die traditionellen geschwisterlichen Beziehungen in der türkischen Familie, wo die Hilfeleistung dem jüngeren Bruder für eine Selbstverständlichkeit gehalten wird.

Der Ich-Erzähler aus der Erzählung *Bir soru* wurde Zeuge der Verzweiflung seines sterbenden Bruders, dem es nicht gegönnt war vor dem Tode noch einmal

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[21] Ibid., S. 67.

[22] Siehe Celnarová, X.: *The Problem of a Man.* In: *Asian and African Studies, 16,* Bratislava 1980, S. 161—175.

seine Heimat zu sehen. Der Erzähler vergegenwärtigt sich diese traurige Szene im Moment, wo er vor dem Problem steht, wie er der Tochter seines Bruders erklären soll, daß ihr Vater nicht mehr am Leben sei, ohne die Seele des Kindes allzu sehr zu verletzen. Im Dialog des Erzählers mit dem Mädchen zeigte sich Tosuner wieder als ein gefühlsvoller Kenner der Kindesseele.

. Beginnend mit den Erzählungen der Sammlung *Kambur* tritt bei Tosuner der innere Monolog in den Hintergrund vor dem Dialog, der sich immer ausdrucksvoller zum Wort meldet, als wichtigstes Element des Charakteraufbaus der Gestalten, einschließlich des Ich-Erzählers. Damit hängt dann auch der Übergang von komplizierten Satzgefügen zusammen, voll von Inversionen, die die feste Konstruktion des türkischen Satzes völlig zerstören, zu kurzen Sätzen mit einer umgangssprachlichen Intonation.

Zu einem bedeutenden Charakterisierungselement der einzelnen Gestalten wird der Dialog nicht nur vom Gesichtspunkt seines Inhalts, bei Tosuner verrät vieles über die Gestalt seine individualisierte Sprache. Das gilt besonders für den Roman *Sancı... sancı*, in dem der Autor eine Fülle von Gestalten geschaffen hat. Umstritten bleibt die Frage, ob es angebracht war einige Gestalten des Romans in Mundart reden zu lassen.

Die Frage der Anwendung des Dialekts im literarischen Werk bleibt trotz vielen Diskussionen und Polemiken in der türkischen Literatur noch immer umstritten. An der Tatsache, daß der Dialekt in viele Werke der sog. Dorfproblematik eingedrungen war, haben den Hauptanteil die vom Lande stammenden Schriftsteller.[23] Mit dem Dialekt kommen wir jedoch in Kontakt auch in einigen Werken von Orhan Kemal (1914—1970), aus der industriellen Adana stammend, der als erster in der türkischen Literatur den Dialog zu einem dominierenden Element des Charakteraufbaus emporhob. Infolge vieler kritischer Stimmen hat er ihn jedoch in seinen späteren Werken auf ein Mindestmaß reduziert.

Mit der ständig massenhafteren Auswanderungswelle türkischer Bürger in die Länder Westeuropas[24] hängt auch eine breite Skala von Problemen zusammen, die dieses freudlose Abwandern ins „Gelobte Land" für die türkische Gesellschaft nach sich zieht.

Schlagfertig reagierte die türkische Literatur auf die dringende Notwendigkeit diesen Problemen eine künstlerische Verallgemeinerung zu verleihen. Bereits in der Mitte der sechziger Jahre erscheinen Werke mit der Problematik der Migration türkischer Bürger der Arbeit nach ins Ausland. Ihre Autoren, erwähnt seien wenigstens Bekir Yıldız (1933) und Nevzat Üstün (1924—1979), beachten vor

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[23] Sieh Rathbun, C.: *The Village in the Turkish Novel and Short Story 1920—1955.* The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1972, S. 67—68.

[24] Laut Angaben aus der Istanbuler Zeitung Cumhuriyet vom 19. 4. 1979 befinden sich zur Zeit in acht europäischen Ländern 654 200 Türken, 517 500 davon in der BRD.

allem die unheilvollen Folgen, die die Berührung des rückständigen Landbewohners mit der westlichen Zivilisation für ihn und seine Nächsten bringt.

Obwohl die Anzahl der Werke mit der Thematik der Auswanderung ständig anwächst, und diese Werke meist ein Ergebnis persönlicher Erfahrung ist, wie dies die unlängst durchgeführte Umfrage der Literaturzeitschrift Eleştri bewiesen hat, erreichte die türkische Literatur in der künstlerischen Gestaltung der Probleme, die der Export billiger Arbeitskräfte aus der Türkei in den Westen schafft, noch keine zufriedenstellende Ergebnisse.[25] Außer anderen Gründen ist dies auch deshalb, weil die türkischen Schriftsteller in ihren einzelnen Werken zur Gestaltung des ganzen Fragen- und Problemkomplexes in dessen wechselseitigen Zusammenhang und Bedingtheit noch nicht vorgedrungen sind.

Ein Versuch um einen breiteren, vielseitigeren Einblick in die Problematik der Abwanderung türkischer Bürger in die Großstädte Westeuropas ist Tosuners Roman *Sancı... sancı*. Diese Großstadt aus dem Roman ist Köln, wo es wie auf einer Straßenkreuzung zum Zusammentreffen vieler menschlicher Schicksale kommt, manchmal ohne daß es deren Träger wahrnehmen, ohne davon zu wissen.

Es war für Tosuner, der die Erzählung mit einer einzigen Gestalt, die in der Regel noch der Ich-Erzähler selbst war, bevorzugte, nicht leicht jetzt plötzlich mit mehr als dreißig Gestalten umzugehen, wobei mehrere von ihnen im Romansujet einander gleichgestellt waren. Die Unerfahrenheit des Autors in dieser Richtung hatte zur Folge, daß die Beziehungen und Zusammenhänge der Schicksale einzelner Gestalten zeitweise unübersichtlich werden, beim ersten Kontakt mit dem Roman muß sich der Leser wirklich Mühe geben, um sich darin zurechtzufinden.

Der Schmerz (der wörtlich krampfhafte Schmerz), der bereits im Titel des Romans hervorgehoben wird, erscheint immer wieder auch in dessen Sujet, er wird zum Attribut der einzelnen Gestalten. Des Müllarbeiters Hasan, dem die Erkenntnis Schmerz verursacht, daß sein Beruf Gegenstand von Verachtung jener ist, zu derem Wohl er ihn verrichtet. Seiner Frau Ayşe, die sich nach ihren verlassenen Kindern sehnt. Ulrike, die von ihrem Partner gerade dann verlassen wird, wenn er erkennt, daß sie Mutter werden würde. Petra, die wegen ihrer Unfähigkeit sich jemandem auf die Dauer anzuschließen leidet. Osman, der seine Verkrüppelung, Erniedrigung und Einsamkeit bitterlich erlebt.

In der Handlungslinie, die mit der Gestalt des Müllarbeiters Hasan verknüpft ist, widerspiegelt sich das typische Schicksal eines türkischen Gastarbeiters. Hasan kommt zuerst allein nach Deutschland, nach der Geburt des vierten Kindes folgt ihm seine Frau mit dem ältesten Sohn. Während sich der Sohn schnell in der neuen Umgebung zurechtfindet und inmitten seiner deutschen Schulfreunde das Türkisch langsam vergißt, ist seine Mutter in Gedanken ständig in ihrer alten Heimat, bei den

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[25] Eleştri, Nr. 6, Istanbul 1979. Die ganze Nummer ist den Ansichten von Schriftstellern und Kritikern über die Darstellung des Abwandererproblems nach Deutschland gewidmet.

Kindern, die sie dort zurückgelassen hat, sie kann sich auf ihre Arbeit in der Fabrik nicht konzentrieren, sich dem atemberaubenden Arbeitstempo anpassen und wird schließlich das Opfer eines Arbeitsunfalls. Trotz dieser blutigen Steuer, die seine Familie für ihren bescheidenen Wohlstand bezahlen mußte, entschließt sich Hasan in Deutschland zu bleiben.

Obwohl Hasan die ganzen drei Jahre seines Aufenthaltes in Deutschland sich selbst überlassen war, spielte sich im Niveau seines Denkens eine positive Veränderung ab. Er hört auf ein schreckhafter, eingeschüchterter Provinzler zu sein, er wächst zu einem Menschen heran, der sich seines Wertes bewußt ist. Er gelangt sogar zum Schluß, daß es notwendig ist, sich von der Abhängigkeit von Menschen, die an ihren eigenen Landsleuten schmarotzen, wie dies Remzi bey tut, loszureißen.

In der Gestalt Remzi beys schuf Tosuner das satirische Bild eines „Schutzherren", eines scheinheiligen Schmarotzers, der genauso wie sein landschaftliches Gegenstück — *aga*, den Armen rücksichtslos ausbeutet, wobei er sich für dessen Wohltäter und Beschützer ausgibt. Tosuner wies in seinem Roman darauf hin, daß diese unheilsame soziale Erscheinung den türkischen Werktätigen bis weit hinter die Grenze seiner Heimat verfolgt.

Remzi beys Laden, wo schmutzige Machinationen vor sich gehen und merkwürdige Verträge abgeschlossen werden, ist der einzige Punkt in dem sich Hasans Schicksal mit dem des buckligen Osman durchkreuzen, einer Gestalt, in die sich des Schrifstellers „Ich" projizierte, diesmal reifer, ausgeglichener, die die Niederlage mit dem optimistischen Slogan: „Morgen wird ein neuer Tag!"[26] entgegenzunehmen imstande ist.

Die Verzweiflung, die sich Osmans zeitweilig bemächtigt, entspringt nicht so sehr seiner Verkrüppelung und Einsamkeit, als vielmehr der finanziellen Not, aus der er keinen Ausweg finden kann, und die ihn schließlich zwingt sich zur Bettelei zu erniedrigen.

Und gerade in dieser äußersten Not findet Osman einen Ausgleich mit Beckett, der satt, in seiner Luxuswohnung, die Gedanken tausender Menschen mit seiner Ideologie der Resignation, Untätigkeit, Greuel vor der Welt und dem Leben vergiftet.

Es ist zu hoffen, daß diese Tosuners proklamative Erklärung des Boykotts dieses „Wartens auf Godot" in den künftigen Werken des Schriftstellers zum Ausdruck kommt, als eine definitive Abwendung von der Gestaltung der Angstgefühle, der gegenstandslosen Sehnsucht und der nostalgischen Erwartungen des ewig einsamen Helden.

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[26] T o s u n e r, N.: *Sancı... sancı*. Istanbul, Derinlik Yayınları 1977, S. 266.

ZUR HISTORISCHEN UND GEOGRAPHISCHEN ABGRENZUNG DER OSMANISCHEN BEZEICHNUNG „ORTA MACAR" (MITTELUNGARN)

VOJTECH KOPČAN, Bratislava

Der Autor analysiert die bisher erschienene Literatur, die die Frage nach dem Ursprung und der Bedeutung der osmanischen Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* löst und weist auf Grund weiterer osmanischer Quellen auf die Beziehungen zwischen der osmanischen Politik zum sog. königlichen Ungarn und obiger Bezeichnung. Er beweist auch, daß die ursprüngliche Abgrenzung des Gebietes *Orta Macar* auf sieben ostungarische Komitate sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts noch vor dem Auftreten I. Thökölys auf das ganze Gebiet von Oberungarn ausgebreitet hat.

In osmanischen Quellen finden wir eine Fülle von geographischen Bezeichnungen, die bislang nur unzureichend geklärt sind. Es geht vornehmlich um osmanische Vorstellungen von geographischen Einheiten außerhalb der islamischen Welt. Ein besonderes Kapitel in dieser Frage bildet Evliya Çelebis Werk Buch der Reisen, an viele Probleme jedoch stoßen wir auch in weiteren Werken osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber und Geographen.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag möchten wir uns mit der Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* befassen, der wir häufig in osmanischen Dokumenten, Chroniken und geographischen Werken in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts begegnen.

Die Auslegung dieser Bezeichnung brachte als erster der ungarische Turkologe L. Fekete im Zusammenhang mit einer Analyse der Vorstellungen einiger Werke osmanischer Geographen des 17. Jahrhunderts über Ungarn.[1] Die im Werk Ebu Bekr ben Behrams[2] erwähnte Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* erklärt er als eine neue Machteinheit im östlichen Teil des Oberlandes (Ez az új hatalmi egység a Felvidék keleti részet), die zu Thökölys Fürstentum gehört. Er fügt jedoch in einer Anmerkung hinzu, daß der Terminus älter ist und daß man ihn auf die Feldzüge Georg I. Rákóczi vor dem Linzer Frieden im Jahre 1645 beziehen kann.[3]

Später kam L. Fekete auf dieses Problem zurück im Zusammenhang mit der Ausgabe türkischer Schriften aus dem Archiv des Palatins Nikolaus Eszterházy.[4] Im

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[1] *A hódoltság-kori törökség Magyarországra vonatkozó földrajzi ismeretei.* In: Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, *31*, 1930, S. 1—17, 134—154.

[2] Babinger, F.: *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke.* Leipzig 1927, S. 225 f. Nr. 197.

[3] Fekete, L.: *A hódoltság-kori ...*, S. 8.

[4] *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Eszterházy 1606—1645.* Budapest 1932.

Zusammenhang mit der politischen Entwicklung nach dem Tode von Gabriel Bethlen schreibt Fekete: „Die Bezeichnung *orta madžar* ist türkischen Ursprungs und stammt anscheinend aus den ersten Jahren nach Bethlens Tode. Die Türken verstanden darunter die Sieben Komitate an der nordwestlichen Grenze Siebenbürgens (Abauj, Bereg, Zemplén, Borsod, Szabolcs, Ugocsa und Szatmár), die den Fürsten Gabriel Bethlen im Frieden von Nikolsburg auf die Dauer seines Lebens überlassen worden waren. Die speziell türkische Bezeichnung *orta madžar* bedeutet soviel wie ‚Mittelungarn' und die türkische Herkunft des Namens wird auch dadurch bestätigt, daß sich im Ungarischen hierfür keine Entsprechung findet".[5]

Die türkische Fachliteratur widmete dieser Bezeichnung keinerlei Aufmerksamkeit. Im grundlegenden Werk über die osmanische Geschichte von İ. H. Uzunçarşılı[6] wird der Namen *Orta Macar* an mehreren Stellen erwähnt, jedoch ohne nähere Bestimmung über die Bedeutung dieses Ausdrucks, im Grunde die Behauptungen zeitgenössischer osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber übernehmend (Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Pascha, Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa Silahdar).[7]

Z. Veselá, die bedeutende, an I. Thököly adressierte osmanische Dokumente aus dem Göttingener Defter Turcica 30 veröffentlichte, konnte die Erläuterung dieser Bezeichnung nicht umgehen.[8] Aus Feketes Erklärung und den Erkenntnissen, die ihr das untersuchte Material geboten hat, hervorgehend, schreibt sie: „Die Sultanskanzlei bezeichnet Thököly in ihren Briefen als ‚König des Landes *Orta Macar*'. Für welch ein ausgedehntes Gebiet das Land *Orta Macar* zu betrachten ist, ist bis jetzt noch nicht genau klar. Wörtlich übersetzt bedeutet diese Bezeichnung ‚Mittelungarn' und hat weder im Ungarischen noch im Deutschen ein Äquivalent. Wir können jedoch voraussetzen, daß die Türken damit das ganze Gebiet des ehemaligen Ungarns bezeichneten, das von ihnen nicht besetzt worden war, und dessen Ausdehnung sich daher mit der Zeit änderte."[9] Im Grunde erfaßt diese Definition das Problem der Bezeichnung *Orta Macar*. Sie weist darauf hin, daß es sich um ein von den Türken nicht besetztes Gebiet des ehemaligen Ungarns (nicht jedoch das

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[5] Ibid., S. XLIX.

[6] *Osmanlı Tarihi III. 1.* Ankara 1973[2], S. 434 ff. Einmal benützt er diese Bezeichnung für die oberungarischen Protestanten. Meist erwähnt er jedoch das Land oder das Volk *Orta Macar* im Zusammenhang mit Thökölys Aufstand.

[7] Siehe weiter unten. In Islam Ansiklopedisi IV, S. 301 — Stichwort Erdel wird der Ausdruck *Orta Macar* zum ersten Mal im Zusammenhang mit den Aufrufen an die ungarischen Komitate sich zu ergeben im Jahre 1663 nach der Eroberung von Nové Zámky, Levice und Novohrad erwähnt, öfters jedoch im Zusammenhang mit Imrich Thökölys Aufstand, ohne jedoch näher zu erklären, was unter dieser Bezeichnung verstanden wurde.

[8] *Quelques chartes turques concernant la correspondance de la Porte Sublime avec Imre Thököly.* In: Archiv orientální, 29, 1961, S. 546—574, Beilagen I—III. Das tschechische Resümee. *Příspěvek ke vztahům Imricha Thökölyho k Osmanské říši.* Hist. Čas., X, 1962, S. 569—577.

[9] *Příspěvek ke vztahům...*, S. 569.

gesamte!) handelt, sowie darauf, daß sich dessen Ausdehnung mit der Zeit veränderte.

Richard F. Kreutel, der dieses Problem im Zusammenhang mit der Übersetzung des türkischen Tagebuches der Belagerung Wiens[10] berührte, übernahm im Grunde Feketes Definition.[11]

E. Prokosch erklärt die geographische Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* aus dem konkreten Text der osmanischen Chronik *Kleinodien der Historien*[12] heraus, einfach „worunter das heutige Westungarn zu verstehen ist".[13]

Die bisher genaueste Auslegung der Bezeichnung Orta Macar gab J. Blaškovič in der Rezension der slowakischen Übersetzung von Auszügen aus Evliya Çelebis Werk *Seyahatname*.[14] Da die Sprache der Rezension, sowie die Zeitschrift nicht allgemein zugänglich sind, widergeben wir den grundlegenden Teil der Rezension in der Übersetzung: Die Geschichte von *Orta Macar* beginnt zum Ende des Jahres 1604 mit dem Aufstand Stefan Bocskais gegen die Habsburger zur Verteidigung der Glaubensfreiheit und der alten, durch die Verfassung gesicherten Rechte. Ganz Oberungarn und Siebenbürgen schloß sich ihm an. Am 20. April 1605 wählten die Stände Bocskai zum Fürsten von Siebenbürgen und zum König von (Ober-)Ungarn. Der Sultan bestätigte diese Wahl und übersandte ihm auch die Königskrone. Mit Hilfe der verbündeten türkischen Heere eroberte Bocskai ganz Oberungarn und erreichte große militärische Erfolge. Am 23. Juni 1606 schloß er schließlich Frieden mit Kaiser Rudolf II. (den sog. Wiener Frieden),[15] laut welchem der Kaiser die Glaubensfreiheit der Protestanten anerkannte und Bocskai vier oberungarische Komitate Bereg (Beregovo), Ugoča (mit dem Zentrum Vinogradov), Marmaros (Marumureş) Szatmár (Satu Mare),[16] und noch die Burg Tokaj überließ. Nach

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[10] *Kara Mustafa von Wien. Das türkische Tagebuch der Belagerung Wiens 1683, verfaßt vom Zeremonienmeister der Hohen Pforte.* Hrsg. von R. F. Kreutel. München, DTV 1967.

[11] *Kara Mustafa...*, S. 125. „Der Ausdruck ‚Orta Macar' (‚Mittelungarn') ist ebenso wie die damit bezeichnete politischadministrative Einheit eine rein türkische Schöpfung: ursprünglich nach Bethlen Gabors Tode zur Schwächung des Königreichs Ungarn für die ‚Sieben Komitate' and der Nordwestgrenze Siebenbürgens ins Leben gerufen, galt dieser Begriff dann auch für Thökölys oberungarisches Fürstentum von des Sultans gnaden."

[12] *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn. Die Ungarnfeldzüge des Großwesirs Köprülüzâde Fâzıl Ahmed Pascha 1663 und 1664 nach den „Kleinodien der Historien" seines Siegelbewahrers Hasan Aǧa.* Übers., eingeleitet und erklärt von... Graz—Wien—Köln, Verlag Styria 1976.

[13] *Krieg und Sieg...*, S. 249, Anm. 93.

[14] Evliya Çelebi: *Kniha ciest. Cesty po Slovensku.* Übers. V. Kopčan. Bratislava, Tatran 1978. Rezensionen in Hist. Čas., *28*, 1980, Nr. 2, S. 288—291.

[15] Verlauf der Verhandlung und Text des Friedensvertrags, siehe Goos, R.: *Österreichische Staatsverträge. Fürstentum Siebenbürgen (1526—1690).* Wien 1911, S. 327 f.

[16] Näheres über diese Komitate berichtet Blaškovič, J. im Beitrag *Dva tureckich dokumenta k istorii Transil'vanii* (Zwei türkische Dokumente zur Geschichte von Siebenbürgen.). In: *Vostočnyje istočniki po istorii narodov Jugo-Vostočnoj i Central'noj Jevropy* III. Moskau 1974, S. 151.

seinem Tode (29. Dezember 1606) wurden diese Komitate jedoch wieder dem Königreich Habsburg einverleibt.

Ein neuer Krieg zwischen Siebenbürgen und dem Habsburger Reich brach im Jahre 1619 aus und Gabriel Bethlen, der Fürst von Siebenbürgen, eroberte ganz Oberungarn bis Bratislava. Der Krieg endete mit dem Nikolsburger Frieden am 31. Dezember 1621, auf Grund dessen Bethlen jene Komitate gewann, die einst Bocskai besessen hat, die Burg Tokaj und vier weitere Komitate (Szabolcs, Zemplín, Borsod, Abauj), sowie die Festungen Mukačevo und Ecsed dazu.[17] Hauptstadt dieses Gebietes wurde die Stadt Košice.

Nach Bethlens Tod (25. November 1629) wurden jedoch alle Komitate (mit Ausnahme von Marumureş) wieder dem Habsburger Reich angeschlossen.

Den dritten Krieg entfachte Georg I. Rákóczi am 2. Februar 1644. Ihm schlossen sich die Armeen Oberungarns und Abteile der verbündeten türkischen Armeen an und am 12. März 1644 zog er feierlich in Košice ein. Er hatte militärische Erfolge, kam schnell den Fluß Hron aufwärts und eroberte dreizehn Komitate des königlichen habsburgischen Ungarns.

Die Hohe Pforte erteilte jedoch Rákóczi keine Zustimmung die dreizehn Komitate Nordungarns, sondern lediglich jene sieben, die bereits Gabriel Bethlen innehatte, zu besetzen.

Das Gebiet dieser sieben Komitate mit der Hauptstadt Košice behielt Rákóczi bis zu seinem Tode (11. Oktober 1648), danach erbte es sein Sohn Georg II. Rákóczi. Nach einem in Linz 1645[18] abgeschlossenen Vertrag von Georg I. Rákóczi mit Ferdinand III. verzichtete dieser auf fünf Komitate, gab diese im Jahre 1649 an Ferdinand zurück und bezahlte der Pforte für die Stadt Košice sowie für sieben Komitate eine Zweijahressteuer und Geschenke, die noch sein Vater schuldig geblieben ist.

In türkischen historischen Dokumenten (Göttingen, Turc. 29, Fol. 6a—89a) wird dieses Gebiet als „Košice und die dazu gehörenden Komitate" (Kaşa ve tevabi nahiyeler) oder „Košice und die dazugehörenden sieben Komitate" (Kaşa ve tevabi yedi nahiye) bezeichnet.[19]

Zum ersten Mal erscheint die Bezeichnung Orta Macar in türkischen historischen Dokumenten im Brief des Großwesirs vom 20.—29. April 1681, an den Fürsten Michal Apaffy, in dem dieser aufgefordert wird, dem Volk von *Orta Macar* zu Hilfe zu kommen.[20] Es ist hier jedoch keinerlei Erwähnung, welches Gebiet zu *Orta Macar*

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[17] Goos, R.: *Österreichische Staatsverträge...*, S. 515 f.

[18] Goos, R.: ebenda, S. 718 f.

[19] Blaškovič, J.: Listiny Vysokej porty vo veci obsadenie Košíc, košickej a sedmohradskej dane, v rokoch 1644—1672. Bratislava 1949 (Dissertation). Blaškovičs Behauptung, daß die Osmanen die sieben ostungarischen Komitate als „*nahiye*" bezeichneten, kann auch von erzählerischen Quellen her bestätigt werden, siehe Kâtib Çelebi: *Fezleke-i Tarih* II, S. 106, 235.

[20] Göttingen, Turc. 30, fol. 30. Das Schreiben veröffentlichte Veselá, Z.: *Contribution aux rapports*

gehörte. Das erfahren wir aus zwei weiteren Schriftstücken, die mit Imrich Thökölys Aufstand im Zusammenhang stehen. Nach zahlreichen militärischen Erfolgen eroberte Thököly das ganze Gebiet der sieben Komitate und schloß ihnen noch seine Familiensitze Kežmarok und Prešov an. Im Jahre 1682 schloß er ein Bündnis mit den Türken. Der Sultan nahm ihn mit offenen Armen als Verbündeten auf, ernannte ihn zum König des besetzten Gebietes und verlieh ihm den Titel „*Orta Macar Kıralı*". Gleichzeitig teilte die Hohe Pforte dem ofener Statthalter Ibrahim Pascha Thökölys Ernennung zum König von *Orta Macar* mit. Beide Dekrete sind am 17. muharrem 1083 (26. Januar 1682) datiert.[21] Das Ernennungsdekret wurde Thököly am 16. September 1682 überreicht.

Von diesem Tag an wurde dieses Gebiet amtlich als *Orta Macar* bezeichnet, was aus rein geographischen Überlegungen entstand, weil es nach türkischer Vorstellung zwischen (*orta*) zwei ungarischen (*Macar*) Staaten eingekeilt lag: im Westen grenzte es an das königliche Ungarn (Westslowakei und Transdanubien) und im Südosten an Siebenbürgen, das die Türken auf Grund der Nationalität der Fürsten von Sieben-bürgen, die Ungarn waren, als einen „ungarischen" Staat betrachteten.

Viermal in seiner Geschichte bildete *Orta Macar* eine gewisse „geographische Einheit" als Vasallengebiet des Osmanischen Reiches: 1. zur Zeit Bocskais (20. 4. 1605 — 29. 12. 1606); 2. zur Zeit Gabriel Bethlens (21. 9. 1619—25. 11. 1629); 3. zur Zeit Georg I. und Georg II. Rákóczi (12. 2. 1644 — Januar 1651); 4. unter Imrich Thököly (16. 9. 1682 — 15. 10. 1685, bzw. bis zum 14. 1. 1688).

In den ersten drei Zeitabschnitten war *Orta Macar* in einer Personalunion mit Siebenbürgen und im vierten figurierte es als „selbständiges Fürstentum".

Imrich Thököly benutzte jedoch niemals den Titel ‚König von *Orta Macar*' und titulierte sich selbst als ‚König der Kuruzen' (*Kurs kıralı*).[22] Soweit die Darlegung J. Blaškovičs.

Im weiteren Teil möchten wir die Angaben von Autoren, die über diese Frage geschrieben haben, ergänzen oder korrigieren, bzw. eine neue Lösung mancher Probleme vorlegen. Da der Terminus *Orta Macar*, wie bereits L. Fekete angeführt hat, weder im Ungarischen, noch in anderen, im ehemaligen Ungarn benützten Sprachen einen Äquivalent hat, müssen wir dessen Entwicklung anhand von türkischen Materialien, die uns lediglich in sehr beschränktem Ausmaß zugänglich waren, verfolgen.

Einleitend möchten wir betonen, daß die Grundlage des Problems von Professor Blaškovič erfaßt wurde. Es geht hier nämlich um die Politik der Hohen Pforte gegenüber dem uneroberten Gebiet des sog. königlichen Oberungarns und die

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de la Porte Sublime avec la Transylvanie d'après les documents turcs. In: Archiv orientální, *33*, 1965, S. 564.

[21] Siehe Göttingen, Turc. 30, fol. 35.

[22] Siehe Uzunçarşılı, İ. H.: *Osmanlı Tarihi III. 2.* Istanbul 1954, S. 72—78. *Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi IV.* Istanbul 1960, S. 2142.

Ausnutzung antihabsburgischer Aufstände zum eigenen Vorteil. Danach änderte sich auch der Inhalt dieser Bezeichnung.

In einer schwierigen inner- sowie außenpolitischen Lage, in die das Osmanische Reich am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts infolge der inneren wirtschaftlichen und politischen Entwicklung, sowie der langandauernden erschöpfenden Kriege mit Persien und den Habsburgern geraten war, mußte es immer mehr auch mit günstigen außenpolitischen Komponenten rechnen. Eine solche günstige Komponente war einerseits der Aufstand Stefan Bocskais zum Schluß des sog. Fünfzehnjährigen Krieges (1593—1606), wie auch andererseits Gabriel Bethlens Aufstand im ersten Jahrzehnt des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Wir nehmen jedoch an, daß die Pforte zur Zeit des Bocskaischen Fürstentums, das doch nur sehr kurze Zeit währte, noch nicht die Möglichkeit der Schaffung eines eigenständigen Gebietes aus den vom königlichen Ungarn zeitweilig erlangten Komitaten ins Auge gefaßt hat. Ähnlicherweise konnte die erfolgreiche Politik von Gabriel Bethlen den Habsburgern gegenüber, zumindest was die Gebietsgewinne zum Nachteil des königlichen Ungarns betrifft, die Pforte zwar aufmerksam machen, daß aus der Unzufriedenheit der oberungarischen protestantischen Stände und Städte im geeigneten Augenblick politisches Kapital zu schlagen wäre, besonders wenn auch mit der Europapolitik der protestantischen Staaten und Städte zu rechnen war, aber auch aus der Zeit von dessen Regierung haben wir keinerlei Belege über die Benützung der Bezeichnung *Orta Macar*.[23]

Man kann sich vielleicht L. Feketes Ansicht anschließen, daß die Lage unmittelbar nach Gabriel Bethlens Tode der Pforte eine Anregung bot, *Orta Macar* als selbständiges Gebiet auszugliedern, mit dem Ziel das königliche Ungarn zu

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[23] In osmanischen Chroniken aus späteren Zeitabschnitten finden wir Erwähnungen über Begebenheiten, die zur Zeit von Bethlens Fürstentum geschahen, wobei das Land *Orta Macar* erwähnt wird. So in der Chronik *Kleinodien der Historien* (Cevahir üt-tevarih, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. turc 506 Bl. 31b, weiter nur P; Nationalbibliothek Wien, H. O. 84a, Bl. 37b, weiter nur W) finden wir einen Exkurs in die Vergangenheit von Nové Zámky, anläßlich des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen diese Festung im Jahre 1663. „Als sie (die Festung) noch eine Palanke mit Palisadenwall war, belagerte sie der deutsche Kaiser sechzig Tage lang, konnte sie aber nicht einnehmen. Damals hatte Mittelungarn (*Orta Macar*) mit dem Hause ʿOsmân Frieden, und als der deutsche Kaiser die Festung Neuhäusel belagerte, brachte ihr der Beğlerbeği von Ofen Entsatz. Später hielt es Mittelungarn mit dem deutschen Kaiser und war ihm untertan." *Krieg und Sieg...*, S. 86. Die erwähnte Begebenheit könnte sich auf die Belagerung von Nové Zámky beziehen, das sich in den Händen von Bethlens Armee befand, durch kaiserliche Abteile unter Buquoy im Mai bis Juli 1621, aber die Hilfeleistung des ofener Statthalters ist nicht belegt. Ähnlich schreibt Evliya Çelebi (Seyahatnamesi *VI*, S. 305): „Dann, im Jahre 1035 zur Zeit des Sultans Murad IV., belagerte Kara Murteza Pascha als ofener Statthalter mit dem siebenbürgischen König Gabriel Bethlen, dem Ban der Festung Košice und dem Ban der Kuruzen, dem Ban von Orta Macar und dem Palatin mit einem Heer von hunderttausend Mann Nové Zámky für siebzig Tage lang".

Beide Autoren, die die Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* für die Zeit der Regierung von Gabriel benützten, verfaßten ihre Werke in den siebziger Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts, als diese Bezeichnung allgemein bekannt und verwendet wurde.

schwächen, aber die ersten Erwähnungen über diese Bezeichnung finden wir in den osmanischen Quellen erst beim Auftreten von Georg I. Rákóczi gegen die Habsburger im Jahre 1644, ohne nähere Angabe jedoch, um welches Gebiet es sich handelte.[24]

In den darauf folgenden Jahren finden wir die Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* öfters vor. Sehr oft wird sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Heereszug des Großwesirs Köprülüzâde Fazıl Ahmed Pascha im Jahre 1663 nach Ungarn erwähnt. Wir können nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten, daß die häufige Benützung der Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* mit der antiosmanischen Politik Georg II. Rákóczis, die im Endergebnis zu den osmanisch-habsburgischen Streitigkeiten um Siebenbürgen und zum Krieg in den Jahren 1663—1664 geführt hatten, in Verbindung zu bringen ist.

In den sechziger Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts bezeichnen die osmanischen Quellen mit dem Namen *Orta Macar* nicht nur das Gebiet der sieben Komitate im Nordosten Ungarns, sondern im Grunde genommen das gesamte Gebiet Oberungarns, die Gegend der mittelslowakischen Bergwerkstädte und der heutigen Westslowakei inbegriffen.

So schreibt Hasan Ağa, der Autor des Werkes *Kleinodien der Historien*, das auch weiteren Autoren, wie Mehmed Ağa Silahdar und Mehmed Raşid als Hauptquelle gedient hat,[25] anläßlich einer Beratung des Großwesirs mit den Befehlshabern des osmanischen Heeres in Ofen (23. Juli 1663) über die Richtung des Heereszuges: „...Neuhäusel ist eine bedeutende Festung. Dort residiert der Zweite Wesir des Kaisers. Neuhäusel ist die bedeutendste Festung Mittelungarns. An dreißig Festungen und Palanken gehören zu ihr. Dort gibt es Gold- und Silberbergwerke und Städte und Dörfer in Fülle...“[26]

Im Zusammenhang mit der Niederlage der Armee von General Forgách bei Parkan am 6. August 1663 führt Hasan Ağa an: „Bei diesen getöteten Giaurenkriegern handelte es sich um die besten Truppen Österreichs und Mittelungarns.“[27] Es ist bekannt, daß die größten Verluste in dieser Schlacht gerade die Garnison von Nové Zámky und die Komitats-Insurrektionen aus der heutigen Westslowakei erlitten haben.

Auch aus weiteren Stellen des Textes geht hervor, daß Hasan Ağa *Orta Macar* mit Oberungarn identifiziert.

Die Osmanen scheinen während ihres Feldzuges im Jahre 1663 mit der allgemeinen Unterstützung seitens der unzufriedenen protestantischen Stände und Städte

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[24] Kâtib Çelebi: *Fezleke-i Tarih II*. Istanbul 1287 H., S. 236. Siehe ebenfalls das nicht datierte Schreiben des ofener Statthalters Musa Pascha an den Palatin Nikolaus Eszterházy ungefähr aus dem Jahre 1644. Fekete, L.: *Türkische Schriften*..., S. 449.

[25] Kopčan, V.: *Eine Quelle der Geschichte Silihdärs*. In: Asian and African Studies, 9, 1973, S. 129—139.

[26] *Cevahir üt-tevarih*, P 16a, W 19b; *Krieg und Sieg*..., S. 47.

[27] *Krieg und Sieg*..., S. 56.

gerechnet zu haben. Als Mittler zwischen den Osmanen und den Protestanten, oder allgemeiner gesagt der Bevölkerung von Oberungarn, hätte Michael Apaffy, der Fürst von Siebenbürgen, wirken sollen. Als er nach der Eroberung der Festung schließlich zu Nové Zámky gekommen war, begrüßte ihn der Großwesir Fazıl Ahmed Pascha freundlich und beschenkte ihn. Und weiter berichtet Hasan Ağa: „So erwies unser Herr dem König große Aufmerksamkeit und Gunst. Denn auch der verewigte Sultan Süleyman soll dem König von Ofen (Johann Zapolya) solche große Aufmerksamkeit erwiesen haben, und auf die Kunde von dieser Ehrung hin hatten ihn die Giauren Mittelungarns sämtlich gehuldigt. Und da die erlauchte Absicht unseres Herrn war, mit Gottes Hilfe die österreichischen Giauren aus Mittel- und Siebenbürgisch-Ungarn zu vertreiben und den König von Siebenbürgen zum König von ganz Ungarn zu machen, erwies er ihm all diese Gunst und Freundlichkeit. Allah laß diesen Plan gelingen!"[28]

Aus diesem Text gehen die Ziele der Pforte klar hervor. Im Falle eines günstigen Widerhalls auf Apaffys Aufruf, hatte sie mit dem Gebiet von Oberungarn weitreichende Pläne vor. Auch wenn sie anscheinend mit dessen Ausgliederung als eines selbständigen Vasallengebietes nicht rechnete, da kein entsprechender Kandidat vorhanden war, den sie an die Spitze hätte stellen können, hätte sie die Vereinigung dieses Gebietes mit Siebenbürgen und dessen Fürsten an der Spitze sicherlich begrüßt.

Ein weiterer osmanischer Autor, der anläßlich des osmanischen Feldzuges nach Ungarn im Jahre 1663 das Land *Orta Macar* beschreibt, ist Mehmed Halife.[29] „Das *Orta Macar* genannte Land ist der Länge und der Breite nach größer als eine zwanzigtägige Reise. Von der östlichen und südlichen Seite ist es von den Flüssen Donau und Theiß begrenzt. Von hier, von islamischen Gebiet, grenzt es an Ofen, Esztergom, Erlau und Siebenbürgen, und es wird nur vom Fluß Donau und Theiß getrennt."[30] Als ein weiteres Merkmal dieses Landes führt er an, daß es slowakische und ungarische Untertanen hat (Reayası Tot ve Macardır), und daß sich auf diesem Gebiet Nové Zámky befindet.[31]

An vielen Stellen seines Werkes erwähnt das Land *Orta Macar* auch der berühmte osmanische Reisende des 17. Jahrhunderts Evliya Çelebi. Anläßlich seines Besuches

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[28] *Krieg und Sieg...*, S. 114. *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 291. Im Namen des Großwesirs rief Apaffy Ende Oktober 1663 die Städte und Komitate auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei auf, aber ohne größeren Erfolg. Den Text des Aufrufes siehe *Krieg und Sieg...*, S. 138. Siehe auch die Anm. 7. Die Antwort des Palatins Wesselényi von Anfang Dezember 1663 an Apaffy ist ebenfalls in der türkischen Übersetzung im Werk Hasan Ağas, *Krieg und Sieg...*, S. 129—142 festgehalten. Der türkische Text dieses Schreibens gebraucht auch die Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* anstatt des ursprünglichen Hungaria Superior.

[29] *Tarih-i Gılmanı*. İstanbul 1340. Das Werk entstand in den Jahren 1655—1665. Siehe auch A t s i z, B.: *Das Osmanische Reich um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Nach den Chroniken des Vecihî (1637—1660) und des Mehmed Halifa (1633—1660)*. München 1977, CXXII—CXXVIII.

[30] *Tarih-i Gılmanı*, S. 80.

[31] Ebenda.

von Košice im Jahre 1661 schreibt er: „Jetzt, in *Orta Macar*, unter den Kuruzen besitzt sie (die Burg Košice) der österreichische Kaiser. Früher war sie im Besitz der siebenbürgischen Könige. Sie wird von Siebenbürgen, Ungarn, Deutschen, *Orta Macaren* und Kuruzen bewohnt. Die Untertanen sind Wallachen und Korolen."[32]

Bei der Beschreibung einer erdachten Reise nach Deutschland, Holland und Schweden mit vierzigtausend Tataren evidiert Evliya das slowakische Land (Tot diyarı). Nach seinen Angaben „der südöstliche Teil dieses Landes ist *Orta Macar*. Im Osten liegt Polen. Die Sprache des slowakischen Volkes ist dem Polnischen ähnlich. Im Norden liegt Böhmen. Im Westen grenzt es an das österreichische Land. Das slowakische Volk bildet ein eigenständiges Banat und hat zweimal hunderttausend Soldaten. Da es zu *Orta Macar* gehört, ist es von lutherischem Glaubensbekenntnis".[33]

Der Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* begegnen wir in Evliya Çelebis Werk noch an mehreren Stellen, seine Vorstellung ist in vielem jedoch widersprüchlich und konfus. Interessant ist, daß er das slowakische Land als selbständiges Gebiet irgendwo im Raume der heutigen Mittel- und Westslowakei ausgliedert, während *Orta Macar* nach dieser Auffassung die heutige Ostslowakei und die dazugehörigen Teile Ungarns, der Karpatoukraine und Rumäniens sind, was den sieben Komitaten entsprechen dürfte. An weiteren Stellen plaziert Evliya Çelebi jedoch auf das Gebiet von *Orta Macar* nicht nur die Stadt Košice, sondern auch Fiľakovo, Szécsény und Gyarmat, Levice, die Umgebung von Nitra, sowie Nové Zámky. Nicht unbemerkt kann es bleiben, daß ein Kriterium der Zugehörigkeit zu *Orta Macar* das lutherische Glaubensbekenntnis ist. Was die Ethnizität dieses Gebietes betrifft, wurde es von mehreren umstrittenen Völkern, wie etwa von Siebenbürgen, *Orta Macaren* und Kuruzen bewohnt. Zweifelsohne verstand Evliya Çelebi unter diesen Völkerbezeichnungen die ungarischen Protestanten, wie man dies auch aus Angaben späterer osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber beobachten kann.

Die Unzufriedenheit mit der Innenpolitik (Rekatholisierung, Zentralisierung), aber auch mit der Außenpolitik des Wiener Hofes, vor allem nach dem Abschluß des Friedens von Eisenburg im Jahre 1664, führte in Ungarn zu neuen Wellen des Widerstandes und zu Aufständen. Zuerst war es die Magnatenverschwörung, geführt von Fr. Weselényi (1664—1671), später lokale Rebellionen gegen die Zwangsrekatholisierung, die nach der Niederschlagung der Magnatenverschwörung anwuchs und schließlich mündete diese Unzufriedenheit in der Kuruzenbewegung, die ihren größten Aufschwung unter der Führung des ungarischen Magnaten Imrich Thököly erreichte.

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[32] Evliya Çelebi: *Seyahatnamesi VI*. İstanbul 1318 H. Die ungarische Übersetzung Karácson, I.: *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai 1660—1664*. Budapest 1904. Die slowakische Übersetzung: *Kniha ciest. Cesty po Slovensku*. Bratislava 1978.

[33] *Seyahatnamesi VI*, S. 365.

Das Osmanische Reich verfolgte diese antihabsburgischen Aktionen mit sichtlichem Interesse. Daher begegnen wir gerade in diesen Zusammenhängen der Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* sehr häufig. Die osmanischen Autoren hatten jedoch keine klare Vorstellung über die einzelnen Etappen oder Formen dieses antihabsburgischen Widerstandes, und ihre Behauptungen sind oft recht sonderbar. Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Pascha[34] schreibt über Zrinyi und Batthányi als über Grafen von *Orta Macar* im Zusammenhang mit der Magnatenverschwörung. Er berichtet über einen Versuch dieser Verschwörer Kontakt mit der Pforte aufzunehmen. Dem weiteren Text ist zu entnehmen, daß Sarı Mehmed Pascha unter der Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* auch jene Kuruzen verstand, die sich in Siebenbürgen oder auf osmanischem Gebiet aufhielten. Im Zusammenhang mit den Ereignissen des Jahres 1682, als Thököly das osmanische Heer zu Hilfe gesandt wurde, bezeichnet Sarı Mehmed Pascha Thököly als König der Kuruzen, der „der Bitte von *Orta Macar* Folge leistend den harac wie früher zurückerstattet und sich unterworfen hat". Daraus ist ersichtlich, daß Sarı Mehmed Pascha die Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* nicht nur für solche geographische Einheiten benützte, wie es das Gebiet des königlichen Ungarns oder das Gebiet des sog. Fürstentums von Thököly waren, sondern auch für Gruppen von Kuruzen und Flüchtlingen nach Siebenbürgen.

Mehmed Ağa Silahdar[35] charakterisiert die Bevölkerung von *Orta Macar* folgend: „Das ungarische Volk teilt sich in zwei Gruppen. Die eine Gruppe betet Götzenbilder an. Die zweite betet keine Götzenbilder an und hat in ihren Kirchen keinerlei Standbilder. Dieses Volk meidet das Fett nicht und es sind eigentlich die Bewohner von *Orta Macar*. Ihre Nachbarn vo der einen Seite sind die Deutschen, von der anderen die Slowaken und das nächste Nachbarland ist Siebenbürgen, sie grenzen an Nové Zámky und Erlau. Der Sitz ihres Herrschers, des Königs Duduk (eine Entstellung aus dem ungarischen Wort Tótok — die Slowaken) war die Festung Košice."[36]

Aus dem Text geht klar hervor, daß Silahdar unter Bevölkerung von *Orta Macar* die oberungarischen Protestanten meinte. Aus dem weiteren Text ist zu schließen, daß Silahdar unter der Bezeichnung *Orta Macar* das Gebiet von Oberungarn oder genauer das von den Türken nicht besetzte Gebiet von Oberungarn verstand, in welches Košice, Onod sowie Fiľakovo gehörten.[37]

In den osmanischen Dokumenten, die aus jener Zeit stammen, finden wir die Bezeichnung „das Land *Orta Macar*" und „das Volk von *Orta Macar*". Anläßlich

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[34] Siehe B a b i n g e r, F.: GOW, Nr. 220. Leider stand uns die Handschrift des Werkes nicht zur Verfügung, sondern lediglich die bearbeitete türkische Ausgabe in Lateinschrift: *Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa: Zübde-i Vekayiat (Olayların özü) I.* 1656—1684. İstanbul 1977, S. 181 f.

[35] Siehe B a b i n g e r, F.: GOW, Nr. 223. Die Ausgabe *Silahdar Tarihi I,* Istanbul 1928.

[36] *Silahdar Tarihi I,* S. 741 f.

[37] *Silahdar Tarihi I,* S. 742.

der Ernennung Thökölys zum König von *Orta Macar* und seiner Krönung am 16. September 1682 unter der Burg von Filakovo, erhielt dieser das Dekret des Sultans (*ahitname*) und Insignien, die seine Vasallenbeziehung zur Pforte symbolisierten.[38] Ein weiteres, an das Volk von *Orta Macar* „auf dessen Bitten und Ersuchen" adressiertes *ahitname*, definiert in vierzehn Punkten die wechselseitige Beziehung der Hohen Pforte zum Land und Volk von *Orta Macar*, als eines Vasallengebietes des Osmanischen Reiches.[39]

Wie bereits die früher erwähnten Forscher darauf hingewiesen hatten, geht aus diesen, sowie weiteren Dokumenten klar hervor, daß unter dem Begriff *Orta Macar* Thökölys, von der Hohen Pforte abhängiges Fürstentum und die Bevölkerung desselben verstanden wurde.

Die Vorstellungen osmanischer Autoren über *Orta Macar* sind nicht eindeutig und sie entwickelten sich im Einverständnis mit den Zielen der osmanischen Politik. Die Bezeichnung entstand in der Mitte der vierziger Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts und bedeutete die erwähnten sieben Komitate im Nordosten Ungarns; in den sechziger Jahren jedoch umfaßte sie bereits das gesamte Oberungarn und schließlich das Gebiet von Thökölys Fürstentum. Als Bewohner von *Orta Macar* führen die osmanischen Autoren ethnische Einheiten wie Slowaken und Ungarn an, aber ebenso auch religiöse Gruppen (Protestanten) oder politische Bewegungen — die Magnatenverschwörer oder die Kuruzen.

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[38] Das am 10. August 1682 datierte Original blieb nicht erhalten. Die deutsche Übersetzung J. von Hammer: GOR, *VI*, S. 731—732.

[39] Veselá, Z.: *Quelques chartes turques...*, S. 553—556, Übersetzung S. 566—568.

PREPARATION AND CONCLUSION OF
A SEPARATE PEACE TREATY WITH JAPAN
AND THE RELATED QUESTION OF REPARATIONS

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The present study, in conjunction with that published in AAS, *XVI*, 1980 *The Question of Japanese Reparations after World War II and Its Development up to the Year 1949* aims to trace the United States' approach to problems dealing with a peace treaty with Japan and the inherent question of reparations. The United States of America, disregarding the preceding agreements among the Allies, the suggestions and concrete proposals of Southeast Asian countries and the Soviet Union, settled these issues in the spirit of their own military-political interests in the Far East which resulted in the fairly logical fact that the majority of the interested countries refused to accept the peace treaty with Japan.

The process of creating a peace treaty by the Allied Powers with Japan proved to be a protracted, relatively complicated and from the aspect of the international law, an as yet unterminated affair. The Soviet Union, a country that played a very important role in the war with fascist Japan and was instrumental in a decisive measure in the speedy defeat of Japan in World War II, has not as yet concluded a peace treaty with Japan on account of the intransigent attitude on the part of the Japanese in territorial questions, although it normalized its relations with this country back in 1956.[1] Similarly, no peace treaty has been concluded between Japan and countries of the antifascist coalition — Poland[2] and Czechoslovakia.

The United States' Efforts at Concluding a Peace Treaty with Japan in 1947 and the Soviet Union's Standpoint

The United States came out officially[3] for the first time with the proposal to

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[1] On 19 October 1956, a common Soviet-Japanese declaration was signed on the termination of a state of war between the two countries, on resumption of diplomatic and consular relations, on Soviet support for a Japanese request to become a member of the UNO, on the release and repatriation of Japanese nationals living in the Soviet Union and likewise on the Soviets' giving up their claims to reparations. The Soviet Union also agreed to handing over of the Hamobai and Shikotan Islands in the Kurile group to Japan after a peace treaty would be concluded between the two countries (cf. Pravda, Moscow, 20 October 1956).

[2] On 8 February 1957, a protocol was signed in London on a normalization of relations between the Polish People's Republic and Japan in virtue of which a state of war was de jure terminated between the two countries which simultaneously decided to establish normal diplomatic relations. A similar document was signed on 13 February 1957, between Czechoslovakia and Japan.

conclude a peace treaty with Japan in 1947. According to their plans, a preparatory conference was to have been held in Washington on 19 August 1947 at which questions concerning the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan[4] were to have been discussed with the participation of member countries of the Far Eastern Commission (FEC).[5] In this manner, the United States endeavoured to avoid solving the question of a peace treaty with Japan that would be in harmony with the conclusions of the Berlin conference,[6] knowing full well that they would inevitably meet with the decisive resistance of the Soviet Union which consistently fought for a consequent democratization and demilitarization of postwar Japan. The standpoint of the Soviet Union was the reason why the United States had proposed to convene this preparatory conference of the member countries of the Far Eastern Commission and this outside its soil where the right of veto enjoyed by the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China could not be exercised. According to the American proposal, the decisions were to have been taken by a two-thirds majority of votes.[7]

The basis of the discussion for the proposed conference was to have been a project of the peace treaty worked out by a group under the head of the special assistant to the Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Hugh Borton. This project, which had not been published, comprised the following basic points:

1. prohibiting the maintenance of a regular military force, with the exception of police and coast guard;
2. prohibiting any aircraft industry;

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[3] The first statement on preparations to conclude a peace treaty with Japan was made by the State Secretary of the United States of America, James Francis Byrnes in February 1946, who said that the question of a peace treaty with Japan would be resolved during the course of the year. At the same time he declared that the occupation of Japan would last 15 years (cf. *Istoriya voiny na Tikhom okeane* — perevod s yaponskogo, Moscow 1958, Vol. V, p. 302).

[4] See Shinobu Seizaburō: *Sengo Nihon Seijishi 1945—1952*, Tokyo 1974, Vol. II, pp. 612—613. Also *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya na Dalnem Vostoke 1840—1949*. Moscow 1956, p. 696.

[5] The Far Eastern Commission consisted of representatives of 11 countries: the United States of America, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China (these powers had the right of veto), France, Holland, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Canada and India.

[6] Article two of the "*Report on the Berlin Conference of the Three Powers*" headed "Setting up of a Foreign Ministers' Council" says in its introduction: "A. The conference achieved agreement on the setting up of a Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs representing the five principal great powers, which is to carry on urgent work on the preparation of a peace settlement and will discuss all outstanding questions that, according to the agreement among the powers represented in the Council, may be handed in to the Council from time to time... 1. A Council will be set up made up of the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, China, France and the United States of America..." Translated from: *Teheran — Yalta — Potsdam. Collection of Documents*. Bratislava 1972, p. 374.

[7] Shinobu Sezaburō: op. cit., Vol. II, p. 614.

3. prohibiting military research;

4. continuing the purge;

5. rigorously collecting reparations;

6. establishing a supervisory committee under the FEC which would oversee the execution of the above measures for twenty-five years.[8]

This project, although somewhat moderated in comparison with previous allied agreements, was elaborated in the spirit of the so-called principles of "hard peace" on the part of the United States towards Japan. This course of the American policy implied that Japanese economic strength would be eliminated so that Japanese capital would never compete with American capital on the Asian markets. To this policy, there corresponded also in the project the decision of a "rigorous collection of reparations" from Japan which the American occupation forces implemented in 1947 by the dismantling operations of industrial plants.[9]

Simultaneously with the announcement of the convocation of the preparatory conference on the peace treaty with Japan, the United States, without any preceding consultation with Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union, began unilateral negotiations with the other member countries of the Far Eastern Commission, thus disregarding their previous engagements and international agreements.[10]

The Soviet Union categorically refused the United States' efforts at concluding a peace treaty with Japan and on 22 July 1947 informed the U.S. government that it "could not accept the United States' proposal".[11] The Soviet Union insisted that questions of a peace treaty with Japan be dealt with in conformity with previous agreements of the Allies at the level of a Council of Foreign Ministers that had been determined to this purpose and comprising the United States, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union and whose interest in questions of Japan's postwar evolution had been confirmed by negotiations in Moscow of the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain and China in December 1945. In addition, the Soviet Union then pointed out that any preparation of a peace treaty with Japan, the interests of all the countries that had contributed to Japan's defeat must be taken into consideration.[12] The United States, however, rejected the Soviet proposals for convening a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers for preparing a peace treaty with Japan[13] and thus negotiations on the preparation of such a treaty with Japan ended in failure in November 1947, on an essential point.

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[8] Hata, Ikuhiko: *Japan Under the Occupation.* The Japan Interpreter, *10*, 1976, p. 371.

[9] For more details see: Kutka, K.: *The Question of Japanese Reparations after World War II and Its Development up to the Year 1949.* In: *Asian and African Studies, 16,* 1980, pp. 91—116.

[10] *Istoriya vneshnei politiki SSSR 1945—1975.* Vol. II. Moscow 1976, p. 120.

[11] Ibid., op. cit., p. 120.

[12] Kutakov, L. N.: *Vneshnyaya politika i diplomatiya Yaponii.* Moscow 1964, pp. 223—224. See also *Istoriya Yaponii 1945—1975.* Moscow 1978, p. 81.

[13] *Istoriya Yaponii...,* p. 81.

It should be observed that the United States made no effort at this time to push through at all cost their proposal for convening a preparatory peace conference. The principal reason for such a "passive" attitude on their part is to be seen primarily in the fact that there was no unity of opinion in this question within the government circles of the United States themselves. The military circles and the Planning Office in the State Department in particular opposed the project of a peace treaty with Japan and were for an indefinite occupation of the country. Their reason was that in view of the rising national liberation movement and the revolutionary process in Asia and in connection with the overall changes in the international political situation in the world following World War II, they looked more and more on Japan as on a potential ally of American policy and interests in Asia and were thus unwilling to abandon their military positions.[14]

Towards the end of 1947 and during the course of the following year, the majority of the responsible members of the governing circles in the United States were aware that in the changing political situation, the peace project from the beginning of 1947 no longer satisfied American interests in the Far East and had to be revised. This, however, required time in view of the large number of complex questions relating to Japanese economy, military statutes and the system of military groupings, all of which had to be settled beforehand. In these circumstances, the best solution appeared to be to adjourn the conclusion of a peace treaty for an indefinite period.[15]

On the other hand, the Soviet Union repeatedly proposed in an official manner that a peace treaty be concluded,[16] that the process of formulating such a treaty be speeded up, but the United States left these proposals unnoticed.[17] The Soviet attitude to the entire question of a peace treaty is expressed in a statement by TASS of 23 May 1948, to the effect that the Soviet Union favoured an unprotracted conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan and a withdrawal of the occupation armies. It goes without saying that in this case, too, the preparation of the peace treaty should be carried out according to the Potsdam agreement which required that all peace treaties with enemy countries, and therefore also with Japan, must be prepared by the Council of Foreign Ministers in the appropriate representation, which, in this case, meant also the participation of China.[18]

A New United States' Initiative as regards a Peace Treaty with Japan at the Turn of the Years 1949/1950

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[14] Cf. G ó ral s k i, W.: *Stany Zjednoczone — Japonia 1945—1972. (Sojusz — Współpraca — Sprzeczności).* Warsaw 1976, pp. 113—114.

[15] Ibid., p. 113.

[16] Such a proposal was made in May 1948 by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, V. M. Molotov.

[17] *Istoriya voiny na Tikhom okeane.* Vol. V, p. 303.

[18] Pravda, Moscow, 23 May 1948.

The question of a peace treaty with Japan came again on the international agenda towards the end of 1949 when, through the victorious advance of the Chinese revolution, the situation in Asia came to be rapidly altered and when American imperialism began to organize an "anticommunist" system on a world-wide scale.

This was a time when the United States had completely revised their occupation policy towards Japan and began to introduce measures that were far removed from those on which the Allies had agreed.

The rise of the People's Republic of China gave a clear answer to the question as to the role Japan would play in future in the Asian policy of the United States. This new role became most explicitly evident in the overall change in the United States' occupational policy, the aim of which no longer was to weaken Japan so that it would not threaten American capital in Asia, but quite the contrary, to build up a Japan sufficiently strong both economically and politically, so that after China, it would be able to take up the role of the United States' "junior" partner and ally in Asia.

By the end of 1949, the American administration had already worked out a new project of a peace treaty with Japan that was diametrally opposed to that of 1947 and suited the new strategic interests of American foreign policy.[19] Thus, by the end of 1949, the United States launched a new initiative and were firmly resolved to conclude the peace treaty with Japan even without the participation of the Soviet Union.

Considerable attention was devoted to the peace treaty with Japan during the negotiations between the British Foreign Minister Bevin and the State Secretary of the United States Acheson, held in London from 13 to 17 September 1949. The final communiqué published at the conclusion of the talks stated that both sides shared the view that a peace treaty for Japan must indispensably be enacted. Acheson and Bevin made it clear that they would negotiate a project of a peace treaty with Japan "even in case the Soviet Union will not take part in these negotiations".[20]

On 1 December 1949, the State Department of the United States announced that a projected peace treaty with Japan was being prepared in London and Washington. The United States chose designedly a separate approach to the preparation of this project because the Soviet Union refused to negotiate on this question outside the podium of the Council of Foreign Ministers as had been decided at the Berlin conference.[21] The reason why the United States had decided to prepare a separate projected peace treaty with Japan was that the governing circles of the U.S.A. were well aware that the U.S.S.R. would not agree to a peace project that would not be based on allied agreements worked out and ratified during and after World War II,

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[19] Góralski, W.: op. cit., p. 119.

[20] See New York Times, 18 September 1949.

[21] On 6 November 1949, the Soviet Union again proposed to conclude a general peace treaty with Japan that would be worked out at a conference of the representatives of the U.S.A., Great Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China (see: Pravda, Moscow, 10 November 1949).

something that no longer suited the United States' plans in Asia following the changes in the international situation, the growth of the national liberation movement in Asia and the victory of the Chinese revolution.

In April 1950, the Government of the United States approved a decision on the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan and immediately after, President Truman nominated John Foster Dulles — a zealous advocate of the idea of rebuilding Japan into an anticommunist stronghold in Asia — to be special adviser to the State Secretary, entrusting him with the preparation of a peace treaty with Japan. Dulles repeatedly visited Japan and other Asian countries and was instrumental in a decisive measure in bringing about the final conclusion of a separate peace treaty with Japan.

At this time, the divergence of views between the military and the government circles of the United States as regards the preparation and conclusion of the peace treaty with Japan had not been eliminated. Military circles were of the opinion that continued occupation of Japan was indispensable and that a peace arrangement would de facto shape from a legal point of view the existence of peace.[22] These circles also maintained a restrained attitude in the question of a remilitarization of Japan. On the other hand, the State Department judged that a remilitarization of Japan and a transformation of a former enemy into an ally of American policy in the Far East could not be carried out under conditions of occupation, as such a way of acting would inevitably provoke opposition on the part of former allies, particularly of the Soviet Union.[23] Thus, it is evident that the lack of unity of views on the question of a peace treaty with Japan between the military and administrative circles of the United States was not of a basic nature. Yet, irrespective of this fact, it did slow down the realization of the State Department's plan, hence, these "conflicts" had to be levelled out. This was partially achieved during conversations in Tokyo between Dulles and the Secretary for Defense Louis Johnson (June 1950), when the Department of Defense "withdrew its objections towards the peace treaty".[24] The Department of Defense came to the conclusion that "America will ultimately have a better assurance of security from a free and friendly Japan than from a Japan deprived of independence".[25] However, shortly after the outbreak of the Korean war, L. Johnson, who had been one of the greatest opponents of the peace treaty on military grounds, resigned his command under pressure from the President. In his place, Truman nominated General Catelett Marshall to the post of Secretary of Defense, one of his chief tasks being to reinstate cooperation between the two Departments.[26]

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[22] *Istoriya Yaponii...*, p. 82.

[23] *Istoriya voiny na Tikhom okeane.* Vol. V, p. 305.

[24] Góralski, W.: op. cit., p. 120.

[25] *Istoriya voiny na Tikhom Okeane.* Vol. V, p. 307.

[26] See Shinobu Seizaburō: op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 1182—1183.

The Principal Elements of the Peace Settlement with Japan, Elaborated by the State Department of the United States

The outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula, unleashed by American imperialism, created the most advantageous conditions for the United States to go about preparing a separate peace treaty with Japan according to their own plan and strategic designs, and to a considerable degree speeded up this process.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war in Korea, and following the removal of conflicts within the governing circles of the United States, President Truman, without the consent of the other powers, charged Dulles with the task of initiating negotiations on a peace treaty with Japan. Dulles profited by the presence of representatives of member countries of the Far Eastern Commission at the Fifth General Session of the UNO that was being held in New York on 19th November and during inofficial talks, probed their views on such a peace treaty, while endeavouring to obtain the approval of "free" member countries of the FEC for the American project.[27] Shortly after, the United States sent a special mission to Great Britain, France, Asian and Pacific countries with the purpose of carrying out formal "consultations" on an elaboration of a peace treaty with Japan, intended to veil the separate action on the part of the United States in this question.[28]

The groundwork for the "consultations" was given by the so-called seven basic principles for concluding a peace treaty with Japan — also called Dulles' seven bases of peace with Japan which the Government of the United States sent to the various FEC member countries in the form of a memorandum in October 1950.

In contrast to the project of the peace treaty with Japan from the year 1947, the seven basic principles did not deal with the questions of a democratization and demilitarization of post-war Japan, and imposed no restrictions on it in the military domain as had been the case, though also in a very moderate and limited form, in the first project. On the contrary, these principles created favourable conditions for a free and uncontrolled activity by Japan in the political, economic and military domain. In addition, the "principles" left the United States the right to keep their armed forces on Japanese territory after the signature of the peace treaty. The seven principles of the peace treaty worked out by the State Department were clear evidence that the United States of America did not intend to adhere to the previous agreements of the Allies in preparing the peace treaty.[29]

On the other hand, the United States included as one of the principles of a territorial statute, the question of Formosa (Taiwan), the Pescadores Islands,

[27] Ibid., p. 1195 (J. F. Dulles during these conversations met also the representatives of Indonesia and Ceylon who were not members of the FEC).

[28] Kutakov, L. N.: op. cit., pp. 235—236.

[29] For more details see Osmańczyk, E. J.: *Encyklopedia Spraw Międzynarodowych i ONZ.* Warsaw 1975, p. 426. Also *Teheran — Yalta — Potsdam*, pp. 216—217.

Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, although the statute of these territories had already been determined by previous agreements of the Allies.[30]

This spirit pervaded also the negotiations concerning Japanese war reparations. The "seven principles" of the peace treaty made no mention of reparations at all, but article 6 "Claims" had but this to say: "All the parties to the treaty will renounce their claims deriving from acts of war that took place prior to 2 September 1945..."[31] At the same time, Allied countries could keep Japanese property that was on their territory and Japan was to return property of Allied nations that was on Japanese territory, or if that was not possible, to compensate for its value, the extent to be determined by agreement with the interested countries.[32] This meant that one of the basic principles of the peace treaty envisaged in the United States' plan required the Allied countries to waive their right to claim compensation for damages caused to them by Japanese militarism during World War II.

This unilateral decision on the part of the United States derived from their overall economic policy towards Japan, the aim of which was a remilitarization of Japanese economy. In the spirit of their "new" attitude towards Japan, the United States stopped the "reparations removals" of industrial equipments, the dismantling of which would have been an obstacle to a rapid rebuilding of the Japanese economy along the strategic lines contemplated by the United States in Asia. This fact became glaringly evident during the Korean war, during which Japanese monopolist capital, whose military-industrial potential became practically untouched thanks to the protective hand of the United States, could accept and carry out without difficulty military orders from the American army and thus multiply its war profits.

The fact that the United States insisted on reparations claims being abandoned by the Allied countries — which was in opposition to previous agreements among the Allies[33] goes to show clearly that the USA made no account whatever of the needs of other Allied countries, but were motivated solely by their own strategic interests in formulating the peace treaty, while at the same time endeavouring to enforce their views on the other, primarily Asian countries.

It should be noted that all the seven basic principles of the peace treaty with Japan were formulated in this spirit and hence, it is quite natural that they should have encountered criticism not only on the part of the Soviet Union who was sincerely interested in a just settlement of the peace treaty with Japan on the basis of agreements among the Allies, as attested to by numerous notes of the Soviet

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[30] For complete text of the Notes of the United States Government see: Pravda, Moscow, 24 November 1950.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] For more details see: *Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan. Text of Document.* Adopted on 19 June 1947, by the Far Eastern Commission. In: Department of State Bulletin, *XVII*, No. 422, Washington 1947 (GPO), pp. 216—221.

Government to the United States Government, but also on the part of numerous Asian countries and countries of the Pacific region — among them also such as were to a greater or lesser extent dependent on the United States and who were vitally affected by questions of the future of Japan.

Attitudes of Countries of Southeast Asia and the Pacific Concerning the Plans and Designs of the United States in Connection with Preparations of the Peace Treaty with Japan and the Common Anglo-American Project of the Peace Treaty

Thus, having abandoned the original plan from the year 1947 to call a conference to prepare a peace treaty with Japan, the United States decided independently — separately to prepare the project of such a treaty according to principles that suited the new strategic interests of their foreign policy. However, in view of the powerful growth of the national liberation movement and the revolutionary process in Asia, they had to expend considerable efforts during the course of bilateral negotiations to have their project accepted by the majority of East-Asian countries. As countries of Southeast Asia and Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) still had fresh memories of the then recent Japanese aggression during World War II, they adopted a very critical stand towards American plans to rebuild Japan as the principal ally of their policy in the Far East. As a matter of fact, these countries were sufficiently aware that a restoration of Japanese economy and remilitarization of that country under American patronage would contribute to their regaining the positions they had lost in Asia in World War II, and to an expansion of Japanese imperialism which had for long years exploited Southeast Asian countries on colonial principles. It should, however, be observed that the critical attitudes of these countries were to a large extent eliminated by their dependence on the United States, as well by the propaganda launched by American imperialism about the alleged threat of communism in connection with the war in Korea. Regardless of this, the critical standpoint of countries of Southeast Asia and the Pacific region in the question of a peaceful settlement with Japan, caused considerable worry to the United States, all the more so, as all the socialist countries of Asia, together with India and Burma and the Soviet Union did not agree to the mode of preparation and the content of the peace treaty. Therefore, the United States did not succeed completely in enforcing their designs, and in order to win over the support of Southeast Asian countries that were dependent on them, they had to make certain concessions or slightly modify their designs, even though not in basic issues.

As may be expected, the fears and criticism of the countries of Southeast Asia and the Pacific region stemmed primarily from two problems: remilitarization of Japan, and the question of Japanese reparations, which countries that had suffered most from Japanese aggression, were asked to abandon according to the "seven principles of the peace treaty".

The United States endeavoured to dissipate the apprehension from a remilitarization of Japan which evoked the greatest misgivings in the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand by proposing a Pacific Ocean defence pact that would also include Japan; its spearhead was to be aimed primarily at the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries in Asia. The problem of setting up a Pacific Ocean defence treaty organization was also the principal topic of conversations by John F. Dulles with the highest representatives of the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, that took place following his visit to Japan early in 1951.

Dulles made every effort to justify the remilitarization of Japan by the alleged "danger" threatening Japan from the side of the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China. However, countries of Southeast Asia that still had fresh memories of Japanese aggression refused to accept the U.S.A. standpoint and projects and maintained a negative attitude to a remilitarization of Japan. Under these circumstances, the United States decided not to pursue their project of setting up a Pacific Ocean defence treaty, all the more so as this was not the only way to bind Japan with the United States and carry out remilitarization of that country.[34]

During the conversations in the Philippines, which towards the end of 1950, decided to demand from Japan payment of reparations to the tune of 8 milliard dollars (including 5 milliard as war damages and 3 milliard as compensation for looting by the Japanese army),[35] Dulles attempted to convince the Philippine government of the inability of Japan to pay reparations to Allied countries. In his arguments, the weight of paying the reparations would ultimately fall on the United States which would have to support the Japanese economy as its weakness would have baneful political sequelae.[36]

Towards the end of March 1951, the United States of America sent out to the member countries of the Far Eastern Commission the text of the draft of the peace treaty elaborated on the basis of the "seven principles" and the preceding negotiations by J. F. Dulles. The project did not differ from the U.S.A. preceding designs and the question of reparations dealt with in Chapter 6; the United States did not alter their standpoint and insisted that reparations be restricted to the confiscation of Japanese assets abroad and to the reparations removals of equipments, already realized in a minimal measure. As stated in this chapter entitled "Claims and Property", the Allies had to recognize (article 14) that Japan had no means to make the reparations in gold, foreign currency, property or services for economic aid provided to it after 2 September 1945, and likewise it was not able to make good to the Allies the damage caused during the course of the war. Japan had to recognize the disposal of its interests and property during the period from 7 December 1941 until 2 September 1945, with the exception of property that belonged to Japanese

[34] Góralski, W.: op. cit., p. 130.
[35] Shinobu Seizaburō: op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1236.
[36] Quoted according to W. Góralski's book, p. 129.

citizens living on the territory of the Allies, as well as property of diplomatic and consular offices, political, religious, public welfare and cultural organizations.[37]

Despite U.S. pressure, the Philippines did not intend to waive their right to demand reparations from Japan. In connection with the publication of this text, of the projected peace treaty with Japan, the Philippine Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the American project "exceeds the limits of a magnanimous peace offer and gives the impression of a pact of friendship".[38] On 10 May 1951, the Philippine president Quirino called a special commission whose task it was to study in detail the American project of a peace treaty. This special commission, one section of which dealt with the problem of reparations, approved the project of the draft according to which Japanese industry and the capacity of Japan's military production was to be restricted to the basically needed peace time limit, and the reserves that would ensue from such a restriction to be divided among the various nations demanding reparations.[39] The deputy Foreign Minister of the Philippines who was a member of this commission, criticized the American project of the peace treaty with Japan as completely ignoring the rightful demands of the Philippines. "The American project", he said, "has been worked out in the interests of the defeated country rather than in those of the victorious powers."[40]

Alongside the questions of remilitarization of Japan, considerable concern was caused among Asian countries by the question of participation of the People's Republic of China in the projected peace treaty. This point was a subject of negotiation during Dulles's visit in London (July 1951), with the prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain. The United States insisted that the prepared peace treaty be signed in the name of China by the Taiwan regime, while Great Britain, in view of its interests in Asia, as also in view of the attitude of countries of the British Commonwealth persisted that the treaty be signed by the People's Republic of China. In the end, Dulles obtained Great Britain's promise of participating at the peace conference on condition that neither the representatives of the PRC nor of the Kuomintang would be invited to it and that after the signature of the treaty, Japan would not be prevented from taking political and business contacts with the PRC.[41] Following the conclusion of the peace treaty, Japan was to be "free" to decide with which Chinese government it would conclude the peace treaty.

Great Britain was primarily anxious that the PRC with whom it maintained diplomatic relations, would become the principal export market for Japan, which

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[37] Kutakov, L. N.: op. cit., pp. 240—241.

[38] *Istoriya voiny na Tikhom okeane.* Vol. V, pp. 308—309.

[39] Shinobu Seizaburō: op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1276.

[40] See Pravda, Moscow, 18 July 1951.

[41] *Medzinárodné vzťahy po druhej svetovej vojne.* (International Relations after World War II.) Vol. II (1950—1955). Bratislava 1965, p. 436.

would weaken the steadily growing Japanese competition in Southeast Asia.[42]

During his London negotiations, Dulles went for a day to Paris where he had conversations with French representatives on the peace treaty with Japan. France had no major objections to the American proposal, but demanded that Bao Dai's Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos be participants at the forthcoming peace conference, although they had no formal independence, and at the same time requested for these countries reparations from Japan to the amount of 2 milliard dollars.[43]

Great Britain's assent to the American draft of the peace treated resulted in its being raised to a common Anglo-American project.

Final Settlement of the Question of Reparations in the Peace Treaty and the Standpoint of Asian Countries

The common Anglo-American project of the separate peace treaty with Japan published in July and August 1951 as a ready instrument of the peace treaty and submitted for signature at the peace conference in San Francisco, did not essentially differ from the original American draft. It took no account of the suggestions made by the Soviet Union, nor those of the Asian countries — Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines — direct victims of Japanese aggression during World War II and which referred to reparations.

Chapter V "Claims and Property" (Article 14) of the final draft of the peace treaty with Japan, says:

"a) It is recognized that Japan should pay reparations to the Allied Powers for the damage and suffering caused by it during the war. Nevertheless, it is recognized also that the resources of Japan are not presently sufficient, if it is to maintain a viable economy, to make complete reparation for all such damage and suffering and at the same time meet its other obligations.

Therefore,

1. Japan will promptly enter into negotiations with the Allied Powers so desiring, whose present territories were occupied by Japanese forces and damaged by Japan, with a view to assisting to compensate those countries for the cost of repairing the damage done, by making available the services of the Japanese people in production, salvaging and other work for the Japanese people in production, salvaging and other work for the Allied Powers in question. Such arrangements shall avoid the imposition of additional liabilities on other Allied Powers, and, where the manufacturing of raw materials is called for, they shall be supplied by the Allied Powers in question, so as not to throw any foreign exchange burden upon Japan."[44]

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Shinobu Seizaburō: op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1278.

[44] *United Nations Treaty Series.* Vol. 136, p. 60. For complete text of the peace treaty with Japan see: Ibid., pp. 45—62.

Such a solution of the question of reparations by Japan, which does indeed include its obligation to pay reparations to countries which it had occupied during World War II, but on the other hand, says practically in the same breath that the present economic situation does not allow it to pay these reparations in full, could hardly be acceptable to the Asian countries concerned. In addition, the fact that no extent of the reparations was fixed and the hazy form of the mode the reparations were to be made added to the distrust of the Asian countries, although the overall project meant certain concessions on the part of the United States in order to lure these countries to the peace conference in San Francisco. Regardless of this fact, the countries of Southeast Asia spoke sharply both before and during the conference against the manner in which the United States dealt with the question of reparations.

The Philippines, a country directly under the influence of the United States, did not mean to give up their right to reparations to the total sum of 8 milliard dollars. The Philippine President Quirino made a direct and sharp attack on the common Anglo-American project of the peace treaty. In his speech on 15 July 1951 he insisted that the "Philippines could not agree with provisions that permit them (the Japanese) soon to raise again their responsibility so lightly".[45] Quirino further said to the address of Japan, that "the Philippines do not ask for a punitive peace treaty, but demand an appropriate compensation for damages and cruelties and an honest admission of the crimes they had committed".[46] The inhabitants of the Philippines were equally filled with indignation at the Anglo-American peace project. On 17 July the Philippine Youth Association organized a protest meeting at which twelve foremost representatives came out with a sharp criticism of the project of the peace treaty. The meeting swelled into a demonstration of some 5,000 people, at which the effigy of J. F. Dulles was burnt.[47]

The Anglo-American project of a peace treaty with Japan came under the criticism of the governments of India and Burma — two countries that consistently enforced a policy of neutrality in Asia. In the note of 23 August 1951 from the government of India to the government of the United States of America, in which India refused to participate at the San Francisco conference, this country stated that the peace treaty in the Anglo-American version was discriminatory towards Japan, did not ensure equal rights to Japan on the international arena and did not correspond to the aims of defence and maintenance of peace in the Far East.[48]

In a similar manner, the government of Burma sent a note to the government of the United States on 23 July expressing their disagreement with the project of the peace

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[45] Quoted from the book Shinobu Seizaburō : op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 1298—1299.

[46] Ibid., p. 1298.

[47] Pravda, Bratislava, 6 September 1951.

[48] *Conference for the Conclusion and Signature of the Treaty of Peace with Japan. San Francisco, September 4—8, 1951, Record of Proceedings.* Department of State Publication 4392. Washington 1951, pp. 122—124.

treaty, and stressed that during three years of occupation by Japan, Burma did not suffer merely considerable material damage, but also untold losses of human lives.[49] The disapproval of the Burmese government with the manner of dealing with the question of Japanese reparations was also the principal reason of Burma's refusal to take part in the peace treaty conference in San Francisco, of which that country informed the United States' Government in its note of 28 August 1951.

In Indonesia, the Communist Party was the first to come out against the American project of a peace treaty and condemned it in its proclamation of 27 July. Voices of sharp disagreement with the project were also raised in the Indonesian Parliament, and only 20 per cent of the members of this institution voted in favour of signing the peace treaty.[50]

The Indonesian Government endeavoured to set up a common front, the aim of which was to enforce the right of Asian countries to demand reparations from Japan. On 25 July, it made a statement to the effect that it shared the common standpoint with the other friendly Asian countries and demanded the payment of reparations from Japan.[51] The Indonesian Prime Minister declared on 4 August that on the suggestion of his government, representatives of India, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia would meet in Rangoon on 7 August 1951, in order to discuss in common the question of the project of a peace treaty with Japan and their common interests in this project.[52] However, as the governments of India and Burma did not intend to take part in the peace conference in San Francisco, the formation of a common front did not take place.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam which, like the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, had been a direct victim of Japanese aggression and which the United States of America did not intend to invite to the peace conference, likewise condemned the project of a separate peace treaty with Japan. On 20 July 1951, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam Hoan Minh Giam made a statement protesting against the Anglo-American project.[53]

Although in the face of the uncompromising attitude of the Southeast Asian countries, the United States made certain concessions in order to gain their participation at the peace conference by including the question of Japanese reparations in the project, yet the lack of concreteness in the whole issue provoked dissatisfaction in these countries, which became even more explicit in the speeches made by representatives of these countries participating at the San Francisco peace conference.

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[49] Shinobu Seizaburō : op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1299.

[50] Pravda, Bratislava, 6 September 1951.

[51] Shinobu Seizaburō : op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1300.

[52] Ibid., p. 1314.

[53] Pravda, Bratislava, 6 September 1951.

Attitude of Japanese Governing Circles towards the Preparation of a Separate Peace Treaty by the United States

Right from the start of the preparations of a separate peace treaty, the Japanese governing circles were agreeable to the American peace conditions and actively supported United States' efforts to build up a strong Japan militarily, economically and politically, so that it might become a protector of the American system in Asia. Already on 11 November 1949, the Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida made the statement at a session of the Lower House of the Japanese Parliament that "he prefers a separate peace treaty as a precondition to concluding a general peace treaty".[54] This was at a time when the United States had not as yet made any official statement that they were preparing a project of a peace treaty with Japan. This shows clearly that the Japanese government circles were well informed about the ongoing preparations and on the content of the projected peace treaty; yet, similarly as the United States, they were conscious of the fact that the content of such a peace treaty, coming as it did from USA strategic designs in the Far East, would be unacceptable to several countries. During the period of preparations of the peace treaty, Japanese government circles, being aware of their new role in the Asiatic policy of the United States, endeavoured to gain as many political and economic concessions as they possibly could.[55]

Right from the time that the separate peace treaty began to be formulated, the United States made it a condition that their armed forces would remain Japanese territory even after the peace treaty would be signed in order to fill in the ensuing "vacuum". This was the main topic of J. F. Dulles's conversations during his visit to Japan early in 1951, when he met Japanese government representatives with the Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida at their head. Dulles's theory of the so-called military vacuum met with full understanding on the part of the Japanese government.[56] This is also confirmed by the common communiqué published after the talks of 2 February 1951, which spoke of "a complete agreement and unity of views of both parties".[57] Japan "freely agreed" to American military bases being on its territory as also to concluding "a defence treaty" with the United States. During those talks, with Japan in the novel task within the so-called free world, Dulles insisted on an extensive programme of remilitarization of Japan being carried through immediately, involving an increase of its armed forces to 350,000, and their incorporation into a regional security system; i.e. in military organizations in the Far East under the control of the United States, the spearhead of which was aimed at the

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[54] *Istoriya voiny na Tikhom okeane.* Vol. V, p. 304.

[55] Cf. Yoshida, Shigeru: *Memoirs. The Story of Japan in Crisis.* London 1961, pp. 249—253.

[56] *Istoriya Yaponii...*, p. 84.

[57] Kutakov, L. N.: op. cit., p. 239.

Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The Japanese Government showed an attitude of reserve towards Dulles's projects of an open remilitarization of the country, claiming as an excuse their lack of preparedness in the economic sphere.[58] However, this argument will hardly stand in view of Japan's economic situation in 1951 when Japanese industrial production had already exceeded the 1934—1936 level,[59] as well as in view of the manner it filled special military orders for the American army fighting under UNO banners in Korea. Japanese government circles were prevented from carrying through the wide-ranging remilitarization programme according to American plans by the constitution, in which Article 9 forbade Japan to own armed forces.[60] Yet, the principal reason is to be seen in that Yoshida's government was well aware of the strong antimilitarist mood of the population which decidedly stood against American plans of remilitarization of their country, as also against United States' efforts to make of Japan a U.S. military base in the Far East.[61]

The question of a remilitarization of Japan proved to be the first area in which Japanese-American contradictions or disagreements began to appear. The Japanese government circles accepted a policy within which the remilitarization process would take longer than what the USA had planned, thus concentrating basic material and financial means on a ràpid growth of their economy, extension of scientific-technological possibilities and creating in this way a strong financial and scientific-technological base for an extensive remilitarization at a more opportune time. And although the Japanese government circles accepted a military alliance with the U.S.A., in the question of the nature of remilitarization they succeeded in preserving their independence which, as A. P. Markov writes, can hardly be explained by their "peace-loving disposition", but rather by the fact that these circles were well aware of the explicitly anti-Soviet and anti-Chinese line of their American alliance.[62] And not the least weighty factor here was also the attitude of Asian countries that right from the beginning had stood against the plans of Japanese remilitarization, a contingency that the Japanese governing circles kept well in mind, being conscious at the same time that an extensive remilitarization of Japan would isolate them even more from these countries.

For Japan's agreement and free request for "protection", as soon as the peace treaty had been signed, Yoshida received United States' assurance of support. As the New York Times of 8 February 1951 put it, the American Government assured

[58] *Istoriya Yaponii...*, p. 84.

[59] *Japan Statistical Yearbook 1955/1956*, pp. 199 and 201.

[60] *The Constitution of Japan.*

[61] It should be noted here that the Japanese government circles did, after all, bypass Article 9 of the Constitution which, as stated by Yoshida in the Japanese Parliament on 23 January 1950, does not mean that Japan renounces its right to self-defence (*Istoriya voiny na Tikhom okeane*, p. 306).

[62] Markov, A. P.: *Poslevoennaya politika Yaponii i Kitai 1945—1977.* Moscow 1979, pp. 41—44.

Premier Yoshida that the proposed conditions of the peace treaty "will not force the Japanese to fulfil the occupation reforms" and that "requests for payment of reparations" will not be included in the treaty.[63] This was fully confirmed not only in the so-called seven principles of the project of a peace treaty with Japan, but also in the American project of a peace treaty elaborated on the basis of these principles and submitted to member countries of the Far Eastern Commission in March 1951.

In order to ensure acceptance of a separate peace treaty by the Parliament, the governing Liberal Party, with Yoshida as Prime Minister, declared the so-called above-party policy. Within the framework of this political course, Yoshida met the Chairman of the Democratic Party Tomabeichi, early in 1951. The result of this meeting was the formation of the bloc of the Democratic and the Liberal Parties which ensured a decisive majority in the parliament for the governing circles.[64] Both parties had thus a free hand and could advocate without fear the conclusion of a separate peace treaty according to the American plans.

The occupation policy of the United States in the economic sphere and primarily their measures from the end of 1948, such as their "economic directives", withdrawal of their proposals relating to decentralization and democratization of economic organizations from the Far Eastern Commission, and principally their stop to dismantling and exporting industrial installations destined for reparations, were designed to protect the Japanese military-industrial potential, to build a Japan sufficiently strong economically regardless of the preceding allied agreements, to create suitable conditions for the conservative forces and, not the least, to win over the Japanese bourgeoisie and encourage it actively to co-operate with American great business. Japanese government circles accepted with "satisfaction" the "new" economic policy of the United States towards Japan and actively supported the USA in their efforts at concluding a separate peace treaty, worked out in the spirit of these strategic designs of the USA.

The convention of Japanese business societies Keizai doyūkai [1] held in April 1950, approved the document "Demands Relating to the Peace Conference" (Kōwa kaigi-ni taisuru yōbō) [2] in which the representatives of this organization expressed the wish to regain political and economic independence, and also the wish that the prospective peace treaty with Japan be "signed by as many countries as possible".[65] As regards payment of reparations, the business associations Keizai doyūkai expressed the desire "to limit reparations to the removals already carried out and justly to dispose of private property abroad in keeping with international law".[66]

A document of similar nature was handed over to J. F. Dulles on the occasion of his

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[63] Quoted according to Kutakov's book, p. 239.

[64] *Istoriya voiny na Tikhom okeane.* Vol. V, p. 309.

[65] Rekishigaku-kenkyūkai-hen: *Sengo Nihonshi.* Vol. II, p. 97. Tokyo 1974.

[66] Ibid., p. 98.

visit to Japan at the beginning of 1951 by representatives of eight of the most important economic circles (Keizai dantai rengōkai [3], Nihon sangyō kyōkai [4], Kin'yū dantai kyōgikai [5], Nihon shoku kaigisho [6], Nihon bōekikai [7], Chūshō kigyō renmei [8], Nihon kei'eisha renmei [9], Keizai doyūkai [10]). This document, termed "Basic Demands Relative to the Peace Treaty" (Kōwa jōyaku-ni kansuru kihonteki yōbōsho [11]), was absolutely concordant with the American seven principles of the peace treaty with Japan.[67] The Japanese economic circles went so far in this document as to express the necessity of setting up "a minimum protective organization for an indispensable defence of Japan".[68]

Dulles's visit to Japan during which he held consultations with the highest representatives of both the governing circles and the occupation forces, became reflected also in a concretization of the plan for Japanese-American economic co-operation, whereby American imperialism set about implementing the fundamental political course consisting of an extension of Japanese military industry and its utilization to reinforce the anticommunist system.[69]

However, it should be observed at this stage that, in contrast to the governing circles, a considerable section of the Japanese public maintained a negative attitude towards the American plans for a separate peace treaty, towards the efforts of American imperialism to start an intensive remilitarization of the country. A far-reaching impact on the Japanese public was made by the "Statement by the Peace Study Group on Peace Settlement for Japan" of 15 January 1950 which said:

"1. If we Japanese are to express any wish at all on the question of the peace settlement for Japan, there could be no other alternative but 'the complete and overall peace'.

2. The condition of economic self-support for Japan cannot be attained through a separate peace.

3. As for Japan's security after the peace settlement, we favour the status of inviolable neutrality and also would like to be admitted to the United Nations.

4. We stand opposed to giving military bases to any country under any pretext."[70]

A wide-reaching movement grew up in Japan for a general peace settlement that would guarantee peace, independence and freedom to the Japanese people, which forced the government circles to proceed extremely cautiously and to take up a reserved attitude towards plans proposing an extensive remilitarization of the country. A drawback of this movement which was actively supported by the Communist Party, part of the Socialist Party, the trade unions, as well as progressive organizations and prominent personalities was that, because of mass reprisals, this

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[67] Shinobu Seizaburō: op. cit., pp. 1229—1230.

[68] Ibid., p. 1229.

[69] *Istoriya voiny na Tikhom okeane.* Vol. V, p. 283.

[70] Livingston, J.—More, J.—Olofather, F.: *Postwar Japan 1945 to the Present.* New York 1973, p. 253.

movement failed to be unified and to set up a united front, despite several attempts to achieve just that.[71]

Critical Attitudes of Interested Countries towards the American Way of Dealing with the Question of Reparations in the Peace Treaty with Japan at the San Francisco Conference

In the project of a peace treaty with Japan, the United States took no account of the suggestions and concrete projects made by the Soviet Union or by other countries, primarily those from the Southeast Asian region, relating to the question of security from and reparations by Japan.

In May 1951, the government of the Soviet Union sent a note to the United States of America, Great Britain and the other member countries of the Far Eastern Commission as "Suggestions of the U.S.S.R. government relative to the draft of the peace treaty of the United States with Japan", in which it expressed sharp criticism of the efforts of the United States to conclude a separate peace treaty with Japan, as well as the content of the projected treaty which satisfied solely the strategic designs of the U.S.A. and took no note of the interests of other countries. In the spirit of the principles accepted by the Allied Powers, the U.S.S.R. proposed to call a meeting in June or July 1951 of the Council of Foreign Ministers made up of representatives of the U.S.A., China, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. at which preparations should be started for working out a peace treaty with Japan, with the proviso that representatives of all the countries whose armed forces had taken part in the war against Japan would be invited to work out the draft of the peace treaty with Japan.[72]

The United States, however, rejected this initiative on the part of the Soviet Union as they had its previous suggestions and concrete proposals.

The United States did not invite to the San Francisco conference, held in September 4 through 8, 1951, a single Asian socialist country (the PRC, DRV, DPRK, MPR). In addition, such large Asian countries as India and Burma refused to participate in the conference because of the separate nature of U.S.A. way of proceeding and their handling of the question of Japanese security, territory and reparations in the peace treaty, countries which like China, Korea and Vietnam had been the direct victims of Japanese aggression. On the other hand, such countries were invited to and attended the conference as those of Latin America and others that had never fought against Japan and were not directly interested in a just settlement of the question of a peace treaty with Japan.

The entire conference consisted practically of the ceremonial attending the

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[71] For more details see: *Istoriya Yaponii...*, pp. 86—88 and *Istoriya voiny na Tikhom okeane*, Vol. V, pp. 309—320.

[72] *Pravda*, Moscow, 23 May 1951.

signature of the Anglo-American project of the peace treaty as the formal procedure worked out before hand by the United States did not permit any serious, matter-of-fact discussion of the project.[73] But despite such a stage direction, representatives of various countries, particularly of the Soviet Union and Southeast Asia, came up with numerous critical comments relating to the project.

The head of the Soviet delegation at the conference, A. A. Gromyko, in his address subjected the Anglo-American project of a peace treaty with Japan to a thorough criticism in depth and suggested a project of corrections which also included the question of a just solution of Japanese reparations. In the part of his speech that dealt with reparations, Gromyko said: "... the peace treaty with Japan should have clauses providing for both restrictions of armed forces of Japan and the prevention of militarization of its economy. At the same time, the Peace Treaty must not place obstacles in the path of the development of a peaceful Japanese economy... A healthy peaceful economy of Japan would easily permit the satisfaction of the legitimate claims of a number of states which have suffered from Japanese occupation and afford compensation for the damage caused by the Japanese aggressor. It would be much easier for Japan to do this than to pay for the damage by using directly the labour of the Japanese population as is provided for by the American-British draft."[74]

Gromyko simultaneously suggested to substitute the following text for the American-British text in the peace treaty (Article 14, Paragraph a, and subparagraph 1, of the same paragraph)[75] "Japan undertakes to compensate the damage caused by military operations against the Allied or Associated Powers, as well as by the occupation of the territories of certain Allied and Associated Powers. The amount and the source of payment of the reparations to be paid by Japan shall be considered at a conference of the States concerned with the express participation of the nations which were subjected to Japanese occupation, namely, the People's Republic of China, Indonesia, the Philippines, Burma, with Japan being invited to that conference."[76]

The proposal by the Soviet Union testified to a just settlement not only of the question of reparations, but of the entire peace treaty. The Soviet Union's fundamental standpoint met with a wide response and support on the part of the Asian countries which reproached the United States with "inconsequentiality" in their dealing with the whole question of reparations in the draft of the peace treaty, as well as the specification of the sum that was to be paid to the Asian countries. In an

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[73] In a Note to the Government of the Soviet Union dated 16 August 1951, the United States stated that the conference in San Francisco "does not inted to discuss the conditions of peace again". (*Medzinárodné vzťahy...*, Vol. II, p. 439).

[74] *Record of Conference...*, pp. 107—108.

[75] See p. 106 of present study.

[76] *Record of Conference...*, p. 120.

effort to win the support of Southeast Asian countries that had suffered most from Japanese aggression during World War II, John F. Dulles agreed, prior to the conference, to further their claims for payment of reparations to the total sum of 6.3 milliard dollars. However, at the conference, he informed the representatives of the Philippines and Indonesia that their reparation claims are excessive ant that "the entire sum that Japan would have to pay to the countries of Southeast Asia should not exceed 5 milliard dollars".[77] At the same time he added that Japan's role in the subsequent development of Southeast Asian countries would grow after the peace treaty had been concluded and therefore, it was in the interest of countries — recipients of reparations, not to submit excessive claims to Japan.[78]

The standpoint of the Soviet Union in dealing with Japanese reparations stemmed not only from the needs of Southeast Asian countries that had suffered most from Japanese aggression, but it also had in view a smooth development of Japan's peaceful economy. In this, the Soviet project presented at the San Francisco conference by A. A. Gromyko differed diametrically from its American counterpart which followed intrinsically American interests and the interests of Japanese governing circles, and stemmed from the strategic plans of the United States in the Far East. The United States' attitude to the solution of the question of Japanese reparations was simultaneously a concrete expression of an altered attitude on the part of the U.S.A. towards Japanese monopolist capitalism and to the Japanese governing circles, which constituted an inseparable part of the American policy of "suppressing communism".

At the peace conference in San Francisco, John F. Dulles in his speech explained the American way of dealing with the question of Japanese reparations by saying that "...if the treaty validated, or kept contingently alive monetary reparations claims against Japan, her ordinary commercial credit would vanish, the incentive of her people would be destroyed and they would sink into a misery of body and spirit which would make them an easy prey to exploitation".[79] He went on to state that "These conflicting considerations were fully discussed, until there emerged a solution which gives moral satisfaction to the claims of justice and which gives material satisfaction to the maximum extent compatible with political and economic health of the Pacific area".[80]

The United States of America endeavoured, on the one hand, to combine the solution of the question of Japanese reparations with an exploitation of Japan's industrial potential, to ensure to it a sufficient quantity of cheap raw materials, and this not for reparations purposes alone, and on the other hand, to exploit the cheap

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[77] *Ocherki mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenii v yuzhnoi, yugo-vostochnoi Azii i na Dalnem vostoke.* Moscow 1975, p. 364.

[78] Ibid.

[79] *Record of Conference...*, p. 83.

[80] Ibid.

Japanese labour force. This fact also came under the criticism of the head of the Soviet delegation at the San Francisco conference, when in his speech he said of that attempt at resolving the question of reparations: "It is profitable not for the countries which are legitimately claiming the redemption by Japan of damages inflicted on them and which have a surplus of manpower, but is profitable to certain great powers which want to benefit at the expense of cheap labor of the Japanese."[81]

Dulles in his reply said among other things that: "Japan has a population not now fully employed, and it has industrial capacity not now fully employed. Both of these aspects of unemployment are caused by lack of raw materials... If these war-devastated countries send to Japan the raw materials which many of them have in abundance, the Japanese could process them for the creditor countries and by these services, freely given, provide appreciable reparations. The arrangements could cover not merely consumer goods, but machinery and capital goods..."[82] In such a manner, the United States, putting into play Japanese reparations, endeavoured to provide a material basis for their Japanese-American cooperation[83] which also involved accessibility to Japan of Asiatic markets.

Dulles's performance at the peace conference clearly betrayed United States' designs, viz. to ease to the possible limit the reparations burden to their "younger ally", and simultaneously to help it in the most acceptable form to regain its former markets which it had lost in consequence of its defeat in World War II, and thus provide adequate compensation to the Japanese monopolist capital for its truly lost Chinese market. On the other hand, Dulles's placing Southeast Asian countries into the role of suppliers of raw materials for Japanese industry and receivers of ready made industrial products or capital goods, testifies to a neo-colonialist approach to the solution of the reparations problem.

The imperialist and neo-colonialist nature of the proposed settlement of reparations in the peace treaty was pointed out not only by the Soviet representative, but also by the members of delegations of countries present at the conference who were most interested in this issue. The Philippine representative at the peace conference, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs Carlos P. Romulo in his speech expressed deep dissatisfaction with such a manifest penetration of Japanese imperialism under the cover of reparations. He openly criticized the American way of solving the question of reparations and among other things, he said that "...Remembering as we do the pre-war predominance of Japanese industry over the economy of the rest of Asia, our fear of becoming economically subservient to Japan ought not to be lightly dismissed. Yet, the restriction of reparations in the form of services will precisely have the effect of returning the Claimant States to that condition of subservience, as

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[81] Ibid., p. 108.

[82] Ibid., pp. 83—84.

[83] *Shinobu Seizaburō:* op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1326.

mere suppliers of raw materials for the Japanese industrial machine".[84] Romulo further added that "...the Philippine Government will make the following reservation:

The right of the Republic of the Philippines to negotiate and mutually to agree with the Government of Japan on the kinds and forms of reparations due the former from the latter and the manner of their payment or delivery is hereby reserved, any provision of the present treaty to the contrary notwithstanding".[85]

The United States' attitude towards the question of Japanese reparations was criticized also by the representative of the Indonesian delegation Achmad Subardjo. This delegation was sent to the conference by the Indonesian Government without any authority to sign the peace treaty, such a signing being conditioned by the provision of full guarantees that Japan would pay the required reparations.[86] Furthermore, Subardjo mentioned in his speech that Indonesia had numerous reserves towards various paragraphs of the peace treaty, and in connection with the question of reparations posed the following question to the Japanese delegation: "Is the Japanese Government prepared to pay reparation to Indonesia ...with the provisions stipulated in article 14 of the Japanese Peace Treaty?"[87]

The open criticisms and the doubts expressed about the American way of solving the question of reparations by the representatives of Indonesia and the Philippines made United States' position at the conference even more complicated. Therefore, in order to moderate somewhat the attitude of these countries and induce them to sign the peace treaty which, without their signatures, would not have even the semblance of a peace treaty between Japan and the countries that had fought against Japanese aggression in World War II, the Prime Minister Yoshida, on the advice of Acheson and Dulles, had behind-the-scene conversations with the representatives of the Philippines and Indonesia, during which he gave them "satisfactory assurances" as to the sincerity of Japan's intentions.[88] Likewise in a speech which Yoshida made at the term of the conference, he assured the representatives of Southeast Asian countries that despite the difficult situation in which his country then was, the obligations accepted in the domain of reparations would be fulfilled by Japan.[89]

It was only when the Indonesian Government had received information from its delegation in San Francisco on the course of its negotiations with Yoshida that it decied by nine votes against two to sign the peace treaty.[90] It should, however, be mentioned here that the Indonesian Parliament later refused to ratify the peace

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[84] *Record of Conference...*, p. 231.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Góralski, W.: op. cit., p. 140.

[87] *Record of Conference...*, p. 223.

[88] Yoshida, S.: *Memoirs...*, p. 258.

[89] *Record of Conference...*, p. 278.

[90] *Indonesian Information* 1951, Vol. III, No. 17—18.

treaty signed with Japan and thus Indonesia concluded a special peace treaty with Japan together with a treaty on reparations, and this only in the year 1958.[91] Likewise, the Philippines ratified the peace treaty with Japan only after having concluded one on reparations in the year 1956.

The San Francisco peace treaty with Japan, having failed to solve the question of a peace settlement with the great majority of Asian countries that had been the direct victims of Japanese militarism and had suffered most during World War II, as also with the Soviet Union which had contributed in a decisive measure to the defeat of Japanese fascism, was a peace treaty only by its name. The treaty did not renew the sovereignty of Japan, but became the basis for the conclusion of a Japanese-American defence pact in virtue of which the United States could occupy the country for an undetermined length of time. The treaty did not resolve even so important an issue as a delimitation of Japanese territory and the question of reparations.

From Asian countries that were most concerned by the peace treaty, not a single socialist country attended the peace conference and, because of the nature of the peace treaty, India and Burma refused to take part at the conference. Of the 48 signatories to the treaty, the majority were countries that had not waged war against Japan and on their part this act was but an expression of their dependence on the United States. Of the 7 signatories from Eastern, Southern and Southeast Asia, three — i.e. Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam — had not even a formal independence as yet, and a fourth signatory — Indonesia — later refused to ratify the treaty. The remaining three signatories — Ceylon, Pakistan and the Philippines — the last ratified the treaty only in 1956 — represented less than 10 per cent of the population of this part of Asia.[92] This fact constitutes the most striking testimony of the separate and imperialist character of the treaty which neither respected agreements among the Allied Powers, nor took into account the vital needs of the various countries that had for long years suffered from Japanese aggression, but derived solely from United States' strategic designs and the active support of Japanese governing circles which began readily to play the role of the "junior partner" to the American system in the Far East. This, in the ultimate consequence, was the reason why Asian nations refused to accept the peace treaty with Japan.

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[91] *UN Treaty Series*, Vol. 324, pp. 227—229; Vol. 325, pp. 4—19.

[92] Góralski, W.: op. cit., p. 142.

1. 経済同友会　2. 講和会議に対する要望　3. 経済団体連合会　4. 日本産業協会　5. 金融団体協議会　6. 日本商工会議所　7. 日本貿易会　8. 中小企業連盟　9. 日本経営者連盟　10. 経済同友会　11. 講和条約に関する基本的要望書

SOME REMARKS ON THE STUDY
OF THE EARLY ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE
IN AFRICAN CONDITIONS

VIERA PAWLIKOVÁ, Bratislava

Early anti-colonial struggle in Africa has been studied by historians coming from countries from all over the world and representing various schools of thought. This theme has been approached from different methodological and ideological standpoints and studied within different theoretical frameworks. Here I shall attempt to touch upon some theoretical approaches and summarize some main points of the Marxist argument on the study and interpretation of this theme in African conditions.

Historiography of anti-colonial and national liberation struggles in Africa has been written by historians, both professional and amateur, coming from countries from all over the world and representing various schools of thought. Anti-colonial resistance was 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, until Africa's national emancipation in the late fifties and the early sixties, in the West and in Africa itself this theme did not attract much attention of the historians studying the African past. The current of decolonization had a great and stimulating effect on the study of the African past and, quite naturally, directed the interest of African historians to that long, complex and often contradictory process, carrying on to the present times and inseparably linked and interconnected with the phenomenon of colonialism, which had made the precipitous changes in Africa possible. The progress of national liberation movements and the national liberation revolts in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau against the last forms of colonial rule have called forth a 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. A great number of historians, both European and African, have in recent years undertaken studies of resistance to colonial occupation and rebellion against colonial rule once it had been established. Attempts have been made to explain why Africans offered armed resistance, to describe the actual mechanics of resistance and the strategy employed against the Europeans, and also suggest the way diplomacy was used by leaders as a means of staving off military confrontation when they were convinced that the outcome would be unfavourable to them.

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 held at Dar es Salaam in 1965. It stimulated an extensive

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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.[1]

Throughout the 1960s the theme of resistance to the imposition and implementation of colonial rule was central to African historical studies and especially to studies of East and Central Africa. The announcement of the theme of resistance and protest as a major concern of African historians and intensified study of anti-colonial and national liberation struggles in East African historiography from the early sixties was largely associated with the Dar es Salaam historical school and identified with the work of Professor Terence O. Ranger. The work of T. O. Ranger, who was then (between 1963—1969) the Head of the Department of History at the University College of Dar, led to a considerable body of "resistance" writing. Though the present-day African historiography of anti-colonial resistance and protest displays an ideological variety and reflects the present-day controversies, different methodological and ideological approaches and intellectual trends and biases in the analysis, interpretation and reconstruction of the historical development of Africa, the ideological and methodological approach of historians associated with the Dar es Salaam nationalist school to the problems of anti-colonial struggle was much the same and could be defined as a progressive liberal one. Characteristic for the Dar es Salaam nationalist school was the rejection of the older approach to the study and interpretation of anti-colonial resistance and collaboration, extensive and meticulous research on pre-colonial history based on oral traditions, attempts to determine the historical place and nature of African anti-colonial resistance with an eye on the deeper historical forces at work and the dynamics of the late nineteenth century African societies and an overt recognition of the relevance of the anti-colonial resistance of the nineteenth century for the modern national liberation movement.[2]

Disputing the views of one school of thought of a hiatus between primary and secondary resistance and responding to a call in an authoritative review of developments in African historiography to trace "an historical connection between the last-ditch resisters, the earliest organisers of armed risings, the messianic prophets and preachers, the first strike-leaders, the promoters of the first cautious and respectful associations of the intelligentsia, and the modern political parties

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[1] See Ranger, T. O.: *Emerging Themes of African History.* Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians held at University College, Dar es Salaam, October 1965. Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968.

[2] Introduction, also Pawliková, V.: *Problems of Anti-Colonial and National-Liberation Struggle in East African Historiography.* In: Krizsán, L. (Ed.): *Sources and Historiography on African National-Liberation Movements.* Budapest 1978 (Studies on Developing Countries, No. 96), pp. 97—108.

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which (initially at least) have been the inheritors of European power",[3] in a number of studies T. O. Ranger attempted to demonstrate the historic connections and continuity of anti-colonial resistance and protest. He challenged the views of the school of thought in African historiography contrasting resistance movements of the early period — held to have been "inherently backward-looking and traditional, not only tribal but emphasizing the most 'reactionary' elements in tribal life", "romantic, reactionary struggles against the facts, the passionate protest of societies which were shocked by a new age of change and would not be comforted" with "the defter nationalisms" of those within African societies or those African societies "who wished to come to terms with modernization and to accept education, the missionary influence, and the new commercial and technical opportunities".[4] While the resistant societies, they contended, "not only ran the risk of disintegration, but of cutting themselves off from modernization, education and economic development",[5] collaborating societies "through their initial acquiescence or cooperation, gained priviliged access to education and economic opportunity and thus learnt the new skills of opposition".[6] Thus, the collaborating societies provided the leaders of the 'defter nationalisms' who, by learning to operate "in the idiom of the Westernizers" became the obvious parents of the modern mass nationalist movements.[7]

The nationalist tendency in modern African historiography of anti-colonial resistance and protest, associated with T. O. Ranger and the Dar es Salaam historical school, rejected all such generalizations and instead stressed African initiative and the historic connections and continuity between primary resistance movements, mass movements often of a millenarian character in the decades after their suppression, prophets and preachers, trade-union leaders, the founders of the Native and Welfare Associations and modern mass nationalism. Characteristic of the interpretative apparatus of the nationalist school was an overt recognition of the relevance of the anti-colonial resistance of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries for the modern national liberation movements 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. The concerns of the

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[3] African syntheses. In: The Times Literary Supplement, 28 July 1966. Quoted from Ranger, T. O.: *Connexions Between 'Primary Resistance' Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa*. Part I. Journal of African History, *IX*, 1968, No. 3. p. 437.

[4] Ibid. See also Part II, JAH, *IX*, 1968, No. 4.

[5] Ranger, T. O.: *African reactions to the imposition of colonial rule in East and Central Africa*. In: Gann, L. H. — Duignan, P. (Eds): *Colonialism in Africa, 1870—1960*. Vol. I. *The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870—1914*. Cambridge University Press 1969, pp. 302—303.

[6] Ranger, T. O.: *Connexions...*, p. 438.

[7] Ibid.

so-called nationalist historians and Marxist historians have been similar, if not identical — to demonstrate African attempts to prevent colonial domination and transform their own societies and to indicate a symbolic link between these traditions (pre- or proto-nationalism, hence, tradition of resistance) and the later African nationalism and national liberation movement. Nationalist historians (like their Marxist colleagues) have seen early anti-colonial resistance as a part of a dynamic process of movement towards independence. In their interpretation, anti-colonial resistance and protest should be seen as elements of one continuous process. African nationalism did not start after World War II, its origins should be searched for in the early period when African peoples had to challenge the colonial threat and defend their independence against colonial conquest and imposition of colonial rule.[8]

The typological scheme widely accepted by followers of this new approach to the study of the anti-colonial resistance and protest in the West distinguished four main types of resistance differing in character and time:

1. Primary (or archaic) resistance to the European colonial expansion.

2. Delayed primary (or delayed archaic) resistance of the period of the establishment of colonial régimes.

3. Intermediate (transitional) resistance of the period between the two World Wars.

4. Modern mass nationalism (or secondary resistance) after the Second World War.[9]

In the study of anti-colonial resistance and protest, special interest was paid by "nationalist" historians to forms and methods of primary resistance movements and the connections between early and delayed primary resistance movements. Primary resistance has been seen as a major demonstration of "African initiative" and "African reaction" to the imposition and implementation of colonial rule, an attempt to overcome the crisis of African society and/or to transcend earlier ethnic disunity. A typical example of such an approach is the interpretation of the Maji-Maji.[10] Thus, though primary resistance movements failed in the end, they did not faily entirely, because (at least, some of them, e.g. the Maji-Maji) they testified to the commitment and heightened consciousness of the peoples united for the first time.

In the early period of anti-colonial resistance, four main types or forms of "African

[8] Gwassa, G. C. K.: The German Intervention and African Resistance, and Temu, A. J.: The Rise and Triumph of Nationalism. Both in Kimambo, I. N. — Temu, A. J. (Eds): A History of Tanzania. Nairobi, E.A.P.H. 1969, pp. 86 and 189—190, respectively.

[9] See Davidson, B.: The Africans: An Entry into Cultural History. London 1969, pp. 252—256. The term modern mass nationalism or secondary resistance is widely used in Ranger's works.

[10] Gwassa, G. C. K. — Iliffe, J. (Eds): The Rising of Maji-Maji. Dar es Salaam 1971. Also Gwassa, G. C. K.: Kinjikitile and the Ideology of Maji Maji. In: Ranger, T. O. — Kimambo, J. M. (Eds): Historical Study of African Religion. Berkeley — Los Angeles 1974, p. 202—210.

reaction" to the colonial conquest and establishment of colonial rule were distinguished by a leading Tanzanian "nationalist" historian, G. S. Gwassa:

1. active or armed resistance,
2. passive resistance — i.e. non-cooperation with the colonial power,
3. African adaptation — i.e. pragmatic approach to the colonial régime and attempts to use collaboration with colonial administration to gain economic, political and other advantages,
4. mercenary technique — e.g. collaboration of some East African traders with the colonial administration.[11]

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 and attempting to construct a taxonomy of the protest movements in Africa.[12] Having arrived at a particular definition of the concept of protest, Mazrui constructed four main taxonomic categories of resistance and protest in Africa:

1. Protests of conservation — movements directed to defend the existing system of values against threats of destruction.
2. Protests of restoration — attempts to restore the already destroyed past.
3. Protests of transformation — movements reflecting a deep dissatisfaction with the existing system of values.
4. Protests of corrective censure — movements directed against specific defects and aiming at the innovation or restoration of the system, but not at its replacement.[13]

Protest, in this interpretation, has been seen as an abstract force existing in African society in the whole history of its development. Anti-colonial protests and social conflicts and protests in independent African states have been, in this conception, studied as roughly equivalent phenomena, reflecting eternal protest of the masses against the oppressive power.

Since the 1970s the nationalist approach to the study and interpretation of African anti-colonial resistance represented by the Dar es Salaam historical school have been questioned by a number of historians and a direct attack has been launched at its interpretative apparatus with "its misinterpretation of anti-colonial manifestations as nationalist or proto-nationalist in sentiment and its disregard of other sources of anti-colonial feeling and ideology". Its tendency to seek "the origins of nationalism" where there were no nations[14] and "to ignore or misrepresent responses to colonial

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[11] Gwassa, G. C. K.: *The German Intervention and African Resistance in Tanzania*, pp. 85—86.

[12] Rotberg, R. I. — Mazrui, A. A. (Eds): *Protest and Power in Black Africa*. New York, Oxford University Press 1970.

[13] Mazrui, A. A.: *Towards a Theory of Protest*. In: *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, op. cit., pp. 1185—1196.

[14] Denoon, D. — Kuper, A.: *Nationalist Historians in Search of a Nation*. In: African Affairs, 69, 1970, No. 277, pp. 329—349.

intrusion which do not conform to the themes of resistance and protest"[15] was criticized. A counter interpretation was offered which called for a reinterpretation of "the entire tradition of anti-colonial protest from a perspective which would allow to see beyond the 'nationalist' flowering of later anti-colonial movements to a profounder understanding of the roots of revolt in African societies, both colonial and indigenous".[16] This counter interpretation, held to be better suited to explain the popular and persistant bases of African protest, has stressed the necessity to look at the protest movements from within, from a perspective focusing on the leadership as well as the people and seeing the roots of the anti-colonial sentiment in the revolutionary, anti-authoritarian impulses of the African "peasantry". Anti-authoritarian and revolutionary, rather than nationalist and anti-foreign, anti-colonial sentiments have been held to be better suited to explain the implications of resistance and protest for later social and political movements.[17]

This conception of anti-colonial resistance has been connected with a theory of collaboration, an aspect either neglected or misrepresented in other interpretative frameworks, including the nationalist interpretation. Collaboration, in this interpretation, means an active policy and compromise on the part of the African political élite who chose actively to cooperate with European imperialism. As "one option among several open to African leadership in the situation of crisis and conflict engendered by the scramble for African territory and the colonization of the continent by the European powers", collaboration, "in addition to the accommodation of imperial interests, served the dual role of simultaneously preserving a sphere of independent political action for the initiative of African leaders".[18] While the weakness of the resistance is seen, among other reasons, to have been the inability of the leadership to formulate an answer to the challenge of occupation and a success of an alternative strategy by some members of the political leadership, "the emergence of a collaborating élite who were willing to occupy the crucial roles and do the vital work of accommodating the once independent kingdoms to their new statuses" is considered to be "the key to a successful transition".[19]

While the concept of collaboration, as elaborated by E. I. Steinhart, is only freed from any derogatory connotations and nuances of moral corruption associated with it, other scholars have preferred to eschew altogether the condemnatory descriptive term collaboration, even though stripped of its overtones of opportunism and political self-seeking, and instead to use terms loaded in an opposite direction. Such

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[15] Steinhart, E. I.: *The Nyangire Rebellion in Bunyoro, 1907: Anti-Colonial Resistance and Nationalism.* In: *Asian and African Studies, 12,* 1976, pp. 45—46.

[16] Ibid., p. 60.

[17] Ibid., p. 61.

[18] Steinhart, E. I.: *Conflict and Collaboration, The Kingdoms of Western Uganda, 1890—1907.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1977, Preface and p. 257.

[19] Ibid., p. 256, Chapter VIII — Conflict and Collaboration: Some Conclusions.

a form of African reaction was characterized in the African context as adaptation, accommodation and even modernization and Africans engaged in cooperative action with the colonial régime were described as modernizers (Tarikh), communicators (Lonsdale), revolutionaries (D. A. Low) or loyalists (B. A. Ogot and M. Wright).

In his counter interpretation, Professor Brunschwig has distinguished two currents in the course of African history which stand for acceptance and refusal of foreign influences and can be illustrated by Islamization, Christianity, fringe, petitionism, collaboration, decolonization and panafricanism on the one hand and on the other one by "les innombrables révoltes, plus ou moins connues, contre les novateurs des empires noirs du Moyen Age ou des dix-huitième et dix-neuvième siècles". These resistance movements, "ont toujours pris appui sur l'animisme et sur les ethnies", were defeated and "elles ne sont pas à l'origine des mouvements de libération que ont conduit les états actuels à l'indépendance". In this conceptual framework collaboration is synonymous with acceptance of foreign influence and movements of liberation "résultent au contraire de la collaboration avec l'étranger, de l'adoption d'idéologies importées, devenues communes à nombreuses ethnies. Ils se sont produit dans les milieux sociaux nés de la colonisation, visent à créer, dans le cadre du partage colonial, des nations nouvelles, et se heurtent souvent à des résistances et à révoltes ethniques".[20]

Dissatisfaction with the prevailing approach to the study of early anti-colonial resistance has made some historians in the West call for a more complex approach. To conduct a proper global study of armed resistance movements in Africa, René Pélissier has proposed "an analytical screen" as a useful methodological tool for solid and expansive research. Divided into five sections: *le milieu* — I. les contraintes géo-politiques, II. le poids des hommes, *les sociétés africaines* — I. l'état existe, II. l'état n'existe pas, III. facteurs religieux, IV. moyens de résistance militaires, V. moyens de pression économiques, politiques et diplomatiques, *la société colonisante* — I. la société dominante, II. possibilités d'action militaires, *l'affrontement* — I. les causes (facteurs belligènes), II. les opérations, *bilan* — I. vainqueurs et vaincus, II. évaluation chiffrée de la résistance ou de la révolte, III. conséquences initiales, IV. incidences lointaines, V. fécondation de l'avenir, this outline contains a maximum of eventualities and local determinants in the sub-sections in order to cover the maximum factors, eventualities and local determinants — "de façon à mettre en lumière la complexité du phénomène étudié, de l'insérer dans son contexte naturel, humain, social, historique, politique, religieux, etc., de le rattacher aux mouvements analogues et, en définitive, d'en quantifier l'importance".[21] The proposed idea to

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[20] Brunschwig, H.: *De la résistance africaine à l'impérialisme européen.* Journal of African History, XV, 1974, No. 1, pp. 47—64, see especially pp. 63—64.

[21] Pélissier, R.: *A la recherche des résistances primaires en Afrique noire: modèle pour leur analyse.*

study African primary resistance in its complexity, to learn all aspects of the complex phenomenon — political, ideological, economic, social, cultural, etc., and to reveal their relationships, is, of course, positive and the necessity for a complex approach has been also stressed in the Marxist argument, the basic principles of which will be summarized here.

Discomfort with prevailing interpretative frameworks and theoretical approaches has led some other historians in the West to view primary resistance movements from a different perspective and study them within a different context. The new tendency in the historiography of early anti-colonial resistance has tended to see the primary resistance movements not as manifestations of proto-nationalist sentiments but rather as examples of more widespread traditions of revolutionary social protest. A new interpretation of resistance, not using the interpretative apparatus of the nationalist school and attempting to link early African attempts to prevent colonial domination with later efforts and more successful wars of liberation of the mid-twentieth century has been recently proposed by A. F. Isaacman.[22] Rather than to seek the origins of nationalism, he has attempted to demonstrate the long-standing traditions of resistance and, by placing them within a broader class analysis, to distinguish class differences as a factor in determining whether an individual would resist or collaborate. Collaboration is seen as a situational counterpart of resistance, without any semantic obfuscation of the politically sensitive term, and some main reasons for collaboration are proposed. Beyond the large-scale rebellions and mass protest movements he has distinguished a number of more localized forms of resistance, categorized as 'day-to-day' resistance, withdrawal, maroonage, social banditry and peasant revolts. These forms of localized opposition, while differing in tactics and levels of political consciousness, and by drawing upon existing institutions where possible or inventing new ones where necessary, demonstrated African efforts to overcome the problems of disunity and ethnic particularism as well as African refusals to submit to colonialism. An attempt has been made to differentiate resistance movements not temporarily, by distinguishing between primary pre-colonial resistance and its secondary counterparts, but according to the overriding goal each particular resistance movement sought to achieve, and to formulate a typology based upon such criteria. Examples of the last of the series of traditional revolts or expansive primary resistance movements that came after the first-generation rebellions, such as the Makombo rising of 1917 or Maji-Maji, have been seen as attempts to transcend earlier ethnic disunity and particularism and overcome the limitations of existing technology and ideology. Rather than demonstrating the

In: Revue canadienne des études africaines (Canadian Journal of African Studies), *XI*, 1977, No. 1, pp. 85—89.

[22] Isaacman, Allen F.: *The Tradition of Resistance in Mozambique: The Zambezi Valley, 1850—1921*. London, Heinemann 1976.

futility of primary resistance and the end of the tradition of resistance, expansive primary resistance movements testified "to the commitment and heightened consciousness of people united for the first time" (p. 177) and occupied "a transitional position between earlier African forms of resistance and the wars of liberation of the mid-twentieth century" (p. 176). Localized forms of opposition and larger anti-colonial rebellions, though unsuccessful, established a tradition of resistance and provided an inspiration to later, more successful, independence movements. Though expressions of opposition varied substantially, independence movements existed from the time of early European contact through the colonial period.

From the Marxist standpoint, as a historical phenomenon, colonialism and anti-colonialism have always been inseparably linked, between colonialism and anti-colonialism there has always been a dialectical interdependence. Since colonialism with its manifold manifestations demonstrated itself in so varied forms, wrought such deep changes in African societies, and affected so many spheres of African life — political, economic, social, cultural and psychological, then anti-colonialism also had to reveal itself in many different forms. Anti-colonialism then should be seen as a long, complex and often contradictory process comprising a whole range of African reactions and responses towards colonialism, whether they manifested themselves in resistance, active and passive, organized and spontaneous, political, diplomatic or military, small scale and large scale, and a study of this phenomenon should also include collaboration as a counterpart of resistance. Originating in the local, isolated and mainly spontaneous actions against European conquest, anti-colonial and national liberation struggle as an inseparable part of the world revolutionary process has gradually turned into one of the most important factors of the socio-political development of African peoples during the colonial era. Since the Second World War, anti-colonial and national liberation movements have started to exert great influence on the colonial policies of the colonial powers, on the political situation in the metropolitan countries and on the international situation.

The study of African struggle against colonial subjection cannot, of course, be extrapolated from the internal history of African peoples. It is also impossible without any comprehension of the deeper patterns and forces of history, without a serious attempt to understand the historical role and character of African anti-colonial struggle on a continental scale and with reference to world history. Marxist historians stress the necessity of more detailed study of the socio-political and economic structure of African societies on the eve of European colonial penetration with their specifities and of the social-class composition of anti-colonial and national liberation movements, and the evolution of their development, not only at the present time, but also in the period of the colonial conquest and the establishment of the colonial system in Africa. Such an approach to the study of African anti-colonial struggle in its early stage combined with an understanding of the political, religious and social institutions of African societies, of their life, modes

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of thought and behaviour, their pre-colonial history and the nature of local politics and organization enables us to assess and determine the historical peculiarities of the rise and development of the process of anti-colonial and national liberation struggles in African conditions and the role of objective and subjective factors in this historical process, of the leadership and the masses.

The methodological basis and guiding principle in the study of the theme is the Marxist thesis about class struggle as a driving force of the world historical process and of the decisive role of masses in the history. Marxist methodological approach to the study of social movements presupposes a careful analysis of the objective and subjective factors in these historical processes. Marxist historians recognize the history-making power of the masses and the dialectic interplay and interaction of historically acting individuals — leaders and masses.

Basing the study of the phenomenon of anti-colonial struggle on the social and class principle, the following criteria loom large in the analysis of the factual material: what individual, institution, social group or class within traditional African societies had the prestige, commitment and expertise necessary to mobilize and direct masses, what was the social basis of the movement, its driving forces and the social-class composition of its leadership, what were the aims of the movement, what were the organizing principles around which early anti-colonial movements could be formed and methods used to achieve these aims? Under the leadership of anti-colonial struggle, Marxists understand social-class forces at the head of the movement and their political avantgarde, organizing and directing this movement and formulating its ideology, programme, aims and concrete tasks.

Marxist historians regard anti-colonial and national liberation struggles of African peoples as a just struggle for liberation supported by the overwhelming majority of Africans. Since Africans used different methods in different parts of Africa during different stages of anti-colonial struggle, historians should also use different methods of research and different sources of material.

Theoretical problems of the study of the national-liberation struggle in African conditions and the main principles of the Marxist approach to the study and interpretation of this theme have been recently summarized in the two volumes of a major collective study prepared by the Soviet Academy of Sciences.[23] The Marxist model is strongly argued in the introductory article in this collection. 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. Having arrived at the particular definition of the concept of national liberation movement, the authors attempted to formulate a Marxist-Leninist theory of resistance and a typology of national liberation struggle in African conditions.

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[23] *Istoriya natsionalno-osvoboditelnoi borby narodov Afriki v novoe vremya.* Moscow, Nauka 1976 and *Istoriya natsionalno-osvoboditelnoi borby narodov Afriki v noveishee vremya.* Moscow, Nauka 1978. See especially Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 6—26 and 581—589.

The question of the typology and periodization of anti-colonial and national liberation movements is inseparably linked with the more general question of the periodization of African history since the beginning of colonial penetration. Different forms and stages of African national liberation struggle correspond to different stages of African history. An attempt at a Marxist periodization of anti-colonial movement in Africa was made in the 1960s by the Soviet historian A. B. Davidson.[24] He distinguished five periods in national-liberation struggle in Africa: 1—the period since the beginning of colonial penetration up to the 1870s when colonial rule was exercised over ten per cent of African territory, 2 — the period from the 1870s till about 1900 when colonial rule affected over ninety per cent of African territory, 3 — from the beginning of the twentieth century up to the First World War when the colonial system was firmly established and consolidated in Africa, 4 — the period between the two World Wars when the crisis of the colonial system and imperialism started, 5 — the period after the Second World War when the collapse of the colonial system and the process of decolonization started.

In the recent collective work, three basic categories or types have been discerned in the national liberation movement in Africa:

1. Mass peasant movements against military conquests under the traditional political or religious authorities. Such movements were characteristic of the period of European conquest and the establishment of the colonial rule in Africa up to the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, i.e. from about the mid-seventeenth century up to 1917.

2. Movements led by the national-bourgeois elements and seeking amelioration and liberalization of the existing system of colonial oppression. The basic driving force in such movements were usually city middle strata attempting to guide the rural masses. Such movements started at the close of the nineteenth century but were most characteristic of the period of the general crisis of the colonial system of imperialism.

3. Movements aimed at achieving internal autonomy of colonies and later on to achieve political independence. Their social bases include peasants, workers and middle stratas,[25] and were headed by the petty bourgeoisie and the national intelligentsia. The movements of this type have been characteristic of the period of the collapse of the colonial system after the Second World War. The fourth trend in the leadership of the national liberation struggle has been the proletarian one, i.e. communist parties, Marxist circles, etc.

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[24] Davidson, A. B.: *African Resistance and Rebellion against the Imposition of Colonial Rule.* In: *Emerging Themes of African History,* pp. 177—188, see especially p. 178.

[25] *Istoriya natsionalno-osvoboditelnoi borby narodov Afriki v novoe vremya,* pp. 23—26.

The historiography of anti-colonial and national liberation struggles in Africa has not, quite naturally, been ideologically and methodologically united, it has wavered between Marxist and non-Marxist interpretations, varying from radical-liberal to rather conservative ones, and thus has reflected some of the main trends, approaches and biases of the African historical research and writing.

INNER POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF GOWON'S GOVERNMENT AFTER THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR IN NIGERIA

JÁN VODERADSKÝ, Bratislava

This is a critical analysis of the activity of Gowon's government in the first half of the seventies. The aim of the study is to point to some of the causes of its downfall, especially from three aspects: a) failure to meet the tasks of the government programme, b) inability to cope with the growth of social problems, c) the more general deficiencies of the majority of military regimes in developing countries.

Following the deep political crisis from the first half of the sixties, after two military coups d'état and the end of the tragic civil war, Nigeria, the "African Giant" stood in January 1970 at the threshold of a period of reconstruction and stabilization of the economic and political life. The régime of General Gowon who came into power following the second military coup in July 1966, fulfilled its first great task successfully — it had waged a victorious war for national unity and by its judicious and simultaneously resolute procedure at a time when the national crisis culminated, it won the confidence of the absolute majority of the population.

The fact that the Nigerians entered this new phase of an independent political development more united than they had ever been before, was chiefly due to Gowon's reconciliation and rehabilitation policy towards the representatives of the defeated Biafran separatists. The ethical, but particularly political assets of such an approach still increase when it is remembered that its principles derive from the times of the cruel fightings in the civil war. Gowon emphasized repeatedly that in a civil war, one must already think of national reconciliation, of "healing the country of its painful wounds".[1]

In answers to questions why the war operations did not proceed more resolutely and faster, he would reply that the federal armies were fighting with thoughts of reconstruction and of "the return of our brothers and sisters, misled by Ojukwu".[2] On 15 January 1970, during the act of capitulation, he welcomed the "brothers who have been misled by the ambitions of a single man" and again gave assurances that a general amnesty would be proclaimed for all those who had been "dragged into the ill-fated rebellion".[3]

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[1] Nigerian Morning Post, Lagos, 2 Oct. 1969.

[2] Africa Research Bulletin; Political, Social and Cultural Series, Exeter, February 1969, p. 1327.

[3] Ibid., January 1970, p. 1645.

It would be difficult to find a precedent to such a "total" reconciliation in the history of civil wars, and it seems that the principal representative (after Ojukwu's flight) of the defeated side, lieutenant-colonel Effiong himself was surprised when he said: "...the way our colleagues from the federal army have welcomed us is unbelievable."[4]

However, had the federal government's attitude persisted in this extreme, Gowon could have been rightly reproached with having failed to draw a lesson from a dearly won victory over the secessionists. Attention to this was also drawn by an editorial in the Daily Express in which the author warned that true, "justice must be tempered with mercy, but not so that mercy becomes injustice".[5]

Gowon evidently was more conscious of this historical duty of his as a victorious general than he cared to reveal openly. Within a few months after the end of the war, his statements concerning rehabilitation and conciliation began to lose something from their propagandistic absoluteness and were becoming more realist politically. Already in April 1970, he said that 99 per cent of the Ibos could feel certain of their future as Nigerians with full rights — as to the fate of the rest, that would be probably decided upon by special tribunals whose maximum sentence would be imprisonment. He added that Nigeria could not afford to receive all "as though the rebellion just did not happen".[6] A special military commission was set up to investigate the involvement of former Biafran officers, while the fate of the rest who had supported the secession or carried out reasonable activity during the period January 1966 (when the army took over power) until January 1970, would be decided in virtue of the decree of 15 August 1970, empowering the government either to pension them off or to dismiss them. When the investigating commissions were through with their work, a total of 62 army officers who had played the most important role on Biafra's side[7] were dismissed from the Nigerian armed forces, and also a few hundred members of the police were discharged.[8] However, no processes were initiated and the vast majority of ex-Biafrans would feel quite free in the new Nigeria. A sort of a symbolic culmination of the process of postwar political rehabilitation was Gowon's trip in January 1971 across the East-Central State, the centre of the recent rebellion, which was intended to convince the inhabitants of that region of their position with equal rights within the federation and which gave faith to Gowon that "the people had unequivocally and absolutely accepted the idea of one Nigeria".[9]

Another factor that created an objectively favourable political climate for

[4] New Nigerian, Kaduna, 7 Feb. 1970.

[5] Cited in: West Africa, London, 7 March 1970.

[6] Africa Research Bulletin, April 1970, p. 1727.

[7] Ibid., September 1973, p. 2991.

[8] See ibid., January 1971, p. 1997, West Africa, 29 Jan. 1971 and 16 April 1971.

[9] Africa Research Bulletin, January 1971, p. 1985.

Gowon's military government at the threshold of a new, peaceful development was the economic situation. The civil war which would have brought many undeveloped countries to the brinks of an economic catastrophe, was fought out by Nigeria predominantly from her own resources and thus this country showed that it is economically the strongest State of tropical Africa.[10] Peace conditions finally enabled her to exploit to the full her greatest mineral wealth — oil — and thus take place alongside the Arab countries among the principal world exporters of this raw material. Voices were not rare that counted with Nigeria as the first country of the Third World which could in future take its place in the category of economically advanced countries.[11]

A hardly less propitious omen for this government was the general popularity enjoyed by its principal representative Gowon. In the first stage of his government he not only proclaimed a new structure of the federation, but also succeeded in enforcing it in the civil war — he was not only the architect of the New Nigeria, but also its principal builder. Through his magnanimous rehabilitation policy he contributed to the surprisingly rapid renewal of mutual confidence. The editorial of the paper West Africa, in a reflection on the future civil government in Nigeria declared him, in contrast to the other political representatives, as "a truly national leader".[12]

I. Gowon's Government Programme

As may be inferred from what has been said, the inner political situation in Nigeria at the beginning of the seventies, was very favourable to the second military government from several points of view. It still remained for Gowon to proclaim a government programme and set down a clear perspective to the country for its future development. A declaration expected with particular interest was that of the date when the army would relinquish power. The principal cause of Nigerian military revolutions was an attempt at putting a stop to the chaotic development and renewing political stability, hence a return of the army to the barracks, once this mission had been fulfilled, was considered to be self-evident. The fact that the soldiers themselves understood their political engagement as temporary, is attested to by the detailed programme elaborated at a session of the Supreme Military Council in April 1967, which was to have guaranteed the handing over of power to the civil government in 1968 at the latest.[13] Following the outbreak of civil war, the

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[10] West Africa, 17 Jan. 1970.

[11] Ibid., 26 Sep. 1970, in the article "From Developing to Developed?" The author argues that the civil war in reality proved a help to Nigerian economy.

[12] Ibid., in the article "Nigeria's Next Ten Years".

[13] Nigerian Sunday Post, Lagos, 23 April 1967.

programme had naturally to be shelved, yet the question of the army's remaining in power came again into the forefront of interest once the hostilities were over. Numerous Nigerians, particularly former representatives of the old régime, persistently showed great interest in politics and even while the fighting was going on had to be repeatedly reminded of the ban imposed on all political activity.[14]

When Gowon in his address on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of independence, 1 October 1970, announced that a return to civil government would take place only in 1976, this delay seemed unduly long to some. Although it was clear that the original design from the year 1967 to hand over power within two years would have to be prolonged by a period necessary for postwar reconstruction, it was not expected that this task would postpone the return of constitutional government by four years. However, Gowon simultaneously promised that even during this period the government would also work on the other tasks of the programme relating to the handing over of power to civilians, which partially at least satisfied "hopeful politicians".[15] In addition, the internal political climate following the civil war was particularly favourable to Gowon's government and ultimately he won general support for his programme which set as its aim to resolve most of Nigeria's acute problems. It became clear that the reputation of Gowon's régime would depend primarily on the implementation of that programme.

The latter consisted of the following nine points:
1. Reorganization of the Armed Forces;
2. Implementation of a national development plan and repair of the damage and neglect of war;
3. Eradication of corruption in national life;
4. Settlement of the question of the States;
5. Preparation and adoption of a new Constitution;
6. Introduction of a new revenue allocation formula;
7. A national population census;
8. Organization of genuinely national parties;
9. Organization of elections and installation of popularly elected governments in the States and at the Centre.[16]

If now we keep in mind — as will be shown presently — that the implementation of two of these tasks (3 and 4) was only promised from time to time without any concrete steps being taken in the matter, that the attempt at going through with one of them (7) ended in a complete failure and that further three (5, 8 and 9) never came in for consideration and remained postponed indefinitely, we shall better understand

[14] See e.g.: Daily Times, Lagos, 1 Dec. 1968, 23 April 1969.

[15] Africa Research Bulletin, October 1970, p. 1899.

[16] Ibid., p. 1898.

the reasons that, in July 1975, led to a further military coup and the downfall of Gowon's government.

Let us first consider that part of the nine-point programme that may be put down as assets of Gowon's government (i.e. points 1, 2 and 6) where it more or less fulfilled what might have been expected of it.

A. Tasks Fulfilled

A smallish army staff set up on colonial principles, grew up during the course of the civil war into a mighty army, modernly equipped, as far as African conditions go. From a group of less than ten thousand, from the period of the first republic, there developed by far the strongest army of tropical Africa. At the beginning of the seventies, its numbers were estimated at anything between 180 and 250 thousand men.[17] During the war, the army had grown very rapidly and after 1970 the government decided to carry out its reorganization. Essentially, this involved such tasks as reassignment of military districts, regrouping of units, retraining to achieve a higher professionality and effectiveness, final decision on the position of soldiers from the former Biafran army, the construction of new barracks and similar problems of an inner army nature. This task from the nine-point programme may be considered as more or less accomplished although, it should be noted, Gowon's régime refused to settle the important item of lowering the numbers of a costly army, superfluously large for peace purposes,[18] satisfying itself with putting a halt to further recruitment.[19]

The second point in the programme of Gowon's government was of an economic nature. An important factor that exerted a favourable influence on its successful realization was the growing income from oil extraction. Nigeria could start fully to exploit her principal mineral wealth only after the end of the civil war. During the first half of the seventies, the income from the exportation of this strategic raw material grew at a prodigious rate, one reason, besides the growing volume of oil production, being also the favourable development of oil prices in the world. Nigeria came to rank among the principal oil exporters in the world — members of the OPEC. The financing of the development plan that in the majority of African countries meant the principal obstacle to its implementation, ceased to be the primary problem to Nigeria. Although it soon became apparent that Nigeria's oil wealth was not a panacea against all economic problems, yet it was an important

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[17] This involves two extreme data according to West Africa, 26 Sep. 1970, or 2 Oct. 1972. Most authors set the numbers at between 200,000 and 230,000.

[18] West Africa, 28 March 1970.

[19] Ibid., 12 Sep. 1970.

factor leading to a successful realization of the postwar plan of reconstruction and development. A positive role was also played by the policy pursued by Gowon's government which devoted more attention to economic questions than to problems of an inner political development.[20]

The last of the three tasks successfully carried through was the introduction of a new revenue allocation formula. In virtue of measures decided on in April 1975, the major part of the States' revenues began to be transferred to the federal budget which thus became a powerful tool of financial controls. Of decisive influence was especially the centralization of revenues derived from oil extraction which provided the Federal Centre with a mighty weapon for a financial and political control of the States. It enabled a fairer distribution of the national wealth among all the regions of the federation and was an important step towards levelling out the enormous differences in their economic standard (particularly among the southern and northern States), which ultimately contributed objectively towards a consolidation of Nigerian unity. According to the new formula, 50 per cent of the distributable pool went to the States on a population basis, and the other 50 per cent were allotted uniformly regardless of their size.[21]

Although this point of Gowon's programme has been ticked off as fulfilled, it would be observed that it resolved the problem of revenue allocation only on the horizontal plane. The uneven allocation along the vertical plane and the social problems deriving from it will be discussed in a subsequent section of this study.

B. Unfulfilled Tasks

Let us now turn our attention to the burning inner political problems of Nigeria which were on the nine-point programme, yet failed to be settled by Gowon's government and became even aggravated after the civil war. These refer to putting an end to practices of corruption, division of the federation into States and the national population census.

a) Corruption

A universally widespread corruption in the whole of Africa is a chronically known problem and Nigeria is no exception. This ailment is an object of constant criticism particularly in the press and quite naturally, neither the second Nigerian military government could afford to leave it out of its programme. In an address of 1 October

[20] Pribytkovskii, L. N.: *Sovremennyi etap sotsialno-politicheskogo razvitiya Nigerii*, in: Gromyko, A. A. (Ed.): *Nigeriya. Sovremennyi etap razvitiya.* Moscow, Nauka 1978, p. 250.

[21] Arnold, G.: *Modern Nigeria.* London, Longman 1977, p. 14.

1970 in which Gowon introduced this programme, he said: "We will no longer tolerate a situation in which some people in high positions abuse their office to enrich themselves. The tone of society must be changed if there is to be trust and confidence between the leadership and the people... That is why the military government will intensify the drive against corruption in whatever quarters it may exist — civilian or military. New measures will be introduced to make those found guilty of corruption disgorge their ill-gotten gains. Special tribunals will be established to deal speedily with corruption in all organs of the public service and society generally."[22]

This point in Gowon's programme was considered by many, right from the beginning, to be its most optimistic part. It seemed improbable that by 1976 such a change would take place in the way of thinking of the people, as would cause corruption to cease to be a foremost problem in the country and views were expressed that should civilian politicians have to wait for this point to be implemented, they would not come to power for many decades yet.[23]

In the majority of African countries, corruption has become a characteristic, integral part and parcel of the political and social life. It finds a nutrient soil also in the deeply rooted clan relationships and the prevailing system of patronage, which plays an important role in the life of the Africans. Colossal swindles and frauds committed by public officers only supplement the rampant minor bribes and thefts among the lowest layers of the police, military and bureaucratic apparatus. Various side payments — grease — have for many generations been considered in Nigeria as a self-evident part of commercial transactions. The taking of "contract awards" from foreign firms for "mediating business contacts" has become an unwritten law. The extent of these awards in the first half of the seventies ranged around 10 per cent of the value of the whole contract.[24] Various official functions, places at schools without entrance examinations, false graduate diplomas, driving licences without a driver's test, or a "smooth" passage through the customs, all have their own, semi-official rates.[25] Reflections along the line — "if I don't defraud, I cheat myself and my relatives" are dangerously deep-anchored in the minds of many Nigerians.

It became more and more evident in the very first years following Gowon's proclamation of his nine-point programme, that his government had no intention of carrying out any anticorruption measures and that the problem would only be dealt with in occasional pronouncements by leading officials. The majority of ministries, the police, the army and other government departments were steadily granted more and more power which only made any anticorruption control more difficult. A politically short-sighted attitude proved to be Gowon's fear that an open public criticism would destroy the people's confidence in the government. For some time

[22] Africa Research Bulletin, October 1970, p. 1898.

[23] West Africa, 2 Oct. 1972.

[24] Pribytkovskii, L. N.: Sovremennyi etap..., p. 268.

[25] See e.g., Arnold, G.: Modern Nigeria, pp. 144—151.

after the civil war, the government could rely upon it, but by neglecting important problems affecting the country, and shutting itself up before criticism which pointed out this fact, it soon lost this confidence.

In 1974 a new corruption scandal incriminating also the highest government organ — the Federal Executive Council — broke out. As a result of accusations brought against the Commissioner for Communications, J. Tarka, the latter was forced to resign.[26] Not long after, also the principal representative of the federal government in the State of Benue-Plateau, Governor Gomwalk had to face similar charges. Here, Gowon felt he had to intervene in person. He declared that although his government was for an eradication of corruption, this will not be done "the way certain elements were tackling this problem".[27] The crown witness in the affair was imprisoned, the Governor Gomwalk was cleared of the accusations against him and Gowon proclaimed that whatever the criticism on the part of the public, his government will not be driven to "any precipitate action".[28]

The affairs around Tarka und Gomwalk were not the only cases of corruption in the highest civil and military spheres of Gowon's government. Indignation of the Nigerian public was provoked particularly by the constant postponement in the replacement of unpopular governors of the States, which Gowon had repeatedly promised under pressure of public opinion. The structure of government power under the second military régime permitted them to exercise a practically unrestricted sway over the territories confided to them and the majority of them did administer them as their own private estates. Although Gowon's sympathies towards his former comrades in arms from the victorious civil war are understandable, his negative attitude to the justified demand for their recall from their posts proved to be one of his crucial mistakes that went a long way in creating a situation favourable to the coup of July 1975.

Gowon gave proof of his indecision and weakness as a statesman also in his address to the civil commissioners leaving the FEC in December 1974. It was a public secret that the reason for their leaving were various corruption affairs, such as the one in which one of them (Tarka) was involved, and led to a loss of confidence in this supreme office of federal power. When taking leave of them, Gowon also touched upon "the thorny question of abuse of office". But instead of taking up a decisive stand that the situation required of him, he merely remarked: "If there be any of you who has abused in any way the confidence I and the nation reposed in him to enhance some unworthy ends, I leave such a person to his conscience and to his God..."[29] The watchful press immediately suggested to all the commissioners to declare their assets

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[26] New Nigerian, Lagos, 8 Aug. 1974.

[27] Daily Times, Lagos, 18 Sep. 1974.

[28] West Africa, 16 Dec. 1974.

[29] Africa Research Bulletin, January 1975, p. 3494.

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and thus preclude any "unjustified maligning",[30] but none of them followed this advice.

Although, when judging corruption in African countries, account should be made also of the historical aspect (its being traditionally rooted in social relationships), and attempts at resolving this problem may not ignore the ethical aspect (cf. proposals for working out diverse societal moral codices), African governments will not succeed in getting out of this blind alley so long as they demur in passing decisive political measures, such as will ensure eradication of corruption from the highest offices of State power.

The essence of this problem was succinctly characterized by the prominent Nigerian scholar, Professor Aluko when he said: "If the society is corrupt, tribalistic, nepotic, extravagant and ridden with violence, it is because aristocrats — its leaders, rulers and the middle class — are corrupt, sectionalistic, violent and roguish... Therefore, if we want to reform society, we must first reform the calibre of the aristocracy."[31]

b) The Question of New States

Another factor conducive to a political instability of Gowon's postwar government was the question of setting up new States. The bare fact that on the eve of the civil war, Nigeria was divided into twelve States spoke in favour of an elimination of certains aspects of an interregional rivalry, and the relevant decision was a right and an important one. Yet, the manner in which this was carried out, proved to have been precipitate and inadequate to ensure a balanced, centrally stable federal structure. The high political value of the decision to abolish the unbalanced federal arrangement inherited from colonial times and set up a larger number of States in Nigeria overshadowed certain "technical" drawbacks in its implementation — something quite understandable at a time of deep inner-political disruption, requiring fast and radical solutions. These drawbacks, however, soon began to come up to the surface. Alongside requests for minor boundary adjustments, voices multiplied demanding the creation of new States.

During the immediate postwar period, this problem did not seem likely to disturb the inner-political stability or the favourable position of Gowon's government and this conviction became also reflected in the attitude which Gowon took up towards this issue when announcing his nine-point programme. He said that he was aware of voices clamouring for the creation of further States, but that he could not satisfy them, for that would only be followed by yet further requests and this process would never cease. He underlined the decisive significance of a 12-State structure and

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Legum, C. (Ed.): *Africa Contemporary Record.* London, Rex Collings 1973, p. B-687.

declared that he would not alter it during the next four-year period, for during that time every effort would have to be focused on postwar reconstruction.[32]

Yet the agitators' struggle for new States did not slacken and in May 1974, at a time when the popularity of the régime had considerably diminished, Gowon was forced to remark that if the government considers it necessary, further States would be set up.[33] Perhaps he did nor realize that representatives of ethnic groups would interpret this as a challenge to them to step up their activity and create a situation in which the government would be forced to consider a fulfilment of their demands as necessary. The flood of demands, petitions and protests still increased after Gowon's address on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of independence, 1 October 1974, in which he openly promised "to review as soon as possible, the existing State structures with a view to creating more States in accordance with the aspirations of the people".[34] It is clear that such a promise, essentially without any limiting factors, without any qualification of general criteria that should govern the procedure of such an important and unusually complex problem, could not be realist.[35]

Gowon got himself into an unenviable situation and soon regretted his light-hearted promise. Three months later, in his New Year's address, he remarked concerning the situation that had developed: "I am unhappy at the flood of petitions and newspaper advertisements that have tended to aggravate or embitter relations between people who have lived happily together for decades."[36] Yet it was precisely his political lack of resolution and judgment that had significantly contributed to a disruption of that "happy co-existence". Nevertheless, in all fairness it should be said that given the colourful and centrifugal ethnic structure found in Nigeria, it just was impossible to satisfy all the groups. As a matter of fact, the majority of the petitions for new States were not founded on considerations of any economic or political advantages for a decentralized administration, but were supported solely by argumentations stressing the petitioners' particularized aspirations of the type: "We find it detestable to continue to co-exist with a different ethnic group in our present State."[37]

It is true that a just solution of the problem of the number of States was made more difficult by the objective and subjective factors deriving from the complex ethnical

[32] Africa Research Bulletin, October 1970, p. 1898.

[33] Ibid., May 1974, p. 3230.

[34] Ollawa, P. E.: The Political and Social Setting of Military Government in Nigeria. Problems of Political Instability Revised. Genève—Afrique, XV, 1976, No. 2, p. 10.

[35] It should be noted that this was a speech in which Gowon prepared great disappointment to the Nigerians when he declared that he abandoned his design to hand over power to a civilian government in 1976. In this connection, his other promise to create new States may be viewed as an attempt at compensation.

[36] Africa Research Bulletin, January 1975, p. 3494.

[37] Aluko, S.: Nigeria. The Issue of States. Africa, April 1975, No. 44, pp. 18—24.

structure of Nigeria, yet the share of Gowon's political guilt cannot be overlooked here. The manner he went about dealing with this delicate question, so important from the aspect of Nigeria's inner-political stability, constitutes a classical example of political irresolution and weakness and ultimately resulted in a loss of confidence on the part of the Nigerian public in his government and in its downfall.

If we look at the problem of setting up further States in the light of 'task priorities' of Gowon's nine-point programme, we feel that the measure of importance of some of the other points was incontestably greater. The decisive step in this matter — division of Nigeria into twelve States — had been undertaken back in 1967, and as regards its basic political meaning (i.e. the constitution of a stable federal structure) this issue was no longer so very urgent. Its significance now came to the forefront of interest rather in connection with the design to hand over power to the constitutional system in 1976. After the experiences from the period of a parliamentary democracy when the problem of coexistence among the principal ethnic groups in Nigeria appeared to be insoluble, and following the radical change brought about by the decree of the military government in May 1967, the view prevailed in Nigeria that the final decision on the number of States within the federation could be sucessfully implemented only by the army. Therefore, the fulfilment of this item on Gowon's programme was considered to be an important prerequisite for the army's return to the barracks.

The problem of Nigeria's federal structure is closely bound with power relationship between the Centre and the States. While during the first republic, the federal government was practically powerless against the centrifugal forces in the regions, an essential change was wrought in this relation under Gowon's government. In the first half of the seventies the Centre had such power in relation to the States that, in the view of O. Awolowo "...the country is sliding back to a unitary form of government behind an imposing façade of federalism..."[38]

The growth of power in the central government towards the regional administrations was the resultant of several factors. Besides the division of the federation into smaller States, a significant role was also played by the concentration of their incomes into the federal budget, a reinforcement of the State's direct economic activity in taking over a capital in which private business showed insufficient interest in the "Nigerization" of the economy,[39] as well as by the very fact that the army, whose inclination towards a centralized form of government is indisputable, was in power in the country.

c) The Census

Already the 1962 and 1963 census had shown how the connection of this problem

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[38] West Africa, 15 July 1974.
[39] See: Aziya a Afrika segodnya, 1979, No. 3, pp. 23—24.

with the distribution of political power in the country can be made to distort its results. Early in the seventies, a further factor came to the forefront of attention, one that added to the weight of the question of population distribution and was thus a further potential threat to the exactness of the census results. With the enormous growth in federal incomes, the question of the number of inhabitants of any State acquired in significance, as it was the primary criterion for financial allocations to the States when the budget was being redistributed.

The fact that Gowon included this issue among the tasks of his nine-point programme was understandable and nobody was surprised by the extensive measures taken to ensure a smooth and successful run of this project. Its exact date — November 1973 — was made public more than two years ahead and the consistent attention with which the government followed up this question gave the impression that its solution is of importance to it.

The direction of the entire project was entrusted to a 26-member commission whose chairman was nominated by Gowon himself and which also included foreign experts. The census proper was carried out by 120,000 censors each being accompanied throughout the undertaking by a member of the armed forces. A further contingent of 60,000 officials were entrusted with control and other expert tasks. None of them could have had anything to do with the 1963 census the results of which, although remaining officially valid, were generally doubted. A sum of 25 million naira was earmarked to finance the whole project.[40] During the census itself, all offices in the larger towns were closed for two to three days, check-points were put up at the most important road connections,[41] and further precautions were taken with a view to restricting movement of persons and thus minimizing the danger of distorting the true figures. The census was expected to provide correct results acceptable to the whole of Nigeria and thus eliminate this problem for many years to come from among the conflict-raising national issues.

The preliminary returns made public only in July 1974, however, evoked again the deep-seated doubts among Nigerians and the ethnic disputes which had seemed to have been successfully settled by Gowon following the civil war, began again to come up to the surface in their most primary form — the north against the south. As a matter of fact, according to the census returns, the population of the six southern States increased since 1963 from 25.80 to 28.28 million and that of the northern States from the already then dubious 29.50 to 51.38 million.[42] While the number of inhabitants living on the territory of the North Eastern State grew up from 7.9 up to 15.4 million and that of the State of Kano from 5.8 to 10.9 million, some of the

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[40] West Africa, 24 Sep. 1973.

[41] Ibid., 3 Dec. 1973.

[42] Arnold, G.: Modern Nigeria, p. 37.

southern States (Western, South Eastern) returned even a slight population decline.[43]

As regards further prospects of the position of the principal ethnic groups within the federation, the returns were most disadvantageous to the Yoruba living predominantly in the Western State. And it was precisely their long-time spokesman O. Awolowo who was the first to condemn sharply the results of the census. He pointed to the fact that according to the UNESCO statistical estimates the total number of the inhabitants was by 20 million lower than that recorded by the Nigerian census, that according to the census, the South—North ratio in the number of inhabitants speaks of a total and sudden change in the trend along which this ratio had been developing for decades. In 1931, 58 per cent of the population of the entire Nigeria lived in the north; in 1953 the percentage amounted to 55, and in 1963 to 54. According to the latest returns, the inhabitants of Northern Nigeria should suddenly represent 65 per cent.[44] Although Awolowo's attitude in this dispute could not be termed impartial, yet the data he adduces as well as the other facts deriving from the perplexing preliminary figures, totally discredited the population census in the eyes of the Nigerian people and ultimately led to an annulment of its returns.[45] The census which was to have been the most important step on the road to handing over of power to civilians (to it were directly linked such tasks as a new division of the federation into States, or of the country into election districts or wards before the election of a new government), had in fact proved an obstacle to this. Where to look for the causes that a population census in Nigeria is beset with problems that are for the most part unknown in the majority of other countries? There is no simple answer to this question and a whole complex of causes have to be considered. These include, according to the Soviet demographer V. Sitnik, also the economic and cultural backwardness of the country inherited from the period of colonialism, inadequacy of statistical organs on a regional level, a weakly-developed communications network, a high ratio of analphabetism, a multiplicity of languages, diverse traditional taboos, as well as certain purely technical limitations, e.g. inadequacy of detailed maps, lists of localities, qualified census officers and scrutineers, etc.[46]

Be that as it may, the fact that even the army failed to carry out satisfactorily the population census in Nigeria may be taken as evidence that even in dealing with problems in which discipline is an important prerequisite of success, a military régime is not always a guarantee of success.

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[43] Africa Research Bulletin, July 1974, p. 3285.

[44] West Africa, 15 July 1974.

[45] Annulment of the results of the census was one of the first decisions taken by M. Mohammed's government that overthrew Gowon's régime.

[46] Aziya i Afrika segodnya, 1979, No. 3, pp. 36—37.

C. Ignored Tasks

The next section will deal briefly with a group of problems in the nine-point programme — i.e. the draft of a new constitution, organization of national parties and carrying out of elections — which were not tackled at all by Gowon's government, although they were closely related to the serious promise of handing over power to civilians in 1976.

In the address of 1 October 1970, in which Gowon informed the country of his government programme, it was precisely this promise that awoke the greatest interest on the part of the Nigerian public. Although Gowon had set himself the aim of carrying through several tasks by that date, it was evident that no new government could take over power before a new constitution was worked out and activity of political parties renewed. The public was given to understand that a renewal of political activity and elections would take place only towards the end of the stipulated four-year transition period and consequently it was expected that the first steps leading to the fulfilment of this task would deal with the preparation of the new constitution. Gowon's government, however, practically ignored this pivotal task once it had been proclaimed, and as time went on, the recurring assurances on the part of leading government representatives on their resolve to keep the promised date of returning to the barracks, became more and more remote from political reality.

True, discussions did take place on the role of the army in the political life, called forth once by a symposium on the basic problems of the country, at another time by N. Azikiwe's lecture on the prospective share of the army in the future constitutional government,[47] but Gowon's government did not respond to them by any concrete measures. This only helped to increase the doubts about the sincerity of the soldiers' promise to return the country back to a constitutional system of government and to lower the Nigerians' confidence in the military government.

We have seen that of the nine-point programme, six tasks failed to be met. In each of them, the principal blame lay with Gowon's government, although in the majority of the cases, objective reasons might be adduced that hampered their implementation. Nevertheless, they would be most difficult to find in judging the problem of elaborating a new constitution. This was a task of extraordinary significance, to it were related many others, and there were no major obstacles in the way of its fulfilment. Hence, the passive approach of Gowon's government to its realization may be considered as one of the biggest mistakes of this régime.

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[47] For the principal theses of the lecture and the nature of the subsequent discussion, see in: Pribytkovskii, L. N.: *Nezavisimaya Nigeriya*. In: *Sovremennaya Nigeriya. Spravochnik*. Moscow, Nauka 1974, pp. 161—163.

That which followed was but a natural consequence of the errors that Gowon's government had accumulated during its postwar period in office. On the occasion of the 14th anniversary of independence on 1 October 1974, Gowon in his speech made the announcement to a disappointed Nigeria that the army would remain in power also after the year 1976.[48] As reasons, he mentioned that "...those who aspire to lead the nation on the return to civilian rule have not learnt any lesson from our past experiences... and there is no doubt that it would not take them long to return to the old cut-throat politics that once led this nation into serious crises. In these circumstances 1976 is unrealistic..."[49]

True, over the last months the Nigerian public refused more and more frequently and openly to abide by the ban on political activity, yet Gowon's government seemed to give less thought to the causes that gave rise to this situation. While the Nigerians had before them the vision of the promised year 1976, they were ready to overlook many of the government's deficiencies. Once this was taken from them, their patience found no real support any more.

II. Social Problems

Thus far we have endeavoured to evaluate Gowon's military government from the aspect of the mistakes of which it was guilty in the implementation of its government programme. Those, however, were not the only causes of its downfall. As one of the most serious problems of independent Nigeria — growth of social inequality — failed to figure among the nine tasks of Gowon's programme, it was clear that his government did not attach to it the importance it deserved. The manner in which it eventually attempted to deal with it proved inconsequential, was designed solely to silence the protests of the working masses and contributed to the overall worsening of the situation.

The new, unexpected economic possibilities that opened to Nigeria in the early seventies with the enormous extraction and exportation of oil and with the initiation of the process of a total "Nigerization" of certain branches of industry,[50] resulted in

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[48] The exact date was not given, but from the fact that Gowon nominated the new commissioners to the FEC in January 1975 for three years' term, it may be surmised that the military régime intended to remain in power at least for the next three years. See West Africa, 3 Feb. 1975.

[49] Arnold, G.: Modern Nigeria, p. 12.

[50] In virtue of a decree of February 1972, foreign firms were barred from investing in 22 strategically important or highly profitable branches and as from 1 April 1974, their property came completely under Nigerian control. Partial measures of a similar nature affected 33 further branches. Although the provisions of the decree were not worked out quite thoroughly, a fact that numerous foreign investors exploited the policy of "Nigerization" resulted in a sudden affluence of the home, especially the Lagos and Yoruba bourgeoisie and the origin of "a generation of millionnaires". See also Aziya i Afrika segodnya, 1979, No. 3, p. 25.

the cropping up of a group of tycoons and plutocrats, while the major section of the population remained poor and only watched the small minority getting richer.[51]

O. Awolowo in one of his lectures as chancellor of the University of Ife, said: "A situation such as we now have, under which the good things of life are assured to a small minority of Nigerians and almost totally denied to the vast majority of our countrymen, is pregnant with unpredictable dangers for all of us, if allowed to continue for much longer."[52]

Social problems that already in the first half of the sixties represented a weighty factor against a background of the deep inner-political crisis of the régime, came up again with full force into the forefront immediately after the end of the civil war. Under the pressure of the trade unions, a government commission was set up in July 1970 under the chairmanship of Chief Adebo, with the aim of going into the matter of wages and salaries in the public sector.[53] The Nigerian working people followed carefully its work right from the beginning and when the expected pay increases failed to materialize after months of waiting, the representatives of the principal trade unions organized a protest meeting in Lagos, at which they ultimately made a threat to the government of a general strike.[54] A few weeks later, the commission published the first report with a proposal of preliminary minor increases in wages for the lowest wage categories. Among the reasons that had led the commission to this step, they mentioned: "...From some of the representations made to us, it is clear not only that there is intolerable suffering at the bottom of the income scale, but also that the suffering is made even more intolerable by manifestations of affluence and wasteful expenditure which cannot be explained on the basis of visible and legitimate means of income."[55] This preliminary report contained also recommendations that similar measures be made to include also the private sector, but following the intervention of the Nigerian Employers' Consultative Association, grouping the principal West European concerns, the Commissioner for Labour Chief Enahoro announced that firms that had over the past years raised wages on the basis of growth of the cost of living, were now exempt from compulsory payments.[56] This triggered a wave of strikes across the whole country and disorders, lasting several weeks, finally forced the government to promise a wage raise up to the full amount also in the private sector.[57] The final report of Adebo's commission, published in August 1971, also recommended a general increase of wages and salaries by a minimum of 30 per cent. The government accepted these recommendations without any objec-

[51] Arnold, G.: Modern Nigeria, p. 21.

[52] Ibid., p. 19.

[53] Cohen, R.: Labour and Politics in Nigeria 1945—1971. London, Heinemann 1974, p. 233.

[54] West Africa, 11 Dec. 1970, p. 1433.

[55] Cohen, R.: Labour..., p. 234.

[56] Ibid., p. 235.

[57] West Africa, 26 Feb. 1971.

tions.[58] That put a seal on the working people's victory and the Trade Unions showed for the first time since the civil war, their strength and ability to work in unison at critical moments.

The wage increases following acceptance of Adebo's recommendations could not allay for long the social seething, in view of the steady upward trend of the cost of living. Although no mass show of force on a national scale took place during the next three years, yet the number of strikes, demonstrations and disturbances did not decline rapidly. That is to say, their fundamental cause had not altered, the abysmal gap between the poor and the rich went on widening steadily. Thus, for instance, in 1973, a worker's wage amounted to only 5 per cent of that of a civil servant.[59] The overwhelming majority of Nigerians lived on incomes not exceeding 120 US dollars annually.[60] The unbearable misery was further compounded by the rising unemployment. The oil wealth and the policy of "Nigerization" were economically exploited by only a negligible section of the home bourgeoisie. Thus, although the majority of Muslims in the agrarian north lived in want, some made the pilgrimage to Mecca by air.[61] It became more and more evident that the wealth from the oil income need not as yet mean prosperity for all the people.

In an attempt to resolve the problem, Gowon's government had again recourse to an old, though unsatisfactory device. In September 1972 a further commission went into the fray with the injuction to review the structure and working conditions in the departments of the civil service, in the state enterprises, the school system, etc., and to find ways how to increase their efficiency. It was chaired by Chief Udoji and was to hand in its report within two years. In order to preclude another explosion of wage demands as had been the case soon after Adebo's commission had been set up, the government declared a wage freeze until the final report would be handed in.[62]

The detailed, protracted investigation resulted in a comprehensive study, endeavouring to present a complex solution to the issue of effectiveness of the civil service, which the commission submitted in September 1974. But the only passage that immediately attracted major attention was the chapter on a new wage scale system. The recommended wage increases within the relevant classes were relatively high and in most cases exceeded a 100-per cent limit. But the manner in which the wage amendments were to have been carried out betrayed at once that the abysmal difference between incomes of the lowest and the highest paid strata would only deepen. The minimum salary of those employed in the public sector was now set in the range of 720—870 naira. The high paid strata were to touch salaries between

[58] Ibid., 5 Nov. 1971.

[59] Arnold, G.: Modern Nigeria, p. 120.

[60] Ollawa, P. E.: The Political..., p. 120.

[61] Davidson, B.: Africa in Modern History. London, Allen Lane 1978, p. 310.

[62] West Africa, 9 Oct. 1972.

11,043 and 13,393 naira, and a small number of the best paid government representatives could receive up to 16,200 naira. Yet, the adjustment did not affect 94.5 per cent of the economically active population made up principally of the poor, self-employed farmers, artisans and retailers whose annual income hardly exceeded a mean of 200 naira per inhabitant. Their natural reaction was a sharp rise in prices of basic commodities which, towards the end of 1974, showed an increase of between 30 and 150 per cent compared to January of the same year. Those employed in the private sector who likewise were not to benefit from the wage increase, responded by a new explosion of strikes and protests which finally forced Gowon's government to give in and accept the wave of inflational wage demands. Another factor tipping the balance of the overall economic equilibrium was the decision to backdate the wage increase to 1 April 1974. The market was suddenly swollen with an enormous amount of money which Nigeria was unable to cover with her production.[63]

The outcome of the entire project, originally designed to ensure a fairer distribution of the national wealth and catch up with the growth of the cost of living, proved in the end to be but a further intensification of the existing social inequality and a speeding up of the already galloping growth of inflation. The approach to a solution of the grave social situation was a classical example of the incompetence and irresponsibility of Gowon's government.

An important element that has to be reckoned with in the solution of social conflicts in Nigeria are the trade unions, grouping at present over one million members.[64] A proof of their viability is the fact that the number of strikes and laid off days did not show any significant decline even under a military government.[65] The unions often refused to respect Decree No. 53 from the year 1969 which outlawed strikes, and the uncontrollable wave of protests that swept across the whole of Nigeria in connection with Udoji awards, practically succeeded in abolishing it altogether.

The principal drawback of Nigerian trade unions is their extreme disintegration into minute units. In the mid-1975, there was a total of 1,870 registered units in Nigeria, many of them consisting of only a few members (even a five-member group can set up its own union[66]).

The majority of them are further organized in trade union centres. Several of them existed under Gowon's government in Nigeria, with a varying orientation. The

[63] See Ollawa, P. E.: *The Political...*, pp. 21—23; Arnold, G.: *Modern Nigeria*, pp. 117—123; Joseph, R. A.: *Affluence and Underdevelopment. The Nigerian Experience.* Journal of Modern African Studies, *16*, 1978, No. 2, p. 237.

[64] Aziya i Afrika segodnya, 1979, No. 3, p. 31.

[65] Sandbrook, R.: *The Political Potential of African Urban Workers.* Canadian Journal of African Studies, 1977, No. 3, p. 428.

[66] Arnold, G.: *Modern Nigeria*, pp. 116—120.

strongest of them was the Nigerian Trade Union Congress, maintaining contacts with the World Federation of Trade Unions and the United Labour Congress, being oriented to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. While the NTUC officially stood on positions of a proletarian class struggle, the ULC confined its activities merely to economic demands.[67]

Under Gowon's rule, trade unions officials were the target of constant reprisals and their highest representatives were often imprisoned. The Federal Commissioner for Labour and Information had the right to ban the activity of any trade union without specifying the reason for his measure. Nevertheless, the government never succeeded in gaining an effective control over the trade unions. In the year 1970/71, there was a total of 136 strikes in the country as against 53 in the year 1969/70 and 31 in the period 1968/69. Courts of arbitration which, in virtue of the provisions of Decree No.53 from the year 1969, were to have resolved industrial disputes, did not in fact fulfil their function. For instance, during the period 1970/71, no more than 2.6 per cent of industrial disputes were settled through their mediation.[68]

Also during Gowon's government, Nigerian trade unions had many an opportunity to show that they were a factor to be reckoned with seriously in politics. The relatively rapid growth of industrialization related to the growing exploitation of the oil wealth assured them real prospects of a further augmentation of their influence.

An attempt at discovering the reasons why the majority of Nigerians still continue to live in great misery would have to take into account numerous factors. These would include the rapid population increase which lowers the real pace of economic development, the small opportunities of education and improving one's qualification — two decisive steps in Nigeria to obtain a better-paid employment — the unsatisfactory structure of industry which does not provide enough adequately paid jobs, the outmoded system of land holding preventing the development of modern agriculture, survivals of the traditional extended family system binding any member who may have succeeded in ensuring for himself a steady income to support his numerous, less successful kinship, and some others.[69] The list should certainly comprise also the political factor — incomprehension of the gravity of this problem, the unwillingness and incompetence to deal with it effectively. But of course, not much can be expected along this line from an army devoid of any social ideology.

After the end of the civil war, an orientation towards the interests of the national bourgeoisie and state bureaucracy became more and more evident in the activity of Gowon's government, particularly in its economic policy. Such measures as a "Nigerization" of foreign concerns, wage adjustments, etc., that should have served the

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[67] Pribytkovskii, L. N.: *Sovremennyi etap...*, p. 271.

[68] Ibid., pp. 272—273.

[69] See Onah, J. O. — Iwuji, E. C.: *Urban Poverty in Nigeria.* Genève—Afrique, *XIV*, 1975, No. 2, pp. 74—82.

interests of the masses at large, were carried out in a way that ensured the benefits deriving from them for only a small section of Nigerian businessmen and civil servants. As a consequence of this short-sighted policy, the military government lost the support of the majority of the workers, the lower employees in the public and the private sector, as well as the urban petty bourgeoisie.

III. The Problem of Army's Participation in Politics

In this part, attention will first be focused on certain facts that exert an influence on the political failures of the majority of African military governments. In conclusion, a point will be made of a new phenomenon in the life of these military régimes — their efforts at a political entrenchment — its causes and the way soldiers endeavour to carry it out.

On coming to power, representatives of any military régime should realize that a monopoly over the means of physical coercion is no guarantee of success. If they are to preserve their power, they must present to the nation the results. That is the only way in which their government may become justified — particularly if account be taken of the way they attained power. However, in most of the young African States, the army is characterized by certain limitations that considerably hamper its successful political activity.

Military governments belong to the type of authoritarian régimes characterized by a low degree of ability to respond to demands by various social strata. The majority of channels through which necessary information reaches the top in a democratic government, are closed in military régimes belonging to this category and this in itself makes it far more difficult for army representatives to make profitable decisions of importance to the whole nation. There is no good-quality feedback between the government and the rest of the nation. Once the post-revolutionary euphoria, full of demagogic promises had evaporated, the obtuseness of the measures enacted by representatives of the armed forces gradually begins to show through.[70] Officers whose world outlook is for the most part traditionalist and conservative, one subjected for years to the ideas of military representatives of the former colonial powers, are, as a rule, unwilling and incapable of taking on any important restructuralization of social relationships.

An army, especially in countries where young, progressively-minded officers did not come to power, will hardly alter its character immediately on seizing power and transform itself into a democratic institution. It persists as authoritarian and distrustful, particularly towards the more radical elements of the society. Things were not different in Nigeria at the time of Gowon's government.

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[70] Lacina, K.: *Armáda a moc v čiernej Afrike* (The Army and Power in Black Africa). Bratislava, Pravda 1971, p. 202.

Those coming out with any sharp criticism of the régime were often arrested, students' demonstrations were brutally suppressed, trade unions could not organize strikes or any other manifestations, that would provoke class disturbances, newsmen, the intellectuals and the dissatisfied public were silenced.[71]

A further factor affecting the incompetence of many African armies to rule efficiently relates to the low professional standard of their adherents. A general survey of the educational standard of members of the officiers' corps in the armed forces of African countries would reveal a predominance of officers with an elementary and middle school education.[72] Only a minimal number of officers has any opportunity of acquiring higher education; but without any practical political experience, neither does this give any great chances of success in the process of searching and introducing measures intended to resolve complex problems affecting the entire nation.

One of the principal arguments currently used to defend the qualities of African military régimes on their coming to power has been that the army is devoid of tribalism and the conflicts that succeed in splitting the country into inimical, contending sides, do not disrupt its harmony. A myth has been created about the army as a symbol of national unity. In numerous cases, however, events after the army's coming to power showed that army officers, just like civil politicians, are not above disunion and internal struggle.[73]

Even if unity did exist in the army originally, the latter will find it difficult to maintain it following the radical change in its mission which ensues by its entrance into politics.

In Nigeria, this problem grew into tragic dimensions, particularly in the second half of the sixties, and despite the postwar reconciliation policy which succeeded in uniting fairly satisfactorily two enemy military camps from the civil war into a common army, it persisted as a potential threat also in the next period of Gowon's government. In a situation requiring constantly to bear in mind the composition of the army as regards the proportional representation of various nationalities, so that no fear might arise of domination by any one ethnical element, one may speak merely of a stability based on equilibrium rather than harmony.

Another factor which theoretically ought to be one of the basic characteristics of an army, but which, once the army comes to power becomes subject to intense erosion, is that of discipline. In the early seventies, cases of armed robbery in which also soldiers participated multiplied in Nigeria. Extraordinary measures had to be taken and Nigerians witnessed a series of public executions of members of the armed forces.[74] This was undoubtedly related also to the enormous, hardly controllable

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[71] Ollawa, P. E.: *The Political...*, p. 29.

[72] Lacina, K.: *Armáda...*, p. 145.

[73] Mirskii, G. I.: *Tretii mir. Obshchestvo, vlast, armiya.* Moscow, Nauka 1976, p. 250.

[74] Africa Research Bulletin, May 1970, p. 1758.

growth of the army during the civil war. However, a phenomenon far more serious by its impact was the decay of discipline in the ranks of the officers' corps. Corruption scandals, in which the highest government circles were involved, provide the best proof of how fast an army, on coming to power, succeeds in adopting the malpractices of politicians of the previous régime.

As military régimes in African countries were actually brought in by an urgency to block the way to a catastrophic political development, their primary mission was to eliminate factors of an inner lability of these young States. However, under no circumstances can they replace on a long-term basis the constitutional form of government. In addition, if an army persists in power for too long a time and openly behaves as an independent political force, it gradually loses one of its traditional functions — the role of an arbiter in extraordinary situations.

The great majority of West African military régimes on coming to power unequivocally declared that they consider their role at the head of the State to be temporary and once the ills perpetrated by the old régime are removed and the stability of the country strengthened, they would resume attending to their classical tasks. In many a case this involved purely propaganda proclamations intended somehow to legalize the new régime in the eyes of the public; on the other hand, numerous officers considered the army's entrance into politics to be an unusual act and often emphasized that their right place is in the barracks. The very representatives of several new military governments created the conviction by their declarations that not only are they not suited to any long-term political activity, but that they are not even interested in it.

The conditions prevailing in Nigeria were no different. Both Ironsi and Gowon made it clear immediately after their coup d'état that they intended to hand over power in the near future to the constitutional government and this intention was stressed also in the postwar nine-point programme of Gowon's government. The army was conscious of the gravity of this critical factor and foremost government representatives often thought it necessary to renew publicly their dedication to this principle. However, there was no complete unity over this question even within the army itself. Voices came to be heard more and more frequently trying to alter the view on the temporary nature of the army's political mission; they are thus an evidence to the thesis that soon after coming to power, an army becomes bent more and more in its political activity on preserving its privileges.[75] In March 1974, the governor of the Central West State condemned in the daily press "...politicians that usurp the right to lead the country ...and incessantly talk about resumption of political activity".[76] He emphasized that the army had become a crucial factor to be

[75] Pribytkovskii, L. N.: *Sovremennyi etap...*, p. 295.
[76] New Nigerian, Lagos, 22 March 1974.

reckoned with in the politics of underdeveloped countries, adding that the date 1976 should be abandoned.[77]

Gowon's government cooperated in politics also with part of the discredited apparatus of the first republic and allied itself with it into a privileged caste of a military-bureaucratic bourgeoisie.[78] And thus, this small section of former politician, too, were interested in the army's preserving its power. N. Azikiwe also expressed himself for the army to continue at the head of the State and suggested that after 1976 a mixed military-civilian government be formed in which the military would have the right of veto.[79]

The crown to this was set by Gowon in his notorious speech of 1 October 1974, when he officially declared that he would not keep his promise to hand over power in 1976. When looking fot the causes that induced him to make this momentous decision, several concrete factors might be pointed out. Some might state that the reasons advanced by Gowon were real, that he was truly concerned by the appalling lack of discipline in the society and that he intended to hand the country over to the civilians in a more satisfactory state.[80] Others may see the reason in the enormous profits pouring in from the oil fields and which attained a peak precisely in the critical year 1974 and strengthened the army's desire to remain in power.[81] Others yet may consider the failure to carry through the nine-point programme as the principal cause,[82] while those who will delve into details and disregard general considerations of relations, will incriminate the failure of the census.

But let us take a look at the problem of the army's entrenchment in politics from a broader visual angle. L. O. Dare from the University of Ife in Nigeria enumerates four principal factors that lead representatives of African military régimes to attempts at postponing their departure from politics:
— Growth of the number of military governments.
   While in the early sixties very few African countries were ruled by the military, in 1975, out of 42 independent régimes, 28 were military. What up to the year 1960 had been considered as an abnormal state of things, later became a current phenomenon. Intervention by the army has acquired in Africa a certain respect, and military governments constitute here, similarly as in Latin America, some sort of an élite club.
— Decline of the influence of foreign theories on the role of the army.

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[77] Dare, L. O.: *The Patterns of Military Entrenchment in Nigeria.* African Quarterly, *XVI,* 1976, No. 3, p. 34.

[78] Pribytkovskii, L. N.: *Sovremennyi etap...,* p. 307.

[79] Pribytkovskii, L. N.: *Nezavisimaya...,* p. 161.

[80] Daily Times, Lagos, 5 Jan. 1975.

[81] Joseph, R. A.: *Affluence...,* p. 237.

[82] Dare, L. O.: *The Patterns...,* p. 35.

The theories on a nonpolitical role of the army dating from the times of colonial rule, exert a far weaker influence on African officers. They no longer look upon a military coup d'état with a sense disapproving surprise, but rather see in it their entrance among the elect.

— Growth of self-confidence in the officers.
African soldiers began excessively to believe in their abilities to rule better than the civilians, and consider a military government to be the only alternative to the chaos and political muddle. In contrast to their declarations on the temporary and correcting nature of their régimes, many contemporary military representatives take on the responsibility of a government and believe themselves to be capable of carrying out revolutionary changes in the society.

— Acceptance of military governments abroad.
This point is partly related to the first factor and L. O. Dare underlines in it the fact that for the most part, foreign countries recognize military governments, thus providing important moral support to their representatives.[83]

A. Schuster from the University of Paris draws attention to another factor stemming from the officers' efforts to entrench their political position. A civil régime that might supplant them might easily make them responsible for all the problems and, besides a loss of prestige and of material benefits, representatives of a military régime might have to face reprisals, eventually leading even to a threat to freedom and life.[84]

Others emphasize that the advantages of political power are so great that, in general, they are an impediment to a voluntary relinquishment of interesting and richly rewarding functions.

Whether the reasons trying to explain the army's efforts to remain in power are more or less subjective, the fact remains that the past decades witnessing this development go to show that the army is a factor that will have to be taken into account for many years to come in the politics of African countries.

Conclusion

In an attempt at a critical evaluation of the politics of the second military régime in Nigeria, attention was drawn here to the principal mistakes and drawbacks that marked this régime's policy after the civil war. In the end they culminated in another military revolution in which Gowon's government could no longer rely on support from any important section of the Nigerian public.

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[83] Ibid., pp. 30—31.

[84] Schuster, A.: *Vers la fin des régimes militaires en Afrique occidentale? La voie au Ghana, en Haute-Volta, au Mali et au Nigeria.* Canadian Journal of African Studies, *12*, 1978, No. 2, p. 225.

However, were we to judge Gowon and his government over the full nine years that they were in power, we should admit that during the first stage, i.e. from the coup d'état in July 1966 until the end of the civil war, and a few months after, they brought much that was positive into the solution of the principal problems of Nigeria. Division of the country into 12 States, a victorious end to the civil war, the successful process of postwar rehabilitation — these were all measures that contributed in a decisive manner to the solution of the most weighty inner-political issue of Nigeria in the sixties — i.e. Nigerian unity. The influx of the oil wealth in the first half of the seventies and the manner in which the military régime carried out its allocation were factors that strengthened still further Nigerian integration. And no appraisal of Gowon's military rule can bypass the fact that the country at his departure from the scene, although shaken by numerous other important problems, was far more united than at his arrival.

STRUCTURE MARKING IN LANGUAGE

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The author discusses the manner of the existence of structure in language. Relational markers are classified into substantial and positional. The question of structure and its existence is also treated from the gnoseological point of view.

Structure is defined as a set of relations holding among the elements within a system; the set of such elements is called inventory. Thus, elements are opposed to relations within the framework of the hierarchically superordinate category of system; they are not identified with substance. Sometimes it is maintained that the elements are immediately observable, that they are in a way superficial. The fact is that this is true only of substance. Quite the contrary, the elements must be dug out from substance with the aid of some mental effort. Substance is manifested as a set of the elements only through a set of relations.

Structuralism tended to treat language as a set of relations, and language units were interpreted as derivatives of these relations, as their products (cf. Panfilov, 1977, p. 5). If this were true, then each language unit could be defined via structure in an entirely exhaustive and satisfactory way. However, the linguistic units have not only form but also content. Language is a system which represents a certain unity with its environment (cf. Smirnov, 1978, p. 116). Language is no closed, immanent system, it enters into contacts with its environment, it interacts with the reality it reflects (directly or indirectly). Language, in addition to reality of which the human subject is a part, reflects also the linguistic system. The external influences penetrate into language to an extent that is compatible with its internal organization.

The internal organization of language is its structure. What is the way in which structure exists in language? This amounts to asking whether structure has some specific markers or carriers in language. The reply will be in the affirmative if we mean various case affixes, grammatical particles, internal flexion, etc. This, however, seems to lead to a contradiction. On the one hand, we distinguish a set of elements and a set of relations, while on the other hand, we admit that there are purely relational elements in language, e.g., affixes, particles and so on. In fact, this just seems to be a contradiction. Our definition of system does not maintain that relations exist apart from elements. The former are distinguished from the latter only thanks to our abstraction. Relations as such have no independent way of existence in language and can only be expressed with the aid of certain carriers. These carriers,

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however, cannot be identified with relations; neither can the signal (= acoustic shape of the linguistic sign) be identified with the sign meaning. In truth, there are no such elements in language that would be utterly devoid of structural functions. This follows from the definition of what is an element; an object may become the element of a system only thanks to a set of relations. Each language element, whether a phoneme, grammeme or lexeme, inevitably contains a relational component, even if various elements and classes of elements differ as to the specific weight of the relational component in their total meaning. Relationality obviously prevails with grammemes, while lexemes are dominated by what is termed reflexive adequacy. Analogous thoughts have led A. S. Melnichuk (1970) to a conclusion that structure includes elements. This is an exaggeration in the light of what has been said above.

Purely structural markers are only specialized instances of the development of meaningful units. Here, we cannot help mentioning Skalička's opinion according to which the meaning of morphological units is a transposition of lexical (and syntactic) units. Purely structural markers (in morphology) are thus not indispensable. On the other hand, no language elements are entirely free of structural load. Skalička's view is in agreement with our interpretation of relations as generalized meanings and with K. Lorenz's treatment of structure as stabilized cognition.

Structure may be regarded as institutionalized, relatively stable, temporarily stabilized cognition (= knowledge) while elements are assigned to the level of living, developing cognition. E. R. Atayan (1976, p. 63) points out that the linguistic *energeia* may be qualified as a unity of knowledge and cognition. The process of cognition is open and constantly influences knowledge; that is why structure has to undergo changes in the course of time. Lorenz helps us to grasp the essence of structure when maintaining: "On the one hand, each accommodated structure comprises knowledge. The latter may be accumulated only in accommodated structure... structure is accommodation in a ready-made state. If further accommodation is taking place, if new knowledge is being acquired, structure has to be at least partly removed and rebuilt" (Lorenz, 1973, p. 261).

Structure serves the system, being its form and an instrument of its integrity as well as of its autonomous behaviour in its environment. However, the question of instrumentality is relevant also for the relation holding between the system and its components (cf. Ackoff — Emery 1972, p. 205). These authors distinguish two instances: homogeneous and heterogeneous types of organization (o. c., p. 217). In the former instance, the components serve the whole and are subordinate to it, while in the latter, it is the whole that serves its components. Living organisms may be quoted as illustrations of the homogeneous type, while language approaches the other, heterogeneous type. It is connected with its openness towards the objective reality, with the need of reflexive adequacy and, finally, with the fact that the raison d'être of language lies outside language itself.[1]

The two instances mentioned, however, represent extremes between which

a variety of transitions may be found. Within this interval there are systems that do not serve all their components equally. In such a system there is a dominant which determines the behaviour of the whole and exerts a restrictive influence upon the remaining components. These subordinate components undergo a change termed by K. Lorenz (1973, pp. 52—53) *Verdummung.* As far as language is concerned, its dominant ought to be looked for in the sphere of communication, upon the level of the speech act where the speaker selects relatively independent language elements and combines them according to syntactic rules so that they lose their inherent semantic fuzziness and refer to a particular situation. The other levels of language submit to the whole in the interest of efficiency.

The question of interrelations between language structure (= relations) and inventory (= elements) is easier to grasp if we take into account the hierarchization of semantic features (cf. *Obshchee yazykoznanie,* 1972, p. 417 and also Blanár, 1978, pp. 241—243). The semantic features are subdivided into classificatory, identificational and specificative. The specificative features are the least abstract and closely linked with the reality they reflect directly. This is the level where living cognition takes place. According to Blanár (1978), the objective reality is processed upon the level of content and then linguistically stabilized.

Upon the two higher levels (identificational and classificatory) cognition becomes institutionalized and transformed into knowledge. And here the language system plays a more important role; the reflexion processed into identificational and classificatory semantic features moves away from the immediate contact with reality and from its reach. This indicates to what extent the notions of content and form are relative. The identificational and even more the classificatory features are rooted in the language structure. Blanár also stresses that the classificatory features are not directly linked to reality but depend upon functioning of language as a system.

The semantic features as an object of research form a continuum which was articulated or discretized into three intervals differring as to their degree of formalization and integration in a higher whole, i.e. language system. One extreme is represented by the classificatory features that serve the demands of language consistence; they are linked to the environment of the language system, to the objective reality only in an indirect, mediated way.[2] An opposite extreme is

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[1] The terms homogeneity and heterogeneity deserve at least a brief note. In a homogeneous system the elements are of a relatively equal status while, on the contrary, heterogeneous systems represent a unity of unequal and heterogeneous elements that are inevitably hierarchized. Homogeneity and heterogeneity in Ackoff's and Emery's sense are something else, and therefore it seems preferable to talk of whole-oriented and component-oriented systems; dominant components may exist in both homogeneous and heterogeneous systems.

[2] The term classificatory may be misleading. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to use the terms suggested in *Obshchee yazykoznanie* (1972, p. 417), i.e., grammatical, categorially semantic and properly lexical features.

represented by the specificative features that are linked immediately to the environment of the language system. These features serve as vehicles of keeping the language in a state of reflexive adequacy to the reality.

Lexemes are notable for the presence of all three types of semantic features while grammemes lack the specificative semantic features. This is in agreement with our earlier view that the content of grammatical categories is irrelevant from the viewpoint of reflexive adequacy.

Since all meaningful language units, both lexical and grammatical, contain the semantic features of the highest level, in this sense they participate in representing the structure of language, even if in unequal degrees. An analogous idea is suggested in *Obshchee yazykoznanie* (1972, p. 291). There is no meaningful element in language which would not serve as a structure carrier. At the same time, there are such elements in language that may serve only as structure carriers.

So far, we have referred only to substantial or segmental structure markers. Besides, there is another important and widely utilized way of marking relations in language, namely the sequential arrangement of language elements. It is assumed that this way of marking is the most appropriate for relational meanings in the narrow sense, i.e. for relations between the elements in utterances (cf. *Obshchee yazykoznanie*, 1972, p. 215). Of course, marking via arrangement may combine with segmental marking. E.g., the sentence *John hit Bill* marks the relation agens—action—patiens only provided the verb is in the active voice. In the passive version, i.e., *John was hit by Bill*, we obtain the sequence patiens—action—agens.

Three basic organizational principles are utilized in syntagmatics:

1. Two interrelated elements x, y occur either (a) in adjacent positions, i.e., $z \, x \, y \, w$, or (b) in a discontinuous pattern, i.e., $x \, z \, y$, where z and w are elements different from x, y.

2. The element x precedes y or, vice versa, y precedes x, i.e., $x \, y$ or $y \, x$, where both elements are syntactically interrelated.

3. As far as a sequence of elements $y...z$ is concerned, x may occur initially, medially or finally, i.e., $x \, y...z$, $y...x...z$, $y...z \, x$.

These basic organizational arrangements or schemes give several syntagmatic types according to the way the elements are classified in a particular language. The number of various relations that may be expressed is thus considerable.

Language has a systemic character not only as a whole, but also as far as its components are concerned. Both paradigms and syntagms may be treated as systems. The paradigm is a homogeneous system; its elements are mutually substitutable. The substitutability is the basis for the paradigmatic system. The paradigmatic relation is that of functional equivalence (for a certain position in the utterance). On the other hand, the syntagm is a heterogeneous system. The syntagmatic elements are mutually or unilaterally conditioned and complement each other. The syntagmatic elements, not being substitutable, are linked by means of the

relation of dependence. The syntagmatic system is based upon functional complementarity. The syntagmatic relation produces a higher whole from heterogeneous components. Paradigmatics and syntagmatics are mutually conditioned upon all language levels.

To sum up, the language relations may be marked (a) positionally, i.e., by means of the relative arrangement of segmental elements or (b) substantially, i.e., by means of the segmental elements themselves, of their content, whether they are phonemes, grammemes, derivatemes, or lexemes. Various languages may differ considerably as to their utilization of positional versus segmental marking. Alongside languages where the substantial ways of marking relations clearly dominate (e.g., Latin), there are languages in which positional marking prevails (e.g., Vietnamese). Between these two extremes, there are languages utilizing both possibilities. However, the positional way of marking seems to be primary; even in languages utilizing freely substantial markers there is a natural tendency to put syntactically interdependent elements in adjacent positions and likewise assign the initial position to emphasized elements. And, finally, there are languages with highly developed substantial ways of marking relations which, nevertheless, display rather strict rules of the sequential, i.e., positional organization of the sentence (e.g., Turkish, Japanese).

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THE MOST RECENT PHENOMENA IN THE EVOLUTION OF CONTEMPORARY TAGALOG LANGUAGE AND PROGNOSIS OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

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The study deals with the post-war development of Tagalog or Pilipino, the official language of the Republic of the Philippines, but in a succinct form also touches upon its previous evolution and that, concretely, from the first attempts at regulating the process of language development (since the mid-thirties of this century). No definitive judgment can be passed as yet on the linguistic development in the Philippines, for diverse trends are active and too many factors are involved in this process. Nevertheless, it may be safely stated that since the late fifties Tagalog, renamed Pilipino, steadily enlarges the sphere of its functioning and has better prospects in the process in question than any other language in the Republic of the Philippines.

Asian countries represent a colourful linguistic mosaic, especially conspicuous when compared to the far simpler language map of Europe, where substantially less languages and language families are met with. Apart from the Asiatic Arab countries which, with the exception of Iraq (15—20 per cent of Kurds), are on the whole linguistically homogeneous, and have certain specific traits in common (Classical Arabic on the one hand, though numerous dialects on the other, spoken variants of Arabic currently employed in different regions), only Bangladesh, Japan, Korea, the Maldives and Mongolia are linguistically problém-free. A relatively simple linguistic situation has developed in three further countries, viz. in Bhutan, Cyprus and Sri Lanka, although in each of these countries two languages from different families are used. A quite special linguistic situation prevails in Israel. During the colonial era, European languages were also introduced in many Asian countries as official languages.

As may be inferred from the above remarks, the majority of Asian countries were noted for (1) a multinationality pattern and (2) an implantation of a foreign (European) language which, though enriching the native languages, yet simultaneously restricted them functionally. Such was the situation in India, Indonesia and in other countries. As to the Philippines, they occupy a special position in the motley family of Asian nations both from the historical and the linguistic point of view. A Philippine specificity from the linguistic aspect resides not solely in the large number of native languages, but also in the uninterrupted use for over four centuries of two European languages — Spanish since the sixteenth and English (or American English) since the turn of the twentieth century.

The post-war period in the Philippines, as well as in many other developing countries, was marked by substantial and relatively rapid socio-economic changes,

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the most important of which was the achievement of national independence. In the initial stages of this new development, the linguistic and cultural situation did not keep step with such swift changes and continued to bear many of the traits from the previous period. The first organizational measures concerning language planning (taken not long before the achievement of independence) failed to yield any appreciable results owing to the force of objective reasons connected with events of the Second World War in the Pacific. Therefore, the implementation of the language policy in the Republic of the Philippines and the noticeable changes of the language development in that country date from the post-war years.

1. The first serious attempts at a regulation of the process of language development on a national scale and on a legislative level date from the middle of the thirties. According to the Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, adopted in 1935 and functioning with certain corrections till 1972, "The Congress (of the Philippines — V. M. and J. G.) shall take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages. Until otherwise provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official languages" (art. XIV, sec. 3). The Institute of National Language (INL) established in accordance with the Commonwealth law, No. 184 from 12 January 1937, recommended the Tagalog language as such a "foundation", and in December of the same year President Manuel L. Quezon, in accordance with the above-mentioned law, declared "the language based on Tagalog to be the National language of the Philippines". In 1940, when a dictionary and a grammar of the National (Tagalog) language were published, it was introduced as a subject in the senior classes of schools and pedagogical colleges (normal schools), also by law No. 570 from 7 June 1940. "The Philippine national language" (as was supposed, based on Tagalog) was declared "one more official language of the Philippines as of 4 July 1946"[1] (7, pp. 9—12; 27, pp. 156—158). In fact only four or five pre-war years were devoted to the elaboration of the foundations of the common national language policy and only the first uncertain steps were made in its realization (26, pp. 133—134).

During the Japanese occupation of the Philippine islands, the new constitution of the puppet Republic of the Philippines led by J. Laurel, proclaimed in October 1943, declared Tagalog to be the principal official language, and Japanese the principal foreign language of the country for contacts with the so-called East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Daitoa Kyoeiken). Within limited bounds, the use of the English language (especially in the press, scientific periodicals, etc.) was also permitted for some time. The Tagalog language was introduced in all public and private schools, colleges and universities beginning with the school year 1944/45; instruction in Japanese as the second language instead of English also began in schools. The abrupt

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[1] The date of the presumed granting of political independence to the Philippines.

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introduction of the Tagalog and Japanese languages (e.g. replacement of previous English names of streets, institutions and so on; Tagalog, Japanese and Tagalog-Japanese press, broadcast in Tagalog and Japanese) and a widespread propaganda of these languages, especially by the Association for the Dissemination of the Japanese Language (Nippongo Yukyu Kai), in accordance with the Japanese "new order", gave certain results. Literature and newspapers written in English and Spanish were practically suppressed; knowledge of the Japanese language became expanded and improved; some Japanisms penetrated into Tagalog. During the Japanese occupation, a number of underground newspapers were also published in Tagalog.

On the whole, however, neither the language policy of the Autonomous Philippines (1935—1941), nor the corresponding measures of the Japanese occupational administration (1942—1945) proved effective in introducing any substantial changes into the linguistic situation in the country and influencing intralinguistic development.

2. The first post-war years, after the achievement of political independence, were characterized by two opposite tendencies: further intensification of cultural-linguistic nationalism and an enhancement of American dominance in all spheres of public and cultural life, including literature, the press, cinema and especially university education. This, of course, had the effect of slowing down further dissemination and mastering of the National (Tagalog) language in the country till the end of the fifties — the beginning of the "Filipino first" movement (*Pilipino — muna*), although Tagalog was actively enriched by adapted Americanisms which sometimes replaced previous Spanish lexical borrowings (terms, etc.). A situation, rather bizarre in retrospect, prevailed in the linguistic field in the mid-thirties: the chairman of the Constitutional Assembly of the Philippines, the well-known writer and political figure Claro M. Recto, used to deliver all the opening and closing addresses in the Constitutional Convention in Spanish, although this language had by then practically disappeared from the public scene — and of course, Tagalog could not as yet compete with English. As late as the end of the fifties and the early sixties newspapers (Taliba and others) carried slogans demanding "to speak and to write in Tagalog". The dictionary and grammar mentioned previously published in Tagalog with the active participation and editorship of the great Philippine writer and philologist Lopé K. Santos, reflected essentially the state of the Tagalog language during the early twentieth century. Meanwhile, precisely in the fifties and sixties, the colloquial variant of contemporary Tagalog language was increasingly taking shape. It started to penetrate newspapers and literary works; however, this variant has not been described in grammars and dictionaries, and its territorial dialects (especially that of Manila) were rapidly developing.

As a matter of fact, the language policy of the post-war Philippine administration continues along the line of the government of the Autonomous Philippines. The most relevant legislative acts on the national language are those concerning the

propagandist measures of 1954—1955 (establishment of a "National Language Week" 13—19 August every year, Balagtas' Day 2 April, etc.), an introduction of the new name of the "National language" — "Philippine" (Pilipino), numerous decrees of the administration of F. Marcos 1967—1971 on Philippine names of organizations and institutions, spreading of the Philippine language in government and public institutions, official intranational correspondence, Philippine commands and ranks in the army and the police (7, pp. 12—14), although not all of these measures have been carried out in full. Side by side with the INL, an important role in the implementation of the language policy in the post-war period was being played by the Department of Education and Culture (DEC), and also by a variety of public organizations of the Republic of the Philippines.

By the middle of the sixties, the Tagalog language was gaining ground as a language of intranational communication, side by side with English, but no new, "National" or "Philippine" language, was created on its basis as had been planned. No lexical, derivational, or even grammatical differences between Tagalog and the so-called National (or Pilipino) language existed or exist. Even Philippine linguists are not able to define them. And this has prompted some scholars to accuse the INL of breaking the Constitution, which became the immediate cause of the so-called "language war" of the sixties against "Tagalog dominance" (27, pp. 167—168). However, the Tagalog language was certainly undergoing changes under the influence of both intralinguistic and extralinguistic factors. Apart from an increasingly marked dialectal differentiation and standardization of the colloquial language, penetration of English borrowings and words from major Philippine languages (Ilokano, Kapampangan, Cebuano and others — all related to Tagalog) increased as a result of intensive migration. Not only English words begin to appear in Tagalog texts but also combinations of words, names and specific Philippine abbreviations.[2] At the same time, Tagalog words, expressions, various names, and words reflecting Philippine culture and way of life occur more and more frequently in Philippine texts written in English.

As is generally known, linguistic changes take place gradually, imperceptibly to external observers but, in time, particular facts of individual lexical, grammatical and stylistic usage may acquire the character of social innovations (archaisms, neologisms, etc.). Among such grammatical phenomena in the Tagalog language, which have not entered the *Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa* (Grammar of the National

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[2] See *Spisok naibolee upotrebitelnykh abbreviatur* (List of Expressions in the Commonest Abbreviations) in Makarenko, V. A.: *Tagalskii yazyk. Uchebnoe posobie dlya III k.* (The Tagalog Language. A Text-Book for the 3rd Year). Moscow, MGU 1976, pp. 171—180. The late Philippine Tagalist P. S. Aspillera collected samples of English names of Tagalog films of a kind "Beatnik Pow-Wow", "Juan Tamad Goes to Congress", "Hawaiian Boy", "Wedding Bells", "Double Cross", "Black Beauty", "Debutante", etc. (The Manila Times, Manila, 1960, Jan. 18, p. 4a).

Language) (1940) by L. K. Santos, there occur such rare phenomena as, e.g., individual forms of dual personal pronouns, some forms of demonstrative pronouns (*iri, dini, ayri* and some others), plural pleonastic forms in nominal combinations and plural verbal forms of the classical Tagalog literary language and, to some extent, the degrees of comparison (these phenomena have appeared in the post-war period). Under the influence of the colloquial style, the literary language gradually assimilates new orthoepic tendencies (formal markers, onomatopoeic words, irregular morphophonemic changes, etc.) reflected in the script and these have even won partial recognition in modernized *Rules in Orthography of Filipino* accepted in 1976 (7, pp. xiii—xix). At the same time, side by side with new factors, fairly old phenomena have been preserved, e.g. parallel functioning of Tagalog and Spanish numerals, especially when referring to time and prices. These relatively new language phenomena result from a direct influence of socio-economic changes and also from the internal tendency to an economy of linguistic means. In their turn, new phenomena give rise to certain changes under conditions of interference and transference (1, pp. 72—76). They correspond to new changes in the political and economic life of the Republic of the Philippines, especially in relation to the creation of the New Society in 1972 (see Section 5—7 below).

3. The most pervasive influence upon the linguistic situation and internal development of languages is exerted by schools and mass media. Undoubtedly, teaching of all subjects in the lower classes in the mother tongue, and also its study as a second language in provincial schools where different vernaculars are spoken (introduced in the post-war years) favoured spreading of the Tagalog language and its standardization. Successful experiments of the introduction of the languages of various nationalities in schools in Iloilo (1948—1954) and in the province Rizal (1960—1966) have contributed to a considerable growth in the linguistic competence and created prerequisites for an instruction in all subjects of humanities in the mother tongues in the seventies. In the sixties, Tagalog began to be consistently used at universities (11). However, problems involved in its functioning in higher education have not ceased to exist, especially because of a lack of competent teachers (see 19).

G. Lacuesta, who protested at the beginning of the sixties against shortcomings in language planning and inadequate consideration of intralinguistic changes, suggested an acceleration of the formation of the common national language by supplying it with a new 32-letter alphabet, a considerable amount of lexical and even grammatical elements from Philippine languages related to Tagalog in order to fulfil the Constitutional draft-bills and thus introduce this "Philippine" language into national education (see 21). Taking into account that English non-adapted material prevailed in the suggested lexical substitutions (25, p. 36), the "Manila mixed language" (28, pp. 191—193), to a considerable degree artificial, was adopted. At the same time, the "language war" paid attention to external and internal language peculiarities of

the linguistic situation of the post-war period which demanded activization of the planned beginning of the language policy.

Difficulties connected with the introduction of the national language into schools and universities education, administration, information, court, etc. (7, pp. 19—23) are due to many causes (conservatism of tradition, dominance of American pedagogy, political inclinations and tasks, etc.). Among these a considerable role was played by such factors as the lack of a strictly scientific approach to planning and prognosis of language development, including the sphere of terminology and creation of terms, adaptation of borrowings, and lack of contemporary scientific and school grammars of the Tagalog language (2, pp. 47—52; 4, pp. 22—23; 5, pp. 1—24; 29, pp. 23—28). Moreover, local linguists mentioned at one time that the quality of teaching not only of the Tagalog language but also of English may have a far-reaching influence upon the solution of the language problem in the country (3, p. 30 and 47).

4. The language is most closely connected with many spheres of culture and art which in their turn influence the development of the linguistic situation of the country. The most effective factors are the mass media — the press, radio and television that have penetrated into the most remote corners of the Republic of the Philippines. This has resulted in marked changes of the cultural life when compared with the pre-war period, has helped to disseminate widely the Tagalog language, and brought about a certain stabilization of its norms, so that today most newspapers are published in this language, beside English, and many transmissions carried out by television and radio. Many English newspapers started publishing "Tagalog columns" or "Tagalog corners" and lessons in Tagalog. The daily Tagalog paper Taliba made an experiment using colloquial forms, and remarkably enough, it raised its circulation several times in the sixties (5, pp. 15—19). The run of copies of all publications in Tagalog is steadily increasing, especially as far as journals are concerned. In the seventies, their quality also improved noticeably (Balita, Kalinangan, Sagisag and some others), not only as to their contents but also as to the language and style. This also applies to published stories and poems.

Literature, theatre and especially the cinema in the Tagalog language which are being encouraged and promoted by the State in recent years are important indices of intralinguistic changes. Multicultural education, typical for the post-war Philippines, has left its imprint upon them. The Spanish elements have been suppressed although their traces are still present in many spheres of Philippine culture, particularly in the lexical structure of the Tagalog language.

The cultural workers and scientists of the country are predominantly bilinguists (Tagalog-English, Ilokano-English, Cebuano-English, etc.) and bilingualism gains ground every year. Many writers publish poetic and prosaic works both in English and their mother tongue, or they translate their poems, stories, novels from English into Tagalog, Ilokano, Cebuano and other languages. All that inevitably leads to

serious consequences in terms of transfer of norms from the mother tongue into the other (English) language in the process of speech, writing, teaching, etc., or transfer of various elements, signs and rules from the foreign (English) language into the mother tongue (1, p. 72 and 76). This mutual influencing becomes manifest mainly in an increase of lexical borrowings and hybrid formations — in Tagalog, for the most part, of verbal formative and substantival word-formational compounds with Tagalog affixes and constant components in the compounds. Not only single English words and expressions but also whole sentences and even paragraphs occurred in Tagalog texts of newspapers and journals in the sixties and seventies. In English texts, Tagalog realia, combinations of words and quotations without translation into English are fairly common (e.g. in Manila Journal and others) so that we are justified in speaking of a peculiar Philippine English language (8, pp. 65—67 and 128—131); however, these peculiarities are, for the time being, insufficiently investigated. Certain shifts in favour of the literature in Tagalog took place in the linguistic situation.

5. The most recent phenomena in the development of the Tagalog language of the last decade may only partially be ascribed to the contemporary language policy of the State, and sometimes they even go against it, despite new legislative acts and a sincere social care of culture of speech, growth of nationalist and patriotic tendencies, intensification of cultural and linguistic Philippinization at all levels. Among the most important factors that had a decisive impact on the whole cultural life of the country were the Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines in 1973 and the subsequent proclamation of the "policy of bilingualism" in the sphere of education.

The new Constitution of the country (art. XV, sec. 3) proclaimed:

"(1) This Constitution shall be officially promulgated in English and in Pilipino and translated into each dialect spoken by over fifty thousand people, and into Spanish and Arabic. In case of conflict, the English text shall prevail."

"(2) The National Assembly shall take steps towards the development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Filipino." (Cf. with the corresponding formulation of the Constitution of 1935 in Section 1 of the present study.)

In the same year 1973, by a special decree of the President F. Marcos, Spanish was also added to the two official languages — English and Pilipino (Tagalog) — "for certain purposes", mainly State documentation, archives,etc. (Decree No. 155 from 15 March 1973). Philippine linguists repeatedly criticized the project of the constitution concerning the language question during the period of the two-year session of the Constitutional Assembly and its Committee on the language question, and also the approved constitution after 1973. Thus, the editor of the Philippine Journal of Linguistics Andrew B. Gonzalez in one of his articles writes that as far as language policy is concerned, the new constitution of the country had made a step

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backward even when compared to the previous constitution since it intends to create an essentially artificial language, composed of various elements of natural languages, i.e. a kind of a Philippine Esperanto as a common national and official language of the country; he labels it, from the linguistic point of view, a mistaken language planning policy (15, pp. 326—330). Other linguists, admitting an absence of any major differences between the "Filipino" and "Tagalog" languages, consider it possible to transform the common national language by new borrowings from languages related to Tagalog, English words, some Latin morphemes and even English derivative morphemes (10, pp. 13—18).

The Decree No. 25 of the DEC of the Republic of the Philippines dated 19 June 1974 proclaims the "policy of bilingual education" (English and Tagalog) on all levels, in accordance with the new constitution (7, pp. 70—77; 20, pp. 325 and 336—337). Undoubtedly, as a whole, this policy reflects the linguistic situation in the country in the post-war period. However, as indicated by many facts, its concrete realization is hampered by serious difficulties connected with differences in the level of schools and knowledge of languages, especially of English, a lack of adequately processed methodology, problems of training of teachers for secondary and higher grade schools, etc. (34, pp. 322—336). Its implementation is further hindered by a lack of special text-books and manuals, dictionaries, a universally recognized and unified scientific and technical terminology which is particularly important in the circumstances of an active involvement of the Philippines in the scientific-technical progress, development of industry and agriculture of the country. Besides, there are also some tendencies counteracting this policy, both of an extra- and an intralinguistic nature, especially in the non-Tagalog speaking regions of the Philippine archipelago.

6. The most salient features embodied in the latest changes that the language has undergone over the past decade, include an active growth of the vocabulary of Pilipino (Tagalog) through non-adapted borrowings from English and native dialecticisms, an instability of terminologic word-building, a stylistic and dialectic differentiation of this language, the ever greater influence of English upon the system of the major Philippine languages.

At present, virtually any English word in the original spelling may be used in a Philippine (Tagalog) text. Of course, only some of these words have penetrated into the system of the Tagalog vocabulary and occur rather frequently (*assignment, disk, junior, massacre, plaque, referee, senior,* etc.). The same holds for a number of English combinations of words (e.g. *banlon shirt, girl friend, scholarship grant, standing room only* — The Manila Times: Your Tagalog Column), and also abbreviations (*ABC, NATO, P.M., ROTC, SRO, UNO, Blvd., Dpt., Dr.,* etc.); not to mention proper names. International socio-political terminology penetrates through English in a considerable measure. Tagalog vocabulary expands also due to English and Filipino slang (36, p. 6). Scientific and technical terminology of the

contemporary Filipino (Tagalog) language grows not only through borrowings, but also via the terminologization of the general vocabulary as well as thanks to the terminological efforts of the INL. A tendency to replace foreign terms by Philippine became very manifest in the second half of the seventies (see 11; 28).

As to the literary Tagalog language — the language of State administration, mass media, fiction and pedagogical literature — it is being gradually standardized and unified. The national colloquial language is undergoing a process of differentiation: territorial and social dialects and subdialects are being further broken down into parts. Major territorial dialects — Manila, Bataan, Bulacan, Batangas, Tayabas (prov. Quezon) — basically arose already before the war; Baluga-Aeta, Tanay-Paete and Palanan appeared somewhat later. General norms of the colloquial language are beginning to take shape on the basis of the Manila dialect in which "bazaar Tagalog" (Tagalog-Palengke) and "mixed Tagalog" (Mestisong Tagalog), and also elements of slang (Balbal) and provincialisms (lalawiganin),and some others are present (6, pp. 296—297; 31, pp. 125—127). Among older pupils and students, speakers of the Tagalog language, the so-called "turned Tagalog" (baliktad Tagalog) or the so-called "secret language" of a type of the "broken Latin" with its anomalous derivation etc. have existed for a long time (their manifestations were described for the first time as early as the beginning of our century — see 25, pp. 23 and 136—137). Their distribution culminated in the seventies, and institutions of education and culture as well as the press protested against them (35; 36),[3] and against Tagalog slang and argot of the famous prison New Bilibid in Muntinlup (prov. Rizal) penetrating into the colloquial speech and consisting of a considerable amount of distorted foreign words (36, p. 6).

In the seventies, "mergings" and "mixings" of different kinds of the Tagalog and English languages became notable, for the most part in dialectal colloquial speech which was given the general name "Taglish" (Tagalog-English). The so-called "Baklish" (from Tagalog *bakla* "hermaphrodite") contains an especially odious vocabulary consisting of hybrid Anglo-Tagalog fabrications (*mabeauty, pangiisnob*) and combinations of words (*okey na lang, iyang makeup*), substitution of words (e.g. *Lulu* instead of *Luneta Park*), elements of "turned Tagalog" (*osip, yati* instead of *piso, tiya*) and distorted Tagalog words and combinations of words of the kind *ano fa?* or *ano fi?* instead of *ano pa?* "what more?" (35, p. 9). Below is a sample of such a dialogue from the newspaper Manila Journal (25 June — 1 July 1978):

— *Bonggang-bongga ka na naman, Manay.*
— *Siempre, kailangan magpabeauty ako. Ma pupuntang boogis dancer mamaya.*

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[3] Usage of the kind of Tagalog *bo-tak* (*takbo*) "run", *bat-si* (*sibat*) "spear", *ob-lo* (*loob*) "inside" is probably known in many languages, in particular, Russian (cf. examples of "reverse" or "gibberish" speech in Lyalenkov, V.: *Boris Kartavin. Detskii roman* (B. K. Children's Novel). Moscow—Leningrad, 1963, pp. 228—229). But they are rather widespread in Tagalog: this "language" is known to some 10—15 per cent of Tagalog speakers of the country.

— Hoy, ayusin mo pa 'yang make-up me.

— Majadera, magtigil ka! Dalawang oras na ako sa salamin.

Extreme forms of the language mixing, for the time being, were not sufficiently wide spread and are used in the contact of a rather narrow circle of Filipinos. However, some new phonetic peculiarities appear in colloquial Tagalog under the influence of English, in particular, the intonational pattern of interrogative sentences seems to be changing according to Philippine linguists, individual meanings of words are renewed and new uses of words are introduced, while the structure of the standard Tagalog sentence is getting loose (see 29, pp. 23—28). These observations, nevertheless, have not yet led to characteristic generalizations. It is needed a thorough research of similar facts and modernization of descriptions of the contemporary Tagalog language; distinguished Philippine linguists have long since been written on it (see 32).

One of the relatively new phenomena of the post-war linguistic situation in the Republic of the Philippines is a gradual promotion of Ilokano to the role of the "second common national language" and a greater use and spreading of the Arab language of the Philippine south which is spoken by more than two million Muslim Filipinos; it may be noted that local authors emphasize that Arabic is one of six official languages of the General Assembly of UNO (30, p. 4).

7. Philippine linguists write much on the perspectives of a further development of the Pilipino (Tagalog) language and try to set up prognoses, valid in varying degrees, on the basis of research of the contemporary linguistic situation in the country. Thus, A. B. Gonzalez, already mentioned, taking into account the dynamics of demographic changes according to census data, points out that between 1937 and 1970, the number of Pilipino (Tagalog) speakers rose from approximately 25 to 55.3 per cent of the population. Applying the rate of spreading of Tagalog to the subsequent period with regard to an implementation of the policy of bilingualism in the sphere of education, the steadily growing urbanization, attracting remote territories and formerly backward nationalities and national groups into public and cultural life under conditions of the rapid socio-economic development of the country, he maintains that by the year 2000, practically all the 83 million inhabitants of the Republic of the Philippines will have mastered the common national language (17, pp. 284—286).

The Tagalog language is hardly threatened by dangers presented by mixing or even "destruction": there are probably no absolutely "pure" languages according to their lexical structure at all in the world. According to the calculation of J. V. Panganiban, former director of the INL, concerning 1963, among 30,000 root-words of the Pilipino (Tagalog) language there are 3,200 of a common Austronesian origin, 1,500 Chinese, 5,000 Spanish, 1,500 Anglo-American; the rest is of common Philippine and Bisayan, Ilokano, Bikol, Kapampangan, Pangasinan origin and from the Maguindanao language (33, p. 198). Data of the relatively recent analyses of word

frequency in printed texts of Tagalog and Tagalog-English weeklies and monthlies give evidence that proper Philippine (Tagalog) words display a considerably greater frequency than foreign borrowings (9, p. 141).

Works of the last decade prove unanimously that Philippine national linguistics which first appeared practically in the twenties of the twentieth century, reached a new stage utilizing all achievements of classical and contemporary linguistics, and made a vital contribution to the research of Philippine languages nowadays (24, pp. 132—133). It is fully able to ensure grammatical, lexical and lexicographical descriptions of the national colloquial Tagalog language favouring its functioning as the common national language of the Philippines. Thus, very useful investigations of mutual influence of languages and dialects, research of the spread of Tagalog and Ilokano as second languages were made in the remote eastern coast of the island Luzon (18, pp. 47—54). Scientific foundations, contemporary methods of teaching of Tagalog under various conditions using scientific terminology, elaborations of phonetics and phonology are being worked out, text-books on various disciplines (not only in the humanitarian field but also in natural sciences) are being prepared in the Tagalog language; study and instruction of the Philippine literature on all levels is being improved (see 12; 13).

The linguistic situation and language policy of the Republic of the Philippines have not been studied exhaustively. Let us only mention that in the seventies Philippine linguists investigated two recently discovered Philippine languages — Tasaday-Manube and Tao't Bato (22; 37); further discoveries of similar kind are still possible. Yet not all factors which influence the evolution of the language and linguistic situation in the Philippines as a whole have been investigated; also the trend of language changes under the influence of both external and internal factors has not been definitely elucidated.

However, in spite of this, "the Pilipino language based on Tagalog", as correctly mentioned by A. B. Gonzalez, "continues to remain the national language" (15, p. 332). Indeed, the Tagalog language, whether termed "National" or "Philippine" (Pilipino and Filipino), remains the only real existing Philippine national language, constantly and steadily spreading the sphere of its functioning. And there is hardly any need to establish another common national language. Thinking about the future of the national language, which Philippine linguists constantly call for (4, pp. 22—23), it is necessary to take into consideration the reality of the linguistic situation in the language question over an artificial one. Gonzalez's prognoses on the almost 100 per cent spreading of the Pilipino (Tagalog) language by the year 2000 need not be fully confirmed since, as is generally known, demographic processes, and also processes of language development, never take place in a "pure" form, because heterogeneous tendencies counteracting one another and too numerous factors influence them. However, the Tagalog language is capable of becoming the national

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unity language to a far greater extent than any other of the languages of the Republic of the Philippines, whether natural or artificial.

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THE CONCEPTUAL CATEGORY OF SPACE
IN THE SURFACE STRUCTURE OF BENGALI

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The aim of this study is to find out which linguistic means are used in Bengali to manifest the universal logico-semantic category of space in the surface structure of the language. .

Every objectively existing extralinguistic reality which enters human consciousness, becomes manifest also in language, in its deep, as well as surface structure, and, on the other hand, becomes fixed through linguistic means. However, the manifestation of a universal deep category can differ in various languages. We shall concentrate on one of the most fundamental conceptual categories, the category of space, which, in various languages, can be formally manifested e.g. by a system of demonstrative pronouns, spatial prepositions, spatial adverbs, and various verb prefixes,etc., and also by a combination of more formal linguistic means.[1] Thus, for instance, in Slovak it can be expressed by the combination of a preposition, a case ending and a verb prefix. In *vyletieť z domu* (to fly out of a house), the combination of verb prefix *vy-*, preposition *z* and the case ending *-u* signals the movement of an object directed outward of another object.

When the position as well as the result of a directed movement of an object are to be specified, it is indispensable that there be at least one more object in regard to which a given object is being determined.

An object can be in several spatial relationships with another object; all spatial relationships may be divided into two basic types, i.e. static and dynamic.

By a static spatial relationship is understood the position of an object in regard to another object. There are several sorts of this relationship. An object can be included within another object, it can be in a close contact with it, in a non-close contact with an object from above, from below, from the front, from the back or from an unspecified side.

A dynamic spatial relationship implies a directed movement of an object with regard to another object. A movement of an object can be directed to reach

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[1] This question has been discussed, though in a little different context, in the paper *Poznámky o systéme priestorových predložiek v slovenčine* (Remarks on the system of the spatial prepositions in Slovak) by Július Rybák (Jazykovedný Čas., *XXV*, 1974, No. 2, pp. 128—141, which has inspired me to write this study.

a position inside of another object or outside of it, it can be directed to achieve a close contact with another object or to breaking off close contact with it, to reach a nonclose contact with an object from above, from below, from the front, from the back or from an unspecified side, to circumventing an object or getting to close vicinity with another object.

The aim of this study is to determine how the universal logico-semantic deep category of space becomes manifest in the surface structure of Bengali.

Spatial relationships in Bengali can be expressed by the aid of postpositions, adverbs, locative forms of a noun with regard to which a spatial relationship of another object is being determined, and by the aid of verbs. However, these linguistic means are not equivalent in the given function as regards their distribution, and especially their ability to express all the given spatial relationships.

The most differentiated means for expressing spatial relationships are postpositions, i.e. the postpositions *upar (opar), upare (opare), kāche, cāridike, cāripāśe, theke, dike, diye, dhare, nice (nīce), pāne, pāśe, paryanta, pichane (pechane), piche, prati, bāhire (bāire), bhitare, mājhkhāne, mājhe, madhye, sammukhe, sāmne.* We call them spatial postpositions in order to differentiate them from postpositions by the aid of which some other relationships (e.g. those of time, cause, etc.) can be expressed.

Many spatial postpositions in Bengali are secondary postpositions. Besides petrified verb forms (perfect participles *theke, diye* and imperfect participle *hate*), there are also petrified locative forms of nouns, i.e. *kāche* < *kāch* (side, neighbourhood), *cāridike, dike* < *dik* (direction), *cāripāśe, pāśe* < *pāś* (side), *piche* < *pich, pith* (back), *bhitare* < *bhitar* (the inside), *bāhire* < *bāhir* (the outside), *madhye* < *madhya* (the middle), *mājhe* < *mājh* (the middle), *sammukhe* < *sammukh* (the front), *sāmne* < *sāmnā* (the front).

Bengali postpositions are inflexible words (similarly as prepositions in many other languages; the term postposition is being used because these words occur always behind a governing word), although isolated instances can be found of their occurrence with a case ending, e.g. *khuku āmāder bārir sāmner māṭhṭā diye douṛe āsche* (SG 73)[2] — Khuku is running through the ground in front of our house.

Sāmner in this sentence is evidently a postposition. This is shown by its function in the text, its occurrence with a noun in the genitive form and in this concrete sentence

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[2] The examples are from the following books:

SG — Sunīl Gangopādhyāyer *Galpasaṅgraha* (pratham khaṇḍa). Kalkātā, Biśvabānī prakāśanī 1979, 350 pp.

B — Basu, Samareś: *Oder balte dāo.* Kalikātā, Ānanda pāblīśārs prāibheṭ limiṭeḍ 1973, 127 pp.

T — Thākur, Rabīndranāth: *Galpaguccha* (dvitīya bhāg). Kalikātā, Iṇḍiyān pābliśiṅ hāus, n.d., 224 pp.

The numbers denote pages.

also by the fact that the genitive ending -r is adjoined to the petrified locative form *sāmne* (= postposition), not to the base *sāmnā*.

Bengali postpositions can express all sorts of spatial relationships as is shown below:

The inclusion of an object in another object can be expressed by the postpositions *bhitare, madhye, mājhkhāne, mājhe.*

or bhetare āche māthār khuliṭā (SG 167) — There is the skull in it.

ek pārār madhei bāṛi (SG 77) — The house is in the same district.

anekgulo sādhāraṇ hāṅser madhye ekṭi rājhāṅsī chila (SG 81) — Among many ordinary geese there was a swan on the pond.

Closeness of contact of an object with another object is expressed by the postpositions *upar (opar), upare (opare).*

āpiser kāṭher coukir upar basiyā poṣṭmāṣṭāro nijer gharer kathāṭā pāṛiten (T II-19) — Also the postmaster, sitting on the wooden stool in his office, used to speak about his home.

ebam rāṅā ṭhōṭer upare ye mṛdu hāsiṭuku chila... (T II-58) — and soft smile on my red lips...

Non closeness of contact of an object with another object from above may be expressed by the aid of the postposition *upar (opar).*

eman samay māthār opar guṃguṃ śabda halo (SG 181) — Then they heard a repeated thudding noise above their heads.

Non-closeness of contact of an object with another object from below can be expressed by the postposition *nice (nīce).*

mane hacche, er nice āro hāṛgoṛ āche (SG 164) — It seems, there are some more bones below it.

Non-closeness of contact of an object with another object from the front can be expressed by the postpositions *sammukhe, sāmne.*

āynār sāmne khuku anekṣaṇ nijeke ghuriye phiriye dekhla (SG 71) — For a long time Khuku was turning round in front of the mirror and looking at herself.

Non-closeness of contact of an object with another object from the back can be expressed by the postpositions *pichane (pechane), piche.*

rīnā raila sabār pechane (SG 165) — Rina lagged behind them all.

Non-closeness of contact of an object with another object from an unspecified side can be expressed by the aid of the postpositions *kāche, dhāre, pāśe.*

khāli mane hacche māthār kāche ke yena dằṛiye āche (SG 166) — It seems to her as if anybody silently stayed near her head.

jānālār dhārei jāygā pāoyā geche (SG 70) — He has got a place at the window.

jānālār pāśe jāygā nā pele rāg dhare (SG 71) — I am angry if I do not get a place at the window.

The direction of a movement, the result of which is the inclusion of an object in another object can be expressed by the postpositions *bhitare, madhye.*

bhir ṭhele bāṛir ekebāre bhetare cale elo ek yubak (SG 172) — A young man pushed off the crowd and walked into the house.

dīpu tatakṣane hāte śābal niye gartatār madhye neme pareche (SG 170) — At that time Dipu, with a crowbar in his hand, has got down to the pit.

The direction of a movement which results in the exclusion of an object from another object is expressed by the aid of the postpositions *theke, bāhire (bāire), hate.*

se ye ghar theke beriyechila, setāi dīpur jānbār darkār nei (SG 168) — Dipu need not know that she has gone out of her room.

sādharaṇa se pātlā svaccha nāiṭi pare gharer bāire beroy nā rāttire (SG 167) — In the night, she usually does not go out of her room wearing a fine, transparent nighty.

sandhyār samay yakhan grāmer goyālghar haite dhum kuṇḍalāyita haiyā uṭhita... (T II-17) — In the evening, when smoke was rising from the village cowsheds...

The direction of a movement resulting in achieving a close contact with another object is expressed by the help of postpositions *upar (opar), upare (opare).*

...eso ghāser opar ekṭu basi... (SG 176) — Come, let's sit down on the grass for a while...

...yena klānta dharanīr uṣṇa niśvās gāyer upare āsiyā lāgiteche... (T II-19) — ...as if the hot breath of the tired earth was reaching the body...

The direction of a movement resulting in breaking off a close contact with another object can be expressed by the postpositions *theke, hate.*

bằśi śoubhiker cokh theke cokh sarālo nā (B 15) — Banśi did not avert her eyes from the eyes of Śaubhik.

The direction of a movement the result of which is achieving a non-closeness of contact of an object with another object from above can be expressed by the postposition *upar (opar).*

The direction of a movement the result of which is achieving a non-closeness of contact with another object from below is expressed by the aid of the postposition *nice (nīce).*

...*khāṭer niceo ekbār ūki mere dekhlo* (SG 165) — ...she has peeped even under the bed.

The direction of a movement resulting in achieving a non-closeness of contact with another object from the front is expressed by the postposition *sāmne*.

tārpar tāke āynār sāmne dā̃ṛ kariye ballen (SG 76) — Then she placed her in front of the mirror and said.

The direction of a movement resulting in achieving a non-closeness of contact with another object from the back can be expressed by the postpositions *piche*, *pichane (pechane)*.

āmāder bāṛir pechane kāṭhṭā niye rekho — Take this wood and put it behind our house.

The direction of a movement resulting in a non closeness of contact with another object from unspecified side is expressed by the postpositions *kāche, dike, pāne, pāśe, prati*.

śiprā bhiṛ theke ekṭu sare cale elo sīṛir kāche, rameno ek phāke ese gela tār pāśe (SG 172) — Sipra withdrew herself from the crowd a little and went to the staircase, Ramen also went through an open space and came to her.

tabu bojhā yāy, lokṭā rīnār dikei ceye āche (SG 175) — But it is clear that the man is looking at (towards) Rina.

rahmat kālpanik śvaśurer prati prakāṇḍa moṭā muṣṭi āsphālan kariyā balita (T II-137) — Rahmat brandished his strong, huge fist in the direction of an imaginary father-in-law and said.

The movement resulting in passing through another object can be expressed by the help of the postposition *diye*.

āmi ābār jānlār diye bāire tākiye railām (SG 71) — Again I was looking outside through the window.

The movement resulting in circumvention of another object is expressed by the aid of the postpositions *cāridike, cāripāśe*.

sei postāpis grher cāridike...ghuriyā ghuriyā beṛāitechila (T II-26) — She rambled round the post-office.

anya hā̃sgulo tār cārpāśe ghire thāke (SG 81) — Other swans surrounded it.

The movement resulting in a close nearness with another object can be expressed by the postposition *paryanta*.

dhuti ār hyāṇḍlumer pāñjābi parā, pāñjābir hātā konui paryanta goṭāno (SG 172) — He wore dhuti and hand-woven punjabi, the sleeves of punjabi tucked up the elbows.

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In Bengali, spatial relationships can be expressed also by a combination of two spatial postpositions (similarly as in some other languages, e.g. in English "from below a house", in Slovak "*spopod domu*", in Bengali "*bārir nic theke*").

The role of compound postpositions is to express a given spatial relationship, a movement directed to achieve a certain position of an object with regard to another object, more precisely. For instance, *upar diye*: the first component of this combination usually expresses that an object is in a close contact with another object, or that it moves to achieve a close contact with another object (e.g. *baiṭā ṭebiler upar* — a book is on the table ; *baiṭā ṭebiler upar diyechi* — I have put a book on the table). The second component of the given combination, i.e. postposition *diye* expresses that an object moves through another object. The combination *upar diye* means that an object is moving (closely) through the surface of another object.

...*ghāser opar diye hā͂ṭte lāglo* (SG 175) — She started to walk through the grass.

In this way it is possible to explain also the meaning of some other combinations of postpositions, e.g. *kāch diye, madhya diye, pechan dike, bhetar theke, opar theke, pechan theke, kāch theke, pās theke*, etc. The first component of such combinations usually determines a position from which, to which or through which an object is moving. It often specifies more precisely a spatial relationship (e.g. *ṭebiler theke* — "from the position on a table", *ṭebiler bhitar theke* — "from the position inside a table", *ṭebiler upar theke* — "from the position on a table").

ekṭu bāde pechan dike ghāṛ phiriye dekhi sei lokṭir saṅge khuku kathā balche (SG 71) — After a while, when I turned my head, I saw Khuku talking to that man.

khuku āro du'ekbār cale gela āmār kāch diye, āmār dike ār tākācche nā (SG 71) — Khuku walked past me several times but did not look at me any more.

pārār madhya diye sojā rāstā (SG 77) — A straight road leads through the district.

rīnā thõṭer opar theke śubimaler āṅgulgulo sariye diye... (SG 177) — Rina gave Subimal's fingers away from her lips...

pārāy cheleder kāch theke sandhān pāoyā gela... (SG 78) — They have found out from the district boys...

saṅge saṅge khāṭer pās theke tarcṭā niyei bāire beriye gela (SG 186) — At the same time he took a torch from near his bed and went outside.

bandhya bāthrumer bhetar theke rīnā jabāb dila (SG 162) — Rina gave an answer from inside the closed bathroom.

As a rule, the first component of a combination of two spatial postpositions does not occur in the locative form.

There are many spatial postpositions in Bengali which can express both a static as well as a dynamic spatial relationship. This means, that a spatial postposition by itself does not usually signal whether an objectively existing static or dynamic spatial relationship is expressed. Neither is this signalled by the connection of postpositions with a noun with which a spatial relationship is being determined.

The majority of spatial postpositions in Bengali occur with a noun in the genitive

form (*upar, upare, kāche, cāridike, cāripāśe, dike, dhāre, nice, diye, pāne, pāśe, piche, pichane, bāhire, bhitare, madhye, mājhkhāne, mājhe, sammukhe, sāmne*), some of them with a noun in the nominative form (*theke, paryanta, hate*). But in Bengali, it is impossible to distinguish between static and dynamic spatial relationships according to the occurrence of a postposition with certain case endings in contrast to some languages, e.g. Slovak, where, while using the same preposition, the type of spatial relationship is determined by the aid of a case ending (e.g. a static spatial relationship: *na dome* (on a house) is expressed by the preposition *na* + the noun in the locative form; a dynamic relationship: *na dom* (to put on a house) is expressed by the same preposition *na* + the noun in the accusative form).

It follows that verb is the fundamental means for distinguishing between the static and the dynamic nature of spatial relationships in Bengali. It is often only the choice of a dynamic or a static verb which determines the type of spatial relationship.

bārir sāmner rāstātā takhan loke lokāraṅya (SG 172) — There was a vast crowd of people in front of the house then.

tārpar tāke āynār sāmne dāṛ kariye ballen (SG 76) — Then she placed her in front of the mirror and said.

o to ramajānder bārir geṭer sāmne nimgācher chāyāy basechila, ār or sāmnei thap kare beṛālṭā paṛeche... (B 1) — She was sitting in the shadow of a nim in front of the Ramajans' gate and the cat fell down just in front of her...

Spatial relationships in Bengali can be expressed also by the aid of a system of spatial adverbs, many of which are homonymous with spatial postpositions. They differ in that postpositions are able to realize their lexical meaning only in close combination with a case ending of a governing word (usually a noun) in regard to which a spatial relationship is being determined, and by the ability of adverbs to express the same spatial relationships independently.

or bhetare āche māthār khuliṭā (SG 167) — There is a skull in it.

khuliṭā satyii khub purono, bhetare māṭi bharti (SG 164) — The skull is really very old, it is full of earth inside.

mane hacche, er nice āro hāṛgoṛ āche (SG 164) — It seems, there are some more bones below it.

āy nā ekbār nice (SG 162) — Come down at once!

A spatial relationship can be expressed also by the aid of a combination of two spatial adverbs. Contrary to a combination of two spatial postpositions, the first component can retain its locative form and even occur in the genitive form.

ramajān nice theke mai niye giye... (B 3) — Ramajan, having come from below with a ladder...

dīpu cāpā galāy bāire theke jijñas karlo (SG 168) — Dipu asked a question from outside.

rīnā bārāndāy giye oparer dike ūki mere ballo (SG 182) — Rina went to the verandah, looked above and said.

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The dynamic and static nature of spatial relationships is distinguished (similarly as that of postpositions) only by the verb.

However, the Bengali verb is not able by itself to express any dynamic spatial relationship, i.e. a movement resulting in reaching a position (though it is only a verb to which usually an ability to express a dynamic feature of a thing is ascribed), in contrast to verbs in e.g. Slav languages, where various spatial relationships are reflected also in verb prefixes. For instance, prefix *v-* in Slovak verb *vletiet'* (to fly into) signals the inclusion of an object in another object, prefix *vy-* in verb *vyletiet'* (to fly out of) signals a movement from inside of an object, prefix *za-* in *zaletiet'* (to fly beyond) signals movement behind, beyond an object, etc.

In Bengali, there are only a few verbs that can express by themselves certain spatial relationships, e.g. the verb *āsā* — to come, the semantic of which determines a sort of movement of an object in regard to another object, i.e. movement towards another object. In the compound verbs *niye yāoyā* (to take away), *phire yāoyā* (to come back), the ability to express certain spatial relationships (movement from and movement towards respectively) is achieved also by the otherwise neutral verb *yāoyā* — to go.

And finally, in Bengali, spatial relationships can be expressed by the locative form of a noun in regard to which a spatial relationship is being determined. Spatial relationship is expressed quite undifferentiatedly, e.g. *hāte* can have the meaning of "in a hand", "on a hand" as well as "to a hand".

guṇḍā-baḍamāisder hāte paṛtei pāre (SG 165) — He can fall into the hands of rough, wicked persons.

kāñcār hāte ekṭā śābal (SG 163) — There is a crowbar in a Kanca's hand.

Also here it is valid to state that an objectively existing dynamic and static nature of a spatial relationship is distinguished only by a verb.

SEMANTIC ASPECTS
OF LEXICAL BORROWING IN ARABIC

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The present paper surveys a number of problems associated with the definition and classification of semantic borrowings in Modern Written Arabic. The proper aim of the study, however, is to create a classificatory frame which would make it possible to incorporate various types of descriptive terms, coined under the impact of foreign linguistic stimuli, in a unique body of semantic loans.

1. The direct and straightforward transfer of foreign lexical units from the source to the recipient language[1] is not the unique manifestation of lexical borrowing. Procedures of borrowing, based upon a simultaneous transfer of the phonetic form of a foreign morpheme together with its meaning, either partial or total at both poles of the process, are matched by a number of exclusively semantic procedures involving a partial or a total transfer of the meaning of the foreign morpheme only. While the former type of borrowing, displaying transfer phenomena at both semantic and formal levels of the procedure (hence loanforms[2]), is procedurally homogeneous, the latter type, combining the transfer of meaning with the substitution of the native morpheme for that of the model,[3] differs from the former by its well-marked procedural heterogeneity. Since the process of substitution necessarily leads to a shift in the semantic range of the native morpheme, substituted for the foreign one, borrowings of the latter type are sometimes referred to as loanshifts.[4]

The lack of transfer phenomena at the formal level of the procedure creates a number of specific problems in every serious attempt to define and classify loanshifts. An even more difficult task is to identify them at all and to distinguish, without resorting to unambiguous formal criteria, between true 'borrowed' innova-

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[1] The language of the model, or the source language, is in literature alternatively referred to as the lending, donor, model or secondary language, while the language of the replica, or the recipient language, as the borrowing, native, or primary language, or as the mother tongue (cf. S, 32; note 1).

[2] Haugen's 'imported lexeme' (Hg., 265); Sa'id's 'loanform' (S 39 ff). Loanforms are here defined as 'borrowings in which the phonemic shape of a simple word and its content are transferred into the recipient language, but no morphemic substitution takes place'.

[3] Haugen, E.: *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior.* 2 Vols. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press 1953. See Vol. 2, p. 391 (requoted after S, 100).

[4] Cf. S, 100. The term 'loanshift' is a Haugen's neologism (see note 3 above). For the latter see also Hg., 265.

tions, stimulated by foreign linguistic models, and native innovations, stimulated by the mere impact of extra-linguistic reality.

While, in loanforms like *tilivisyōn* (W, 96), *talavizyōn* (S, 49) "television"; *fītāmīn* (W, 734), *vītāmīn* (S, 35), *fitamīn, faytamīn* (B, 115) "vitamin"; *maykrūb* (M, 194), *mikrūb* (W, 917),[5] or even in loan derivatives, such as *mu'aksid* "oxidant" (Kh., 424), "oxidizer" (Kh., 425); *muta'aksid* "oxidized"; *'aksada* "oxidization"; *ta'aksud* "oxidation, oxidization (intr.)" (Kh., 425), etc. — their foreign origin may be recognized quite unambiguously, the same does not hold true of semantic innovations where the foreign linguistic stimuli are by far less obvious. In semantic neologisms like *nawāh* "date pit" — "atomic nucleus" (M, 171) or *mizalla* "umbrella, parasol" — "parachute",[6] the impact of a foreign linguistic stimulus, despite a relatively high rate of probability speaking in favour of its real existence, can neither convincingly be proved, nor unambiguously related to that of an extra-linguistic bit of reality undergoing innovation.

The relatively high rate of intuitiveness and subjective appreciation necessarily involved in defining true loanshifts, coined on foreign linguistic models, as against native semantic innovations, more or less exclusively stimulated by scientific, technological and generally cultural progress, may best be illustrated by frequent cases of meta-linguistic variation observable between various scholars concerned with the matter.

For Stetkevych, for instance, neologisms like *sinā'a* "craft, art" — "industry"; *tibā'a* "art of sword manufacturing" — "art of printing"; *sawwāq* "driver of cattle" — "driver, chauffeur"; *mijhar* "microscope"; *mijhār* "loudspeaker" (St., 18—19); *mis'ad* "elevator" (apparently related to the classical *mis'ād* "an instrument for climbing palm-trees"); *mirwaha* "fan" — "propeller"; *masna'* "factory"; *matba'* "printing house, press"; *matār* "a place from which, or to which, a bird flies" — "airport"; *mahatta* "a place where something (a load) is put down", "a place where one alights" — "station; railroad, broadcasting"; *sayyāra* "automobile"; *dabbāba* "the medieval war machine 'testudo'" — "tank" (St., 20—21), etc. — are

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[5] The immediate donor language cannot always be unambiguously identified, especially in the internationally circulating terms like *kīlōmitr, tilivisyōn*, and the like. Neither is it possible to rely, in this respect, on the apparently self-evident phonological features in pairs like *maykrūb* (M, 194)/*mikrūb* (W, 917) or *haydrujīn* (S, 67)/*hidrōžēn* (W, 1042), where the presence of the diphthong seems to point to the English, while its absence, to the French origin of this borrowing. The same feature may reflect various aspects of linguistic prestige or, simply, an individual proficiency in one foreign language or in another. For the latter attitude see also B, 115.

[6] Properly, in its unreduced form, *mizalla wāqiya* (lit. 'protecting umbrella'), *mizalla hābita* (lit. 'landing umbrella') (W, 582), or *mizallat al-hubūt* "id." *mizallat an-najāh* (lit. 'rescue umbrella') (D, 869). From the set of other alternants cf. also *mihbata* (viz. 'landing device') and a loanform *pārāšūt*, quoted besides *mizalla* (Kh., 429). It is worthwhile noting that the rate of substitution and transfer phenomena, represented in any given loanform, displays a very high degree of variability, viz. (less Arabicized) *pārāšūt* (see above)/(more Arabicized) *bārāšūt* (D, 866).

(native) coinages which are products of a regular derivation (*'ištiqāq*) and/or of a figurative semantic extension (*al-majāz, al-waḍ' bi-l-majāz*).

Monteil, on the other hand, refers to neologisms which correspond to the European-origin *termini technici* in -*scope,* -*meter,* -*graph,* and some other suffixes, as to products of translation from the European languages (viz. 'la traduction en arabe des noms techniques européens'), e.g.: *mujhir, mijhar* "microscope"; *mijhār* "loudspeaker"; *mirqab* "periscope"; *mityāf* "spectroscope" (M, 144). Substantially the same attitude is adopted towards bicomponental phrasal units of the type *miqyās aṭ-ṭayf* "spectrometer"; *minẓār aṭ-ṭayf, kāšif aṭ-ṭayf* "spectroscope"; *rāsim aṭ-ṭayf, muṣawwir aṭ-ṭayf* "spectrograph"; *miqyās al-katāfa* "densimeter", etc. (M, 144—145).[7]

Likewise, Sa'id's classification of these and similar types of neologisms starts from the assumption that terms like *mimlāh* "dictaphone", *ma'lama* "encyclopedia" (Maḥmūd Taymūr's coinages, 1961), etc., are not merely indigenous creations backed up with the emergence of cultural innovations that require designation, but rather coinages created under the impetus of a foreign linguistic model. Accordingly, these terms are treated as true loanshifts (S, 103: loanshift creation).

Generally, in current lexicological descriptions of Arabic a rather narrow delimitation of the domain of lexical borrowing tends to be adopted. With most authors, substantially no matter whether of an Arab or a non-Arab linguistic and cultural background, the latter domain coincides, in broad lines, with what corresponds, in the traditional Arab wording, to the output of *ta'rīb* (Arabization: loanforms).[8]

Essentially, the same delimitation may be found with Hamzaoui, as well. Despite his recognition that a number of Arabic words are obtained by way of translation, the latter procedure is related to what Hamzaoui, following Monteil, somehow liberally (and also contrarily to the Arab tradition) classifies under *naḥt* (compounding):

barqiyya "telegram",
hātif "telephone",
mijhar 'microscope',
mušattar "sandwich".

Terms of various syntactic patterns are, in this presentation, classified as *naḥt*-featured calques (véritables calques):

mustaqīmāt al-'ajniha "Orthoptera",
al-'amrāḍ az-zuhariyya "venereal diseases",
fa'iliyyat al-'ašī''a "radioactivity",
nāṭiḥat as-saḥāb (S, 105: *nāṭiḥat saḥāb*) "skyscraper" (H, 32—33), etc.

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[7] Of course, some of these coinages have by now fallen into disuse. For the chronology see the source quoted in the text.

[8] For possible interpretations of the term *ta'rīb*, as well as for its classification as a word-formational procedure, see also our paper *Lexical Innovation Through Borrowing as Presented by the Arab Scholars.* In: *Asian and African Studies, 15,* 1979, pp. 21—29.

The lexical domain of loan translation is, in Hamzaoui's interpretation of facts, the unique semantic representative of lexical borrowing to match that of loanforms (*ta^crīb*).

1.1 Since it is virtually impossible to trace down the word-formational history of every individual creation and, even in the positive case, it is hardly possible to draw a clear-cut dividing line between linguistic and extra-linguistic stimuli of word-formation, as well as to state their respective relevance in every particular case, a certain degree of impressionism seems to be here unavoidable. In order to compensate for the lack of formal criteria, a less categoric wording will be adopted in dealing with semantic innovations than that usually met with in linguistic descriptions. The latter attitude stems from the assumption that there is hardly any foreign linguistic stimulus which would operate quite independently of the extra-linguistic innovation to be designated. And, reversely, since the bulk of scientific and technological innovations have been, as they continually are, transmitted to the nineteenth and twentieth century Arab World by means of linguistic media prior to their factual emergence in the native cultural area, the over-all picture of diffuseness and permeability, observable between both types of stimuli, seems to be corroborated from the opposite side of this dichotomy, as well.

When viewed from this point of view, the mass of semantic innovations, unless being quite patently and attestably moulded on foreign models, will be interpreted as native coinages and that despite the obvious fact that a foreign linguistic influence can almost never be convincingly excluded. The latter attitude will be adopted towards neologisms like *sinā^ca* "industry" (and its derivatives: *sinā^cī* "industrial", *tasnī^c* "industrialization", *masnū^cāt* "(industrial) products, produce, articles, manufactured goods", *masna^c* "factory, plant" (W, 526—7); *tawra* "revolution" (*tawrī*, *tawrawī* "revolutionary" (adj. and n.), *tā'ir* pl. *tuwwār* "insurgent, revolutionary" (W, 109)); *mujtama^c* "society; human society" (as related to *al-'ijtimā^c* "human society", hence *'ijtimā^cī* "social" (W, 136—7)), as well as to other terms of similar linguistic and civilizatory background.

As will be attempted to show in what follows, the lexical evolution towards these recently used units has frequently imposed considerable restrictions upon older semantic relationships, previously associated with them, especially in the domain of synonymy and polysemy.

In the early nineteenth century Arabic, Bocthor's equivalents of 'industry' which are still identified with "skill, know-how, labour" (viz. 'industrie' — 'adresse à savoir faire, travail'), involved quite a long series of synonymous and nearly synonymous terms, viz. *kadd* "labour, toil", *hirfa* "craft, trade", *ma^crifa* "experience, skill, know-how", *šatāra* "skill, cleverness" and, as the last item of the series, *sinā^ca* "art, skill, handicraft, trade, craft" (Bc., I, 432). The adjective 'industrial' ('industriel') has accordingly been interpreted as 'produced by the industry' ('produit par l'industrie'), the latter being in turn rendered by *šuġl 'ahl as-sanāyi^c* (ibid., 433).

The modern Standard Arabic term ṣināᶜa, as well as its derivatives, are by now the only ones to refer to the modern concept of industry. Nevertheless, this restriction to ṣināᶜa, although paralleled by a considerable reduction of the primitive set of meaning units associated therewith, did not lead to a total breakdown of the polysemous relationship between particular constituents of its semantic contents. The latter may still be observed, in its nineteenth century featuring, or one standing very closely to the latter, in a number of phrasal units, such as ṣināᶜa šarīfa "honourable, respectable trade", 'arbāb aṣ-ṣināᶜāt "the artisans, craftsmen", 'aṣḥāb aṣ-ṣanā'iᶜ wa-l-ḥiraf "artisans and tradesmen" (W, 526), and the like.

Similar reductions of synonymic series may be accompanied by the emergence of short-lived coinages which are subsequently supplanted by others, obtained mostly by way of semantic extension, which do not belong to the underlying stock. Among Bocthor's terms having to cover the modern concept of 'revolution', no mention of ṭawra can be found as yet, viz. taġyīr (properly 'change'), taqallub, inqilāb ('overthrow') (Bc., II, 284). As shown by Stetkevych, the latter neologism entered into usage towards the end of the nineteenth century as a result of a semantic extension of the classical meaning "excitement" (St., 27).[9] Nevertheless, the most striking of all Bocthor's items, associated with 'revolution', is qawma,[10] synony-mously related to taġyīr in contexts like min 'aṣḥāb taġyīr al-ḥukm, or min 'aṣḥāb al-qawma "revolutionary, supporter of a revolution" ("révolutionnaire, qui est partisan d'une révolution"), quoted under "révolutionnaire" (Bc., II, 284). The term may further be found in qawmat 'ahl al-bilād ᶜalā baᶜḍihim "civil war", quoted under "civil", viz. "guerre civile" (Bc., I, 159),[11] as well as in qawmat šaᶜb ᶜalā al-ḥukm "insurrection", quoted under "insurrection (soulèvement d'un peuple contre un gouvernement)" (Bc., I, 442).

Owing to the formation of a nisba adjective qawmī "revolutionary" (Bc., II, 284; cf. also Bc., I, 442: "insurrectionnel"), and entirely new polysemous relationship between "tribal, ethnic" (qawmī, from qawm) and "revolutionary, insurgent" (qawmī, from qawma) has been created for the ephemeral lifetime of qawma and its derivatives.[12]

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[9] For the term taġayyur, derivationally closely related to the Bocthor-quoted taġyīr (the latter possibly implying an externally stimulated development), and for its use by the early translators in the period of Muhammad ᶜAlī, see ibidem.

[10] The term is a verbal noun derived from the verb qāma (ᶜalayhi) "to rise or turn against s.o., revolt or rebel against s.c., attack s.o." (W, 798).

[11] For some other sources in which qawma and some of its derivatives may be found, see Dozy, II, 425.

[12] It should be noted that the modern term qawmī "national, ethnic, racial" is, on the same basis, related to qawmī (derived by back-formation from qawmiyya) "national, nationalist, nationalistic". Nevertheless, the Bocthorian Arabic of the early nineteenth century did not, as yet, associate the concept of 'nation' with qawm or qawmiyya. Terms like milla or ṭāyifa (class. ṭā'ifa) had been used instead (Bc., II, 82).

The procedure of meaning extension is frequently used in generating new lexical units to mark a new and thoroughly modernized concept even in cases where passable terms have already been in existence. Thus Bocthor's *jam'iyya, 'ijtima'iyya* "society" ("société", defined as "assemblage d'hommes unis par la nature et les lois" (Bc., II, 324)) or, simply, *jam'iyya*, quoted under "réunion, société" (ibid., 280), is nowadays replaced by a twentieth century word *mujtama'*, obtained by way of extension of the old meaning "gathering place" (St., 25).

2. The proper aim of the present paper, however, is to propose an extension to the classification of semantic innovations based on native carriers of the lexical meaning, notably those of them which are possibly stimulated by foreign linguistic models, in order to incorporate in it an immense lexical domain constituted by various descriptive terms. In view of a relatively low degree of terminological and generally lexical codification in the present-day Arab world, the number of various *ad hoc* coined descriptions is steadily increasing. These multicomponent terms of various syntactic patterns may range from very lacunary and impressionistic ones, up to fairly complete and truly scientific definitions which are frequently used besides or instead of true (viz. codified[13]) terminological units. As against the whole domain of the Haugen-defined 'loanshifts', the descriptive terms bearing marks of foreign influence[14] exhibit a vague and random model–replica relationship which cannot further be classified in terms of the classification applied to loanshifts. From the latter distinction the basic dichotomous ramification between classifiable (viz. loanshifts) and unclassifiable (viz. (loan) descriptions) will be derived in what follows.

The most immediate linking point between the two domains coincides with calques or with what Haugen calls 'loan creations'.[15] Accordingly, the most immediate attention will be paid to the latter class of semantic innovations as well as to their relation to various periphrases and descriptions.

2.1 When attempting, then, to include descriptions in a single body of semantic loans on the criterial basis of classifiability, as applied to their model–replica relationship, a meta-procedural step of classifying the ability for classification is required. In virtue of the latter criterion, the following classes will be obtained:

(1) loans displaying a classifiable model–replica relationship (loanshifts), and

(2) loans displaying a further unclassifiable model–replica relationship ((loan) descriptions).

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[13] By a codificative or norm-giving authority or, at least, sanctioned by a relatively long usage and a reasonably wide acceptance.

[14] Despite the haphazard structural featuring of these terms which results from the impossibility to establish a component-to-component identity of the model–replica relationship, it would perhaps be possible to speak of 'loan descriptions'.

[15] Cf. Hg., 265. For their relation to Sa'id's 'loan translation' and 'loan rendition', see later on in the text.

2.1.1 As stated above, from the set of loanshift classes,[16] the calques are of most immediate relevance to the study of descriptive terms stimulated by foreign linguistic models. In dealing with the calques, we shall rely on Sa'id's definition and classification of the latter. First, the calques will exclusively be identified with an Arabic replica matching a complex (or multiple) foreign model (cf. S, 104—105). Furthermore, the distinction between a full (viz. loan translation) and a partial degree of matching between the components of the model and those of the replica (viz. loan rendition), will be adopted too (see S, 105—106). The latter distinction is of a twofold use to our purpose: (1) it makes it possible to refine the description of borrowings on the loanshift side of the bipartition just introduced, and (2) it marks the meeting point between loanshifts and descriptive terms coined under the impact of foreign linguistic models. Despite the fact that the lexicon of Modern Written Arabic contains a huge number of calques of all possible types, it is not altogether easy to distinguish between the word-formational impact of linguistic and extra-linguistic stimuli. With descriptive terms of a vague and steadily varying model—replica relationship, such a distinction is even more difficult.

2.1.1.1 The treatment of loan translation allows of several approaches. From the point of view of establishing the lexical stability of the present type of calques (viz. loan translations), in relation to loan rendition (see 2.1.1 above) and to what we tentatively call (loan) description, the derivational range of loan translation appears to be of decisive importance. Any analysis of a statistically sufficient number of calques, involving either loan translation or loan rendition, will necessarily lead to the conclusion that there are two basic types of calques which vary from each other by the extent of their spread through the stock of derivatives which are associated with any given case of model—replica relationship. From this point of view we shall distinguish between:

(1) loan translations involving only one representative out of the stock of available derivatives, as in:

(1.1) the foreign model does not produce lexically relevant derivatives having to be reflected in the replica (since this is the typical case, sufficiently illustrated in literature, only a few examples will be given), e.g.:

"aircraft carrier" *ḥāmilat aṭ-ṭā'irāt* (W, 208; D, 31; etc.);

"conditioned reflex" *munᶜakas šartī* (Kh., 114); *al-'inᶜikās al-mašrūṭ* (Bar., 520; here quoted in plur.: *al-'inᶜikāsāt al-mašrūṭa* "uslovnye refleksy"); *al-'inᶜikās*

aš-šartī or *al-'in^cikās aẓ-ẓarfī* (St., 35, referring to native sources; in the source quoted "conditional reflex");

"box camera" *kāmīrā ṣundūqiyya* (Kh., 64; it should be noted that the first constituent of this bi-componental replica is a loanform), alternating with a description *'ālat taṣwīr bi-šakl ṣundūq* (D, 146);

"the cold war" *al-ḥarb al-bārida* (D, 237); "cold war" *ḥarb bārida* (S, 107);

"pushbutton" *zirr ḍāġiṭ, zirr 'indiġāṭī* (Kh., 473);

"pushbutton control (Electrical Eng.)" *taḥakkum bi-'azrār 'indiġātiyya* (Kh., 473), contrasting with somewhat differently featured loan translation: *at-taḥakkum bi-ḍaġṭ al-'azrār* (lit. 'control by way of pushing buttons') (D, 170: "push-button control");

"antibiotic" *muḍādd ḥayawī* (also with an explicitly stated generic term: *mādda* "stuff, matter" in *mādda muḍādda li-l-ḥayawiyyāt* (D, 48), etc.;

(1.2) the foreign model does produce lexically relevant derivatives calling for their representation in the native replica. In this case, two types of calques may occur:

(1.2.1) those representing only one of several derivatives produced by the model, as in:

"baby-sitter" *jalīs aṭ-ṭifl (^cinda ġiyāb al-wālidayn)* (D, 83; the explicative part, enclosed in brackets in our quotation, points to the fact that we have rather to do with a description than with a true loan translation), contrasting with a descriptive term of a considerably looser model – replica relationship: *ḥāris aṭ-ṭifl ^cinda ġiyāb al-'umm* (lit. 'one who cares for the child during the absence of its mother') (Sch., 126: "Babysitter");

as against:

"*baby-sit*" (intr. verb), rendered by a descriptive term *ra^cā t-ṭifl ^cinda ġiyāb al-wālidayn* "to care for the child during the absence of its parents" (D, 83);

(1.2.2) those spreading over several derivatives produced by the model, as in:

"air-condition" (tr. verb) *kayyaf al-hawā'* (Kh., 10), co-occurring with:

"air-conditioning" (subst.) *takyīf al-hawā'* (ibid.), as well as with:

"air-conditioned" (adj.) *mukayyaf al-hawā'* (ibid.);

Similarly:

"short-circuit" (subst.) (Electrical Eng.) *dā'irat qiṣar* (lit. 'the circuit of shortness'), *dā'ira qaṣīra* (lit. 'short circuit'); *dā'ira muqaṣṣara* (lit. 'shortened circuit') in e.g.: "short-circuit characteristic" *al-munḥanā al-mumayyiz li-dā'ira muqaṣṣara* (Kh., 545); co-occurring with:

"short-circuit" (verb) *qaṣṣar ad-dā'ira* (lit. 'to shorten the circuit' (ibid.); in the source quoted the attribute *al-kahrabā'iyya* "electrical" is enclosed in brackets);

"short-circuited (or shorted)" (adj.) *muqaṣṣar ad-dā'ira*, as in: "short-circuited rotor" *dawwār muqaṣṣar ad-dā'ira* (ibid.);

"short-circuiting" (verbal noun) *taqṣīr ad-dā'ira* (ibid.); in the source quoted the
   attribute *al-kahrabā'iyya* is quoted in brackets. Etc.

2.1.1.2 Calques produced by way of loan rendition, displaying only a reduced
correspondence between the constituents of the model and those of the replica, stand
considerably closer to the haphazard nature of the model–replica relationship which
characterizes descriptive terms. Calques, resulting from loan rendition, only rarely
occur alone, as in:

"skyscraper" *nāṭiḥat as-saḥāb* (D, 1158); S, 105: *nāṭiḥat saḥāb*, lit. 'that which
   butts the clouds');

"Alpha and Omega" *al-bidāya wa-n-nihāya* (lit. 'the beginning and the end'),
   al-'alif wa-l-yā, (viz. the first and the last letters of the Arabic alphabet), etc. (D,
38).

More ordinarily, they alternate with various types of loan translations and/or
descriptions, as in:

"flame-thrower" (milit.) *nāfiṭat al-lahab* (lit. 'device for spitting flames'), co-oc-
   curring with a true loan translation *qāḍifat al-lahab* (D, 447). Similarly:

"high-fidelity amplifier" *muḍaxxim daqīq al-'adā'* (lit. 'amplifier of a precise
   rendition'), co-occurring with a true loan translation *muḍaxxim ʿālī al-'amāna*
   (Kh., 278), etc.

2.1.2 Descriptive terms of various types and degrees of adequacy in rendering the
model–replica relationship are of more frequent occurrence in present-day Arabic
than is usual in modern European languages. By the extent of variability, affecting
both their structural types and the degree of their adequacy, they cannot be matched
with anything studied so far. In the lexical domain of semantic neologisms, examined
in the present paper, they frequently alternate with both main types of calques, as
presented in 2.1.1.

Some examples:

"belly landing" (aeronautics) *hubūṭ aṭ-ṭā'ira ʿalā baṭnihā* (lit. 'landing of the
   aircraft on its belly') (Kh., 49), or *hubūṭ bi-lā ʿajalāt* (lit. 'landing without
   wheels') (ibid.). Or, cumulatively, *hubūṭ aṭ-ṭā'ira ʿalā baṭnihā dūna ʿajalāt* (lit.
   'landing of the airplane on its belly without wheels') (D, 111).

These descriptions co-occur with a true loan translation: *al-hubūṭ al-baṭnī*, as in:
"belly landing strip" *mudarraj al-hubūṭ al-baṭnī* (Kh., 49).

Steadily varying degree of adequacy in mirroring the model–replica relationship
will briefly be illustrated on descriptions having to cover the English term 'trans-
parency' or 'slide' (phot.):

šarīḥa zujājiyya muṣawwara (lit. 'glass slice /obtained in a/ photographic /way/')
   (Sch., 285; quoted under "Diapositive");

ṣūra fūtūġrāfiyya maṭbūʿa ʿalā mādda šaffāfa wa yumkin ʿarḍuhā ʿalā š-šāša (lit.
   'photographic picture printed on a transparent stuff which can be projected to
   the screen') (D, 1287; quoted under "transparency");

šarīḥa muṣawwara šaffāfa (lit. 'transparent slice /obtained in a/ photographic /way/') (Kh., 633; quoted under "transparency");

šarīḥa (zujājiyya) munzaliqa (lit. 'sliding slice /made of glass/') (Kh., 554; quoted under "slide");

ṣūra mulawwana ᶜalā zujāj šaffāf lil-fānūs as-siḥrī (lit. 'colour picture on a transparent glass for slide-projector') (D, 1161; quoted under "slide"), etc.

As evident, most of the descriptions quoted are, technically speaking, defective, since a 'transparency' need not necessarily be 'made of glass', present a 'colour' picture, nor, after all, be obtained in a 'photographic way'. Nevertheless, the impact of the foreign linguistic model seems to be marked, even if not, of course, quite conclusively, by the selection of attributes like 'sliding' *munzaliq*, 'transparent' *šaffāf*, and some others.

2.1.2.1 In contradistinction to calques, identified with semantic borrowings that show a full or a partial semantic correspondence between the components of the model and those of the replica, the descriptive terms do not involve a component-to-component model–replica correspondence, any longer. While, in calquing (see 2.1.1 above), the foreign model of a complex replica should necessarily reveal a complex structure itself, either coincident with a multicomponental syntactic construction or with a compound word, no such restriction is imposed on the (presumed) foreign model of a descriptive term which may actually be of whatever structure:

(1) descriptive terms related to simple models, as in:

"slide" (phot.) *šarīḥa (zujājiyya) munzaliqa* (see 2.1.2 above);

"robot" (a Czech neologism coined by K. Čapek and first used in his drama *R.U.R.,* 1920) *'insān 'ālī* (Sch., 963, quoted under "Roboter"; D, 1077, quoted with the definite article, besides a loanform *rūbūt*); etc.

It should be noted that while with the first term quoted (viz. "slide") it is possible to establish a direct link between the foreign model and at least one component of the replica (viz. "slide" — /*šarīḥa/ munzaliqa*, see above), with the second term (viz. "robot") not even that seems to be possible. Nevertheless, the lack of a direct correspondence between the Czech *robota* "hard work, compulsory labour", to which the Čapek's "robot" has apparently to be related, and the Arabic *'insān 'ālī* (viz., 'mechanical man'), does not necessarily exclude the possible linguistic influence of the internationally circulating "robot", implying rather the idea of an 'automatically operated manlike machine' than that of a 'manlike machine having to perform hard work'.

And:

(2) descriptive terms related to complex models, e.g.:

"belly landing" (aeronautics) *hubūṭ aṭ-ṭā'ira ᶜalā baṭnihā; hubūṭ bi-lā ᶜajalāt; hubūṭ aṭ-ṭā'ira ᶜalā baṭnihā dūna ᶜajalāt* (see 2.1.2 above);

"baby-sitter" *ḥāris aṭ-ṭifl ᶜinda ġiyāb al-'umm* (see 2.1.1 above); etc.

B — Belkin, V. M.: *Arabskaya leksikologiya* (Arabic Lexicology). Moscow, Izd. Moskovskogo Universiteta 1975.

Bc. — Bocthor, E.: *Dictionnaire français-arabe*. Revu et augmenté par C. de Perceval. 2 vols. Paris, Firmin Didot 1828—1829.

Bar. — Baranov, Kh. K.: *Arabsko-russkii slovar* (Arabic-Russian Dictionary). 5th ed. Moscow, Izd. Russkii yazyk 1976.

D — Doniach, N. S. (Editor): *The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage*. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1972.

Dozy— Dozy, R.: *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. I—II. 2ᵉ éd. Leiden—Paris, E. J. Brill—Maisonneuve Frères 1927.

H — Hamzaoui, R.: *L'Académie arabe de Damas et le problème de la modernisation de la langue arabe*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1965.

Hg. — Haugen, E.: *Language Contact*. In: *Reports for the Eighth International Congress of Linguists* (Oslo, 5—9 August 1957). Vol. II. Oslo, Oslo University Press 1957, pp. 253—267.

Kh. — Al-Khatib, Ahmed, Sh.: *A New Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Terms. English-Arabic*. Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1971.

M — Monteil, V.: *L'arabe moderne*. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck 1960.

S — Sa'id, Majed F.: *Lexical Innovation Through Borrowing in Modern Standard Arabic*. Princeton University 1967.

Sch. — Schregle, G.: *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch* (German-Arabic Dictionary). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1963—1974.

St. — Stetkevych, J.: *The Modern Arabic Literary Language. Lexical and Stylistic Developments*. Chicago—London, The University of Chicago Press 1970.

W — Wehr, H.: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J. M. Cowan. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1971.

The English equivalents are given either in full or in somewhat reduced quotations. The transcription of the examples quoted is slightly adapted to the system of writing followed in the present paper.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

A COMMENT ON THREE SOVIET BOOKS
ON TRADITIONAL CHINESE LITERATURE

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In the first half of 1979, three significant publications appeared on the book market, written by Soviet sinologists — literary scholars from the field of Chinese literary criticism, mythology and fiction, and drama. The task of the present reviewer will be to acquaint the interested reader with the contribution of these works and to share with him one's own insights and impressions.

1

The book *Literaturnaya mysl Kitaya na rubezhe drevnosti i srednikh vekov* (Literary Mind of China at the Turn of the Ancient Times and the Middle Ages), Moscow 1979, 265 pp., is the second book by I. S. Lisevich from this field. His first book dealt with relations between folk song and old Chinese poetry and was published in 1969 under the title *Drevnekitaiskaya poeziya i narodnaya pesnya. Yuefu kontsa III v. do n.e. — nachala III v. n.e.* (The Ancient Chinese Poetry and Folk Song. The Yüeh-fu Between the End of the 3rd Century B.C. and the Beginning of the 3rd Century A.D.). Folklore, poetry and literary criticism have been for over two decades the object of I. S. Lisevich's scientific studies. His very first better known paper *Iz istorii literaturnoi mysli v drevnem Kitae* (From the History of the Literary Mind in Ancient China) already contained the embryo of the book under review and influenced its gradual shaping. It dealt with the so-called three categories, or three concepts, i.e. *fu, pi* and *hsing*, out of the known six mentioned in *The Book of Poetry (Shih-ching)*. In the book he then extends his investigation to the other three viz. *feng, ya* and *sung*, further to four important philosophical concepts very closely related to the literary mind: *Tao, te, wen* and *ch'i*, then to two great genres of traditional Chinese literature: *shih* (lyric poetry) and *hsiao-shuo* (fiction), and lastly to the very important issue of literature: literature and time, its continuity and change in the critical and creative realm.

The enumeration of these concepts implies that the author is concerned with an elucidation of the philosophical and conceptual issues connected with the most important categories of Chinese literary criticism (usually inseparably bound with philosophical thinking), with certain basic concepts of old Chinese literary criticism that have played an inappreciably weighty role in the history of Chinese literature of the traditional period. This is the first attempt (at least as far as we know) in world literature at a scientific examination of a larger number of terms from the domain of

Chinese literary criticism in a close connection with Chinese philosophical and aesthetic thinking.

The first chapter of Lisevich's book is devoted to the question of *Tao* (The Way), its phenomenal manifestation *te* (virtue or energy), and its literary transformation *wen* (mainly the works of literature). A point worth noting is that right at the start of the book, its author's attention is attracted by the word *hsin*, the heart, or probably even better, the mind, although he does not deal with it specifically in any one chapter. This heart or mind, being "the only organ enabling union with the Absolute (i.e. Tao, M.G.)" (pp. 10—11), but also with the ambient world (at least according to the old Chinese interpretation), functions as a mediator between the world, life and the principles on which they are founded. Therefore, this original concept might have been the focus of even greater attention.

The concept of *ch'i*, rendered by Lisevich as "life-forming ether" is given more space than the others, to be dealt with later. The reason is probably that *ch'i* is an important and simultaneously inadequately investigated philosophical term with import to literary criticism. Old Chinese literary criticism was an inseparable part of the "world model" (cf. pp. 233—235) and its individual terms may be analysed with relative success not only on the basis of themselves and their mutual relations, but on the entire systemo-structural entity to which they belonged. The concept of *ch'i* attracted also Chinese scholars and recently a study appeared by D. E. Pollard devoted to this problem (in the book *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*, Princeton 1977, edited by A. A. Rickett). According to Lisevich, *ch'i* is a substance capable of being concretized within a thing, within man and within a literary or artistic sign. Such a concretization is accomplished with the aid of an individual's talent and his *hsing* (human nature), the bearer of inborn dispositions.

The term "*feng*" (the wind) takes direct contact with *ch'i* and is the "undulation of the agitated substance *ch'i*, a cosmic impulse rushing across the world in the spaces of the spirit and matter" (p. 65). *Feng* is a literary metamorphosis of *ch'i* (cf. p. 76). Since the times of Liu Hsieh (ca. 465—522), it is being used fairly frequently in connection with the term *ku* (skeleton) or *ke* (pattern). *Feng* with its connections replaces *ch'i*, but has a different tendency, direction of motion. While *ch'i* connected more with the writer's inner world, the wind (*feng*) tends to imply rather that literature is open to external influences of a social character.

Pi and *hsing* are two modes of expression in old Chinese literature and have been and still are an object of contentions. By their meaning, they belong among the most problematic concepts of Chinese poetics in general. When analysing them, the author remarks that European investigators commit an error if they try in their explication to bring the terms closer to the European reader with the aid of concepts of European poetics, for they thereby tear them out of the system of traditional Chinese poetics which is considerably different from its European counterpart.

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Thus, while the second of them (i.e. *hsing*) comes closest to the European metaphor, allegory or symbol (although it does not fully agree with anyone of them), in Chinese poetry it is considered to be a "spontaneous growth of *ch'i*", or as the "words of response of the mind" to some external or internal stimuli (p. 119). The same is valid also for the concept of *pi* which could be defined as a certain metaphor with the traits of allegory and mainly of comparison. Traditional Chinese poetics, as graphically evident from the two examples just cited, is not primarily concerned with an investigation of the verbal texture of a work, with an exact differentiation or definition of poetic tropes or figures of speech, but is interested in understanding essential phenomena standing behind the work, or such as make its origin possible, in determining the philosophico-ethical hot-bed on which or from which it originates. Similarly as old Chinese literature, so also literary poetics was philosophically oriented, with its world outlook. Unfortunately, it also was less lucid, far more inexact in its expression than that in European antiquity or in later European literary criticism. Precisely thanks to the philosophical orientation, it was possible to assign the poetic genre *sung* (hymns) to the highest degree of the genre hierarchy in ancient Chinese literature, for this genre was allegedly "in the very highest measure an incorporation of the Absolute — Tao" (p. 129).

The genre problem takes up the major part of the second half of the book under review. The author writes about the genre *feng* from *The Book of Poetry*, about *fu* (there is no good English equivalent) principally from the Han period, about *sung*, already referred to, but chiefly about two very important and broad genres (rather sets of genre variants) — about *shih* (lyric poetry) and *hsiao-shuo* (fiction). The author examines lyric poetry in connection with the question of literature and personality, pointing to lyricism in Chinese literature, hence to the expression of the personal in literature, but also to the lack of interest on the part of Chinese literary criticism in individual authors. An individual's creative "ego" serves the categories of a higher Order, a poet is a lesser or greater stone in the gigantic building of the unifying Universe, the world and man. The author investigates the works of fiction in connection with the question of the relationship between literature and folklore.

The last chapter on the relation between literature and time brings certain corrections concerning our knowledge of this problem area in Chinese literary history. They are in the first place, corrections regarding an evolutional apprehension which were far more developed than we had suspected. They were very strong at the end of the Warring States during the rule of the Ch'in dynasty, but also during the two Han. The author also puts right our ideas on the gradual "penetration of the aesthetic principle into the predominantly philosophical-aesthetic category of Chinese literary criticism. While until now Ts'ao P'ei (187—226) has been considered to be the principal initiator of this important change, Lisevich shows that something similar had started already in the first century A.D., although the fact remains that this change prevailed definitively in the third century A.D.

The book under review is an example of one of several possible and truly successful approaches to a study of Chinese literary criticism. Through an investigation of this domain of Chinese literature as part of the Chinese "world model", Lisevich has defined more accurately the meaningful dimensions of literary and critical terms. In future, a comparative approach combined with that pioneered by Lisevich, may perhaps prove fruitful and may help to capture more thoroughly still that historical, world outlook-oriented and ethico-philosophically determined "fluid" of Chinese literary and critical concepts which escapes so easily naive, inadequately knowledgeable students of old Chinese literary criticism, working with the wrong methods.

2

When Lisevich took as the subject of his investigation the beginnings of Chinese literary criticism and its golden age between Ts'ao P'ei and Liu Hsieh, B. L. Riftin did something similar, but in a reversed order. He began with the golden age of Chinese mythology (if any such did exist at all) back in the centuries B.C. and finished with the initial development of Chinese historical romances in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Riftin's book *Ot mifa k romanu. Evolyutsiya izobrazheniya personazha v kitaiskoi literature* (From Myth to Romance. The Evolution of Character Description in Chinese Literature), Moscow 1979, 358 pp., takes contact in some measure with his outstanding book *Istoricheskaya epopeya i folklornaya traditsiya v Kitae. Ustnye i knizhnye versii "Troetsarstviya"* (Historical Romance and Folklore Tradition in China. Oral and Literary Versions of "*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*") from the year 1970. While in the first half, this second book (structurally organized in the same manner as the first) presents the origins of the literary epic in China, in the second part it describes the process of the genesis of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and later oral prose narratives having this romance as their basis. The book under review analyses in its first part the modes of character description in Chinese literature and applied to the mythical ancestors, sage rulers, legendary kings and ancient emperors, and in the second part, outstanding heroes in mediaeval fiction from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

The greatest amount of attention is devoted in this book to the images of the mythical ancestors Fu-hsi and Nü-wa (or Nü-kua). Their portraits include very ancient "signs" of this kind, and prototypes were formed in them that later became varied in different ways in Chinese literature and art. While in the other descriptions and portraits of outstanding personages of Chinese antiquity the author takes note of the semiotic character of literary portraying, in the case of Fu-hsi and Nü-wa he also takes into account numerous ancient stone reliefs and mediaeval portraits on silk. An interesting observation is that these characteristics had originally zoomorphic features, later they became anthropomorphic with certain zoomorphic residua. This was not always so, and occasionally this historical development followed an opposite

trend. This was due, in reality, to a faster or slower development of the various genres and literary description. Stone reliefs, for instance, were rather zoomorphic in character, for they often adorned temples or graves and were therefore conservative, while wall paintings were rather anthropomorphic.

The analyses of Fu-hsi and Nü-wa are followed in the book by literary images of further mythical ancestors of mankind in Chinese interpretation. Shen-nung or The Divine Farmer, the successor of Fu-hsi, is more scantily described in old Chinese sources than his two predecessors, but certain elements of his external appearance are more emphasized, particularly the *lung-yen*, i.e. dragon mark (inter-eye space), later usually signifying "dragon's face" and emperor's dignity. Dragon was one of the totems and the best known, of the ancient Chinese tribes. Similarly as Shen-nung, Chinese authors portrayed anthropomorphically also Huang-ti (The Yellow Emperor). The differences between them reside in various heights of the stature and certain facial traits. Huang-ti had four eyes, Shen-nung, in turn, large eye-brows (shoulders or lips). The physical portray of Yü, the alleged founder of the legendary Hsia dynasty (supposed to have reigned in China from the twenty-first to the sixteenth century B.C.), changed often and went through various stages similar to those mentioned in our analysis of Fu-hsi and Nü-wa.

Those who have made a deeper study of Chinese philosophy may be somewhat surprised at the quantity of signs portraying two famous "sages" of Chinese antiquity — Yao and Shun. All those mentioned thus far were more or less the so-called cultural heroes who, according to the mythological interpretation, taught people the most diverse crafts and helped them to cope with the demanding social and economic tasks. Yao and Shun suddenly began to represent ideal rulers of antiquity, models of philosophical wisdom and ethical virtues, the highest degrees that man could achieve in his political, cultural, but also spiritual and moral development. Confucianists who made sages of both these mythical or semi-mythical personalities were loath to point to their original portraits. It is only from apocryphal works from about the beginning of our era that we learn, among other things, that Yao had a "dragon mark", "bird's forehead" (*niao t'ing*), "eyebrows of eight colours" (*pa ts'ai mei*), which goes to say that the relicts of the dragon and the bird totem combined in his picture. But Confucian tradition spoke of him as a poor man wearing simple dress, or as a man worrying for the good of others — that means that the Confucians adapted one of the mythical personages to their image and put in him what suited their ideal. Shun, too, had relations to the dragon totem, but not to that of a bird; he too, was characterized by the "dragon mark", but instead of a bird's forehead, he had a "square forehead" for a change (*fang t'ing*). Different textual variants show Shun as a hunter, others probably as a farmer, but already in the sixth—fourth cent. B.C., at the time of the forming of Confucian Philosophy, as an ideal ruler — emperor and sage. Hence, a similar history of the development of the image was simply repeated.

If Yü was the alleged founder of the Hsia dynasty, the tyrant Chieh was its last

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representative. While the former was a model of the "ideal hero", the latter was the model of a "bad villain", and this difference became manifest also in their portrait characteristics. Originally, Chieh was the image of a hero endowed with an unusual strength and beauty, later, at the time of a change of the philosophico-ethical codes, during the advent of Confucianism, he became a deterring example of a tyrant and an immoral.

The images of historical and semi-historical personages, e.g. of the founder of the Shang dynasty (1766—1154 B.C.), whose name was T'ang, were created through a utilization of Chinese mythical clichés, a knowledge of old physiognomics, and as from the third century A.D., also of descriptions of Buddha. An important feature is, however, that as a rule, such portraits were devoted only to founders of dynasties. This may possibly have a deeper mystical signification, but it may have been simply the result of a lack of interest in the individual, even in an outstanding one in China. This ancestor, the founder of a dynasty, stood for the progeny. When his descendants were eventually depicted, the words and acts were theirs, but never their physical appearance.

In the second part of the book, Riftin analyses the portraits of personages in Chinese mediaeval narrative prose particularly in the *p'ing-hua* and in the novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, its later variants up to Mongol texts of two narrators from the year 1974, and the book by Chou Yu entitled *K'ai-p'i yen-i* (Legends of the World Origin). But the author devotes most attention to descriptions in *p'ing-hua*. The reason is that a substantial development took place there, one that in the subsequent period is merely modified. Its most important source is *San-kuo-chih p'ing-hua*, the vernacular version of the full-fledged *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Making use of the semiotic method, Riftin attempted to find all the most important modes employed in the potrayal descriptions which were generally proper to mediaeval Chinese prose. And more than that. He also proceeded by the method of comparison, confronting the modes of describing poetic works and *pien-wen*, with those of fiction in Chinese literature, but also in other foreign or various national literatures, e.g. Russian, Azerbaijan, Kirghiz, Kalmyk, Sanskrit and others. He arrived at the notion that a portrait of outstanding heroes in *p'ing-hua* is iconic, hence, that it comprises a description "not only of the hero's appearance, but also of his dress, armaments, horse and voice" (p. 267). His textual analysis has shown that the authors made use of two stereotypes in their descriptions of dresses: one for positive heroes, the other (less frequently) for their opposites — the villains. Besides static portraits, *p'ing-hua* contained also indications of the so-called situational portraits that showed the heroes in a certain action, moved by anger, fear, etc. Literary historians will note with interest that the descriptive characteristics of female figures are made on the basis of a different criterion: they take contact not with oral tradition as in the case of males, but with high literature, most often with old Chinese poetry, hence, with the more conservative parts of Chinese literary reality.

This corresponds to the overall nature of traditional Chinese literature written by women.

In addition, readers will be interested also in the extensive bibliography and a glossary of characterological signs that will prove of great help to investigators and others not only in a study of the problems dealt with here by the author, but also in investigating procedures of normative stylistics, a knowledge of which is indispensable to a perceptive reading of old poetic, prose or dramatic texts.

3

The golden age — this time of Chinese drama — is the subject also of the third book reviewed here: *Kitaiskaya klassicheskaya drama XIII—XIV vv. Genezis, struktura, obrazy, syuzhety* (Chinese Classic Drama in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century. Genesis, Structure, Images, Plots) by V. F. Sorokin, Moscow 1979, 333 pp. The beginnings of the author's interest in Mongol Drama date from the year 1958 when, on the occasion of the celebrations of the 700th anniversary of Kuan Han-ch'ing, organized under the auspices of the World Peace Council, Sorokin wrote an article in its honour. With some intervals, Sorokin has devoted practically two decades to a study of this important problem of Chinese literary history. In the sixties and seventies he wrote a number of studies that appeared in various Soviet journals and collections (see Bibliography, p. 308).

The present book comprises four parts, the first of which introduces the genesis of the genre *Yüan tsa-chü* and deals with the evolution of the narrative, poetic and dramatic genres, out of which the so-called Mongol drama was born, but primarily with *pien-wen* (spoken of also in the book by Riftin), then with *chu-kung-tiao, hsi-wen*, otherwise *nan-hsi* (Southern drama).

The second part analyses the structure of *Yüan tsa-chü*, its composition, the musical-poetic form *ch'ü*, and this part will principally attract attention of experts. There they will learn that this genre is to be found in the extensive collection *Yüan-ch'ü hsüan* (Selection of Yüan Dramas) by Tsang Mao-hsün and in *Yüan-ch'ü hsüan wai-pien* (Supplements to a Selection of Yüan Dramas) by Sui Shu-sen, 162 plays altogether. Of great interest not only from the aspect of this genre, but from that of the character of old Chinese literature generally, is the theoretical explanation of the four-act form of *Yüan tsa-chü*. According to Sorokin, three ways of plot development or unfolding may be noted in this dramatic form. The most frequent one is scheme A, which is also the most dramatic and consists of an exposition (in the first act), its further unfolding (in the second act), an escalation of the conflict often with the onset of an unexpected turn (in the third act), and a final climax (in the fourth act). Scheme B is different. No conflict develops here through a gradual cumulation of various situations and there is no abrupt change in the third part. The ending is of a predestined character. Scheme C is of a "chronicle" pattern. The

various episodes (usually historical) are ranged in order one behind the other. There is no central conflict whatsoever.

The first and the most frequent scheme corresponds in fact to the well-known classical formula *ch'i ch'eng chuan ho*, according to which works of classical Chinese poetry used to be created — form of *chüeh-chü*, but also of essays — form of *pa-ku*. In it are reflected primarily "a firm ideological-aesthetic principle of a comprehension of life phenomena" (p. 87). Life conflicts, various episodes gradually unfold until the final dénouement which should be, and usually is, if not in life then in drama, harmonious (*ho*). According to the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the old Confucian work: "While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of equilibrium (*chung*). When those feelings have been stirred, they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of harmony (*ho*). This equilibrium is the great root from which grow all the human actings in the world, and this harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish" (Legge, J.: *The Chinese Classics*. Vols 1, 2, Taipei 1969, pp. 384—385). It should be observed that greater care was and had to be devoted to the relations between the so-called Heaven, Earth and Man in traditional China than in Europe. The "human" was firmly bound by the idea of equilibrium and harmony. In the classical formula, *ch'i ch'eng chuan ho*, the first three components represent more or less a metamorphosis of equilibrium, and *ho* is nothing else but an identity of the principle and reality, of life harmony and its scenic representation. *Ho* (harmony) is the aim of human and artistic endeavours. Then, as conflict situations disrupt equilibrium, interhuman relations must be put right. Happy-endings (*t'uan-yüan*) of Chinese dramas have their philosophical and ethical justification, they are an artistic expression of the "golden mean", they are the dramatic (but also poetic) hypostasis of the Confucian way of apprehending reality. They are a reflection of that "perfection and a happy order" which is the *pium desiderium* of traditional Chinese society. These happy-endings may be regarded as a deficiency, an artistic weakness only with reservations. However, the fault is not with the Chinese artistic genius, but with the straight-jacket of the Chinese ideological and social system.

The third part called Yüan Drama's World of Images takes note of the characteristics and in some measure also of the principles of characterization of "the sea of personages" in this genre, until then the most abundant from this point of view in Chinese literature. The author had to read and partly also to analyse the fates of "not less than 2000 characters" (p. 133) not counting those with only an episodic meaning in the plays. The greatest interest is devoted to rulers (and their prime ministers, favourite concubines, etc.) and to figures representing the traditional Chinese bureaucracy, the principal factor in the management of the State. The ruler's image was only exceptionally presented in the form of an "ideal hero", as Wu Wang, the

founder of the Chou dynasty was. The other images, for instance that of Chao K'uang-yin, the founder of the Sung dynasty, showed him as a living, though not quite an ordinary man. Here, Sorokin's investigations differ from those made by Riftin, but this was due to genre variations. In Sorokin's book then follow analyses of the traits of soldiers, judges and the condemned, young students and scholars, female characters, merchants, peasants and others.

The fourth — the closing part of the book will appeal to experts and general readers alike. It contains the plots of all the 162 Yüan dramas, while the most complete work until then by Shih Chung-wen, *The Golden Age of Chinese Drama: Yüan tsa-chü*, Princeton 1976, contains only about one-third of that number. The value of the book is enhanced by a glossary of terms from the drama and theatre, a Chinese glossary of plays and their authors, and an unusually abundant list of references.

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The three books reviewed here represent the peak of Soviet literary efforts in the domain of sinology of the late seventies. They are the results of one to two decades of intensive, sustained research work. All three are of a pioneering nature and simultaneously represent a compendium of the present state of investigation in the world. They will be a point of reference not only to Soviet, but also foreign sinology. They will undoubtedly remain for many years to come a source of instruction and scholarly inspiration.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bondarko, A. V.: *Grammaticheskoe znachenie i smysl* (Grammatical Meaning and Sense). Leningrad, Nauka 1978. 176 pp.

Bondarko's work in the field of grammatical categories is widely known both at home and abroad. The present book is another publication in which Bondarko deals with general linguistic problems. This time the author's attention focuses upon the interrelations of linguistic semantic functions and notional categories. One of the basic ideas is the distinction between linguistic and ideational (or notional) content.

The linguistic content is defined as the content expressed by means of a given language and manifested as grammatical, lexical and lexico-grammatical meanings of linguistic units, as well as speech realizations of these meanings. The national content is represented, on the one hand, by notional categories and, on the other hand, by the particular sense of an utterance, i.e., by speech sense (p. 4). Subsequently Bondarko defines the linguistic (semantic) content as essentially a notional content expressed by means of a given language and structured linguistically (p. 5). The notional content may, truly enough, be expressed by linguistic means but, in addition to this, it may be expressed by nonlinguistic media as well (pp. 5—6).

Chapter One (pp. 7—35) discusses the interpretation of linguistic content in Russian grammatical tradition. It is followed by a chapter devoted to the treatment of the same problem in present-day linguistics (pp. 36—71). In this chapter, Bondarko devotes much attention to an examination of meaning versus sense. This distinction of meaning and sense is highly relevant not only to linguistic theory but also to its applications, e.g., to translational linguistics.

In Chapter Three (pp. 72—94), the author investigates the interrelationships of notional categories and linguistic semantic functions in grammar. Notional categories are treated as universal; however, their linguistic shaping leaves some traces in their content. Linguistic semantic functions in grammar are derivative of notional categories and at the same time they are relatively autonomous.

Text content and speech sense are discussed in the next chapter (pp. 95—127). Here Bondarko touches upon some problems of translation, analyses the invariant of sense, synonymy, and defines various sorts of information carried by the text. Finally, he characterizes the speech act as a fairly complex event.

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The last chapter (pp. 128—170) deals with categorial meanings in grammar and criticizes the theory of general meanings.

Bondarko's book will no doubt be read with interest and positively accepted by linguists engaged in the study of the theory of their discipline as well as in semantics.

Viktor Krupa

Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations. Edited by H. Giles. European Monographs in Social Psychology 13. Series Editor: H. Tajfel. London, Academic Press 1977. xiii + 370 pp.

The present book commences with the *Introductory Essay* (pp. 1—14) compiled by H. Giles. The editor brings in it an excellent survey of what this multi-author and multidisciplinary work purports to present.

Twenty-three authorities participate in the volume which consists of thirteen chapters discussing interrelationships between language, ethnicity and intergroup relations. The role of language in ethnic group relations is obviously very important and many minorities in any country express their desires and struggle for a better status via language. From a geographical point of representation, the studies refer to the U.S.A., Middle East, Canada, Britain, Greece, Kenya, and Western Europe. The first and the closing chapters are rather general in character.

J. A. Fishman in Chapter 1 *Language and Ethnicity* (pp. 15—57) explains the term ethnicity and its relationship to language.

In Chapter 2 *Ingroup and Outgroup Reactions to Mexican American Language Varieties* (pp. 59—82), E. Bouchard Ryan and M. A. Carranza discuss the symbolic role of language. This is shown on Mexican American population and its language, i.e. Spanish and its local Mexican dialects functioning as symbols of ingroup solidarity. Mexican Americans are concentrated in the Southwestern United States (90 %) and their number is persistently increasing not only by natural growth, but also by a considerable migration, both legal and illegal. (According to data from 1980, officially registered Mexicans in the U.S.A. were 7.3 millions and together with illegal immigrants their number is estimated at some twelve million.) Their resistance to assimilation has its roots in several factors (neighbourhood of Mexico, cultural background, Spanish surnames, and some others) and there are indications that their low socioeconomic status is gradually changing in the present.

Three studies concerning languages for scientific and technological purposes were carried out by R. L. Cooper, J. A. Fishman, L. Lown, B. Schaier and F. Seckbach. They are summarized in Chapter 3 *Language, Technology and Persuasion in the*

Middle East: Three Experimental Studies (pp. 83—98), the languages were Arabic and Hebrew in Jericho and English and Hebrew in Jerusalem where two selected groups of respondents answered.

D. M. Taylor, R. Meynard and E. Rheault in Chapter 4 *Threat to Ethnic Identity and Second-Language Learning* (pp. 99—118), investigate second-language learning in Québec with native French-speaking students. Though French Canadians form 82 % of the Québecers, they feel to be endangered by the surrounding English-speaking mass in their ethnic identity — their number in Canada amounts to one fourth and in North America where English is dominant and spoken by approximately 250 million people, six millions of them represents only a small minority.

Chapters 5 and 6 are concerned with Welsh, for the time being, the most vigorous language of all Celtic languages. First R. Y. Bourhis and H. Giles study the behaviour of groups of Welshmen to English speakers — *The Language of Intergroup Distinctiveness* (pp. 119—135), then A. J. Chapman, J. R. Smith and H. C. Foot demonstrate that feelings of ethnic identification begin early in life, even at five years of age — *Language, Humour and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 137—169).

Albanian immigrants in Greece, the Arvanites, differ from other similar groups because they identify themselves as Greeks and Arvanites, but not as Albanians, and do not attribute any importance to their own language. This complexity of interethnic relations is dealt with by P. Trudgill and G. A. Tzavaras in Chapter 7 *Why Albanian-Greeks are not Albanians: Language Shift in Attica and Biotia* (pp. 171—184).

The complexity of interethnic group relations is further discussed by D. Parkin in Chapter 8 *Emergent and Stabilized Multilingualism: Polyethnic Peer Groups in Urban Kenya* (pp. 185—210). This is exemplified in Nairobian populations which speak four vernaculars and two lingua francas, namely English and Swahili. Trilingualism is quite common — English, Swahili and one of the four vernaculars are used in Nairobi among various peer groups. Constantly changing relationships between ethnic groups and multilingualism with its *stabilized* and *emergent* stages are special features of many developing countries, but mainly of sub-Saharan Africa.

In Chapter 9 *News Media, Language and Race Relations: A Case Study in Identity Maintenance* (pp. 211—240), C. Husband examines the role of some aspects of the printed word in racial issues in Britain.

A. Verdoodt investigates a problem of education of children of migrant workers in Europe in Chapter 10 *Educational Policies on Languages: The Case of the Children of Migrant Workers* (pp. 241—252).

In Chapter 11 *Ethnic Identity and Bilingual Education* (pp. 253—282), J. R. Edwards deals with the question of bilingual education and this is shown on the American example. The author emphasizes that bilingual education in the United States has recently been introduced not for building up a cultural pluralism, but to

help children to achieve good knowledge of English and be smoothly assimilated in a larger society.

P. M. Smith, G. R. Tucker and D. M. Taylor mention relations of an ethnic minority and the dominant group of French Canadians in Chapter 12 *Language, Ethnic Identity and Intergroup Relations: One Immigrant Group's Reactions to Language Planning in Québec* (pp. 283—306). It deals with the Greek community in Montreal and the paper is interesting for a comparison with Chapter 4 where the Québecers played a subordinate role in relation to the English community concentrating in its hands the economic power.

In Chapter 13 *Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations* (pp. 307—348), H. Giles, R. Y. Bourhis and D. M. Taylor summarize the results achieved in the book and outline the theoretical framework for the investigated area.

In general, the volume should be welcomed by all who have an interest in linguistics, sociology, psychology, and education.

Jozef Genzor

Polikarpov, A. A.: *Elementy teoreticheskoi sotsiolingvistiki* (Elements of Theoretical Sociolinguistics). Moscow, The Moscow University Press 1979. 162 pp.

Polikarpov's book deals with the role of some external factors of language development among which dominant are social aspects. Four main problems are discussed by the author, i.e.

(1) The basic principle of organization of the semiotic phenomena, language as a general semiotic category, causes, necessity and possibility of the rise and existence of this category.

(2) The essence of human language and its social determination.

(3) Determination and evaluation of both social and communicative factors conditioning typological variations of the universal linguistic type.

(4) Factors, mechanisms and results of the linguistic variability upon the functional-stylistic level (p. 3).

Polikarpov is an adherent of the systemic approach. He investigates language as a system existing and functioning in the environment of other systems. Skeletal and populational systems are distinguished in the book. Each system needs some sort of internal communication or "language"; basically, there are reversible and irreversible languages (p. 22). One of the essential principles in communication is that of allusion — sign itself is an allusion. Polikarpov views the relation between the form of sign and its content in a historical perspective. The evolutional sequence starts with iconicism and through metonymy arrives at arbitrariness (pp. 23—25).

Chapter Two (pp. 40—67) discusses the principles and mechanisms of analyticism in language. According to the author, analyticism appears in the wake of intensive linguistic interference, which is proved by the history of English and some other languages as well. Polikarpov's explanations are plausible and deserve both serious attention and more verification. Analyticism is defined by him not only as a feature of grammar, but also as one of vocabulary.

Polikarpov lists numerous implications of analyticism, one of them being a low degree of positional reduction of allophones; however, English is notable for a considerable extent of vowel reduction in unstressed syllables.

The model of the so-called analytical restructuration of language is applied by Polikarpov to English data and investigated in its numerous aspects (pp. 68—106). The author suggests some quantitative measures of relative analyticism.

Of considerable interest is Chapter Five, dealing with those situations in which a simplification of the linguistic behaviour takes place (pp. 125—129).

The chief merit of the present publication consists in Polikarpov's effort to discover links interrelating superficially disparate linguistic phenomena, as well as in his courage to look for new ways in explaining the phenomenon of human language.

Viktor Krupa

Zubkova, L. G.: *Segmentnaya organizatsiya slova* (The Segmental Organization of Word). Moscow, Patrice Lumumba University 1977. 94 pp.

The author is known to the linguistic public for her work in the languages of Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesian where she concentrates upon phonology.

The present publication is wholly devoted to phonotactics upon the word level. Zubkova employs data from numerous structurally divergent languages, both Asian and European. She looks for regularities of the phonemic structures making use of some statistical devices. One of her conclusions is that some universals of word phonotactics are conditioned by anthropophonic factors (cf. the rising sonority of the phonotactic structure of word).

Zubkova's volume contains five papers. The first paper (pp. 7—28) discusses some general aspects of sonority structure of words and its variation in ten languages. The beginning of the word seems to be important from the point of view of its information charge; besides, it requires more concentration and a greater effort on the part of the speaker than the rest of the word (pp. 16—18). The second and third papers describe distribution and compatibility of phonemes in Russian (pp. 29—45), as well as in Indonesian, Javanese, Tagalog, and Japanese (pp. 46—66).

In the fourth paper Zubkova discusses the interrelations between segmental and suprasegmental features in Vietnamese words (pp. 67—82).

Finally, the fifth study is devoted to relations holding between various language levels, in this particular instance between the phonological structure of Indonesian word and morphonological phenomena (pp. 83—92).

Zubkova's book illustrates the fact that phonotactics is a very promising field of study. The data to be investigated are extremely rich, and require statistical processing. The investigator is rewarded by highly objective results in which the subjective factor is minimalized. The hope of discovering new regularities and possibly universals of phonotactic structures is a challenge to all those who want to pursue the same path of research as Zubkova does.

Viktor Krupa

Elbert, Samuel H. — Pukui, Mary Kawena: *Hawaiian Grammar.* Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1979. 194 pp.

This long-expected work may, no doubt, be characterized as the most exhaustive and reliable Hawaiian grammar ever published. Both authors — whom the reviewer met briefly in 1965 at Honolulu — have invested results of several decades of their own life into this book, and thus all linguists engaged in the study of the Polynesian languages have at their disposal what in Russian would be termed an "academic grammar" of a major Polynesian language.

The whole volume is divided into twelve chapters dealing with various grammatical features of Hawaiian. The introductory chapter (pp. 1—9) surveys the research in Hawaiian since Adelbert von Chamisso, through Horatio Hale, Lorrin Andrews and W. D. Alexander up to the present day.

Chapter 2 (pp. 10—38) deals with the phonological level including phonetics, phonemics, suprasegmental phenomena, phonotactics, dialect variations, adoption of loanwords, as well as orthography. Most readers will appreciate the way Elbert and Pukui discuss not only overall rules and regularities, but also deviations and exceptions and thus do not sacrifice complex linguistic data to an elegant but aprioristic scheme.

Chapter 3 (pp. 39—45) represents a short introduction to the grammar proper, characterizing such basic units as sentence, phrase, word, particle, and affix. These units are, however, defined in a rather heterogeneous way. While sentence is defined only from the point of view of its borders and phrase in terms of its composition, the approach to word is predominantly classificatory. Elbert and Pukui distinguish nonoverlapping classes of nouns, verbs and noun-verbs. Words are equated with

lexical units, which probably would not be acceptable to all linguists (cf. the problem of phraseological units). The readers would also appreciate a more extensive explanation of what is a particle in Hawaiian (and in Polynesian in general).

This chapter is followed by eight longer chapters describing the grammatical structure of Hawaiian in an exhaustive and detailed manner (pp. 46—173). The book contains elements of statistics (see, e.g., pp. 70—73) which are applied especially to the investigation of derivative prefixes. However, affixes are sometimes not clearly distinguished from roots and no clear line is drawn between what is productive and what is not productive. On the other hand, the authors' discussion of the meanings and uses of the particles that form a structural skeleton of Hawaiian is most instructive.

A welcome aid to all readers (and especially to laymen) is a glossary of linguistic terms used in the book (pp. 179—183), as well as a good selective bibliography (pp. 185—190).

In conclusion of this short review it may be said — and without exaggeration — that this grammar of Hawaiian by Elbert and Pukui is a major contribution to Polynesian studies.

Viktor Krupa

Krupa, V.: *Gavaiskii yazyk* (The Hawaiian Language). Moscow, Nauka 1979. 76 pp.

This is a brief description of one of the Polynesian languages compiled by the Slovak linguist Viktor Krupa. The outline was published by the Department of Languages of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. in the series Languages of Asian and African Nations. The Maori Language and Polynesian Languages were published in the same series by the author in 1967 and 1975 respectively.

When the Hawaiian Islands were discovered by Captain Cook at the end of the eighteenth century, they were inhabited by three hundred thousand people. Wars with colonialists, epidemics and other factors caused that the number of autochthonous population started to dwindle rapidly after the first contacts with Europeans. At present, pure Hawaiians scarcely amount to one thousand from the total population of approximately one million. Even with partly Hawaiians — some seventeen per cent, they do not constitute the most numerous group, they come third after persons of European and Japanese origin.

A decline of the Hawaiian language proceeded side by side with the dying out of the indigenous population. Nowadays, only the oldest generation of Hawaiians and

the scanty population of the Niihau Island speak it actively. Members of the younger generation have practically no knowledge of it and use English. No books or journals are published in Hawaiian at present. The language will probably become extinct some time in the not too distant future.

The booklet under review is the first short synopsis of Hawaiian grammar in Russian. The Hawaiian language is interesting from the typological point of view because of a number of its features, viz. its phonological, grammatical, lexical and semantic structure.

Accordance with demands of the editorial board of the series Languages of Asian and African Nations, the author first gives some basic extralinguistic information on the Hawaiian language and on the history of its investigation. Then he characterizes its phonological, morphological and syntactical levels. He pays special attention to the scientific problem of Polynesian linguistics, namely to the question of relevance of word for its grammatical description. One of the positive features of this work resides also in the fact that the author devotes relatively much attention to syntax and semantics of Hawaiian. All grammatical phenomena are provided with good illustrative examples.

Jozef Genzor

Dardjowidjojo, Soenjono: *Sentence Patterns of Indonesian.* Honolulu, The University of Hawaii Press 1978. 434 pp.

This bulky volume ranks among the most comprehensive textbooks of the Bahasa Indonesia ever published. Its title is in a sense misleading, since the author does not restrict his attention exclusively to the sentence but informs readers of other aspects of Indonesian grammar as well.

Altogether there are 35 lessons in the book. They are structured in a more or less uniform way. Each lesson consists of five parts, i.e., a dialogue, notes on culture, phonetics, grammar, and a list of new lexical items.

The phonetic sections are given only in the first 15 lessons. The cultural notes are confined to information relevant to the introductory Indonesian texts. The structural section usually comprises three structural points followed by drills. The vocabularies list alphabetically all words introduced for the first time. The author's emphasis is upon the structural drills, which makes his book helpful to all those who intend to acquire an active knowledge of the Bahasa Indonesia.

The lessons are ordered in a sequence of increasing complexity which culminates in the chapters dealing with verbal and nominal affixes. There are, besides, six review lessons that, naturally, deviate from the general pattern.

As is usual with textbooks, the style chosen by Dardjowidjojo is more or less formal or semiformal. However, the last lesson presents informal Indonesian as spoken in the capital city of Jakarta. The reviewer would appreciate more information on this city dialect and on spoken informal Indonesian in general.

The word stock contained in Dardjowidjojo's book is satisfactory when evaluated either in terms of its amount, or of the relative frequency of the specific lexical items. Altogether there are some 2,300 entries listed in the vocabulary (pp. 409—434).

There are only very few unnoticed misprints in the book, e.g., *jang* (instead of *yang*, p. 59), He (instead of We, p. 212), *Colongan* (instead of *Golongan*, p. 334).

Dardjowidjojo's *Sentence Patterns of Indonesian* deserves a positive appreciation by all students of the Bahasa Indonesia. It is another useful contribution to Austronesian studies published by the University of Hawaii Press in its series PALI Language Texts.

Viktor Krupa

Taeschner, Franz: *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam. Texte zur Geschichte der Futuwwa.* Zürich—München, Artemis Verlag 1979. 672 S. Die Bibliothek des Morgenlandes.

Das posthume Werk des hervorragenden deutschen Islamforschers Franz Taeschner (1888—1967), der sich einige Jahrzehnte lang dem Studium islamischer Gesellschaftsformen widmete, bringt den bislang vollständigsten Textkomplex zur Geschichte der *futuwwa* (was wörtlich Jugend, Jugendmanntum, jugendliches Verhalten bedeutet). Es handelte sich hierbei eigentlich um männerbündliche Organisationen, die sich zum *futuwwa*-Ideal bekannten und im Laufe der einige Jahrhunderte langen Entwicklung durch verschiedene Modifikationen schritten. Ob es sich nun um Organisationsformen oder um die Sendung dieser Vereinigungen handelte, weist Taeschner im Vorwort darauf hin, daß sich diese bündische Form des Begriffes *futuwwa* vor allem in Vorderasien findet, also in den Ländern, deren kulturelle Vorzeit im alten Babylonien und in Alt-Iran sowie in den vorderasiatischen Provinzen des einstigen Römischen Reiches lag. In Ägypten kommt diese Form nur als Import vor, im Maghrib (Nordafrika und Spanien) überhaupt nicht. Wir dürfen also wohl annehmen, daß es die in Babylonien und Iran aus dem Altertum überkommenen sozialen Formen gewesen sind, die zur Ausbildung eines unter dem Namen *futuwwa* gehenden Bundeswesens angeregt haben (S. 14).

In den frühen islamischen Zeiten hatte der Begriff *futuwwa* eine teilweise religiöse Färbung als ein Tugendkomplex der Kämpfer „auf dem Wege Gottes", d.h. des

Heiligen Krieges. In diesem Geist diente den *futuwwa*-Kreisen der Vetter und Schwiegersohn des Propheten, der vierte Kalif ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib mit seinem doppelspitzigen Schwert als Muster. Der angebliche Ausspruch des Propheten Muhammad „Es gibt keinen Helden — fatā — außer ᶜAlī und kein Schwert außer Ḏū l-Fiqār" wurde später zur Hauptlosung der *futuwwa*-Kreise.

Im Laufe der weiteren Entwicklung bemächtigten sich der Gedanken der *futuwwa* die *Ṣūfīs*, die islamischen Mystiker. Die *Ṣūfīs* entwickelten den *futuwwa*-Begriff weiter, indem sie als sein Wesen ganz allgemein den Altruismus (*īṯār*) faßten, diejenige sittliche Haltung, die dem Mitmenschen in allem den Vorzug vor sich selbst gibt, vor allem wenn es sich um Schwächere handelt, die dem Mitmenschen das gibt, worauf er ein Anrecht hat, selbst aber auf keinerlei Anrecht besteht, die überhaupt immer gibt, aber nie nimmt, die die eigene Person vor der des Mitmenschen, selbst vor dem Feinde, zurückstellt (S. 19).

Das Buch ist in sieben Kapitel unterteilt, die die einzelnen Etappen in der Entwicklung der *futuwwa* auf Grund von Berichten verschiedener Autoren oder des eigentlichen *futuwwa*-Schrifttums darstellen. In kürzeren oder längeren Einleitungen stellt F. Taeschner die einzelnen Autoren vor, die die Informationen über die *futuwwa* bieten, sowie deren Grundgedanken.

Das erste Kapitel „Stimmen aus *Ṣūfī*kreisen zur *futuwwa*" (S. 21—40) bringt Proben aus Werken von as-Sulamī, al-Qušairī, Ibn ᶜArabī und Farīd ad-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār.

Das zweite Kapitel (Die *Futuwwa*bünde als Kampfgruppen, S. 41—52) bringt lediglich kurze Berichte von Historikern über Gruppen von „Kämpfern" an den Grenzen der islamischen Welt oder von Banditen und Vagabunden, die auf dem Lande oder in den städtischen Zentren wirkten.

Eine weitere Phase der Entwicklung der *futuwwa* war das Streben des ᶜAbbasidenkalifen Abū l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad an-Nāṣir (1180—1225) *ṣūfische* Kreise für seine politischen Ziele zu gewinnen, worüber uns das umfangreiche Kapitel „Die höfische *Futuwwa* des Kalifen an-Nāṣir" (S. 53—216) informiert. Außer Berichten von Historikern bringt Taeschner hier auch umfangreiche Proben des *futuwwa*-Schrifttums, wie dies das Werk *Kitāb al-Futuwwa* des Ibn al-Miᶜmār ist, oder Proben aus dem Werk *Nafā'is al-funūn fī masā'il al-ᶜujūn* des Muhammad al-Āmulī und *Tuḥfat al-waṣājā* des Aḥmad al-Ḥartabirtī.

Der Sturz des ᶜAbbasidenkalifats nach der Eroberung Bagdads durch die Mongolen (1258) bedeutete auch das Ende der mit dem Kalifat eng verbundenen höfischen *futuwwa*. Die Übertragung des Kalifats in das mamlūkische Ägypten bedeutete eine kurze Belebung der höfischen *futuwwa*, nicht aber in einem solchen Maß wie dies in Bagdad der Fall gewesen war und hinsichtlich der scharfen Proteste seitens der Gesetzlehrer gegen die Verletzung islamischer Gesetze in den *futuwwa*-Bünden gelangten diese außer die Gesellschaft. Darüber informiert uns das Kapitel „Der Ausklang der höfischen *Futuwwa* im Mamlūkenreich" (S. 217—225).

Das fünfte Kapitel „Die Einmündung der *Futuwwa* in das Derwischtum im Iran

der Mongolenzeit" (S. 227—273) bringt außer einer allgemeinen Übersicht und der Literatur zwei Traktate (*Risalat*) des Scheichs Šihāb ad-Dīn ʿUmar as-Suhrawardī, sowie Teile aus den Werken Naǧm-i Zarkūbs und Amīr Sajjid ʿAli-i Hamadānīs.

Zu einer Weiterführung der *futuwwa* kam es in den bürgerlichen Kreisen des türkischen Anatoliens unter dem Namen Achitum (*aḫiliq*). Der Achi tritt hier als der Vorsteher einer zunftähnlichen Gemeinschaft von jungen, unverheirateten Leuten, vornehmlich aus dem Handwerkerstande, auf, der für diese Gemeinschaft zur Abhaltung ihrer allabendlichen Sitzungen ein Klubhaus (arabisch *zāwija*, persisch-tür. *āsitāne*) gründet. Mit dieser Form der *futuwwa* befaßt sich das sechste Kapitel „Die bürgerliche *futuwwa*. Das Achitum im seldschukischen und nach-seldschukischen Anatolien" (S.275—402). Zwischen das übersetzte Material zum Achitum in Anatolien reihte Taeschner Ausschnitte aus dem Reisebericht des Ibn Baṭṭūta, sowie einige Inschriften der Achifamilie Šeref ud-Dīn in Ankara. Aus dem umfangreichen Achischrifttum bringt das Kapitel „Das *Fütüvvetnāme* al-Burg-hāzīs" Ausschnitte aus zwei Meṣnevī — dem persischen *Futuvvatnāme* des Mevlānā Nāṣirī und dem türkischen *Mantiq uṭ-ṭair* des Süleymān Gülšehrī.

Das letzte, umfassendste Kapitel „Die *futuwwa* als Ordnungsprinzip der Zünfte, vornehmlich auf dem Boden des Osmanischen Reiches" (S. 403—590) informiert uns eingehend über das Achitum in den osmanischen Zeiten. Das Achitum verknüpft sich zu dieser Zeit mit dem türkischen Derwischtum, insbesondere mit der schiitischen Bektāšijje, erlangt eine enge Verbindung mit den Zünften und über-nimmt deren Führung. Zwischen den Texten veröffentlicht Taeschner Das große *Fütüvvetname* des Seyyid Mehmed b. es-Seyyid ʿAlāʾ ud-Dīnā el-Ḥüseyni er-Riżavī, Ein Zunft-Ferman Muṣṭafās III. sowie ein Traktat des Elia Quodsi über die Zünfte in Damaskus.

Das Register bringt die Personennamen, die Termini und die Buchtitel der Quellentexte. Es wäre wohl zweckdienlicher gewesen die die *futuwwa* betreffenden Termini gesondert anzuführen.

Taeschners Buch ist ein grundlegendes Werk über die islamischen *futuwwa*-Bün-de und das darin veröffentlichte Material ist das vollständigste gesammelte Material zur Geschichte dieses Phänomens.

Vojtech Kopčan

Filippiny. Spravochnik (Philippines. A Handbook). Moscow, Nauka 1979. 424 pp.

This is a collective work of Soviet Philippinists giving information on the geography, history, economics, culture and contemporary political situation of the

Philippines presented in a scientific-popular way. A list of authors and their participation in the text of the handbook is given on pp. 4 and 5 of the Foreword.

The book is divided into five parts each of which is further subdivided (with the exception of the Historical Outline), viz.: Country and Population (pp. 6—54) with Physico-Geographical Outline, Population, Demographic Data, Ethnographic Information, and Religious Situation; Historical Outline (pp. 55—116); State System and Public Organizations (pp. 117—165) with State System and Administrative and Territorial Division, Armed Forces, Political Parties, Trade Unions, and Relations of Foreign Policy; Economics (pp. 166—320) with Agriculture, Industry and Energetics, Labour Resources, Transport and Communication, State Finances and Credit and Monetary System, Foreign Trade, Relations of Foreign Economy, and Foreign Tourism; Culture and Art (pp. 321—409) with the Linguistic Situation, Education and Science, Health Services, Means of Mass Media, Literature, Theatre, Dancing Art and Music, Cinema, Fine Arts, Architecture, and Sport. At the end of the book, there is an Appendix (pp. 410—423) containing the chronology of historical events (from ancient times till July 1978), a list of economic and administrative regions of the Philippines, and some other useful data.

Interpreting knowledge on the Philippines, the team of Soviet scholars laid stress on the economics. They devote from one-and-a-half to over three times more space to it than to the other parts. The authors had for aim to present to the general reading public a handbook which would combine a strict scientific character with a popular form of explication (see Foreword, p. 4) and, on the whole, they may be said to have achieved their rather demanding objective, and this, in a remarkably lucid way of compilation of the text. This lucidness is still enhanced by 37 tables, four of which are in the Appendix.

The handbook contains up-to-date information on the Philippines and meets the demands of exacting readers. It will be welcomed by all students proficient in Russian.

Jozef Genzor

Levtonova, Y. O.: *Istoriya Filippin. Kratkii ocherk* (History of the Philippines. A Brief Outline). Moscow, Nauka 1979. 295 pp.

The upsurge of Philippine studies in the U.S.S.R. is remarkable, although systematic research of the history of the Philippines started only in the not so distant past. The founder of the Soviet school of investigation of South East Asia was Professor A. A. Guber and it was he who wrote the first contribution to Philippine history from the Marxist point of view in the thirties. However, systematic research

of the most recent history and economics of the Philippines is connected only with the post-war period, viz. the fifties, when research work in the sphere of South East Asia was extended and deepened, which had an impact upon the development of Soviet Philippine studies. A decade later, the group of Soviet Philippinists was further enlarged, and this process continued unabated throughout the seventies; this resulted in an even greater depth of the investigation.

In the last decade, Soviet Philippinists drew attention to insufficiently elaborated problems both in their own and foreign literature, i.e. to a generalization of the experience of Philippine national liberation, labour and communist movement, investigation of ideological and social processes, social consciousness, ethnopsychology, agrarian problems and situation of the peasantry, new tendencies in socio-economic devolopment of contemporary Philippines, and foreign policy of the Republic of the Philippines (see Introduction, p. 7).

The present book reflects its very fruitful achievements of the seventies marked by an increased research activity. The Soviet Philippinist historian Y. O. Levtonova gives in her work a synopsis of the history of the Philippine Islands. It should be stressed that it represents the first attempt of its kind and covers the history of the Philippines from ancient times till the present days. This is Levtonova's latest book and from her previous works one should mention her *Ocherki novoi istorii Filippin* (Outlines of Modern History of the Philippines) (Moscow 1965) and *Istoriya obshchestvennoi mysli na Filippinakh* (History of Social Thought in the Philippines) (Moscow 1973).

The book comprises fourteen chapters: Chap. I, Philippines in the Antiquity (pp. 8—18), Chap. II, Philippines on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest (pp. 19—37), Chap. III, Conquest of the Philippines by Spain (pp. 38—58), Chap. IV, Philippines and International Relations in South East Asia (XVIIth—XVIIIth Cent.) (pp. 59—73), Chap. V, Philippines within the Complex of the Spanish Empire (XVIIth—XVIIIth Cent.) (pp. 74—101), Chap. VI, Influence of the System of Industrial Capitalism on the Philippines (XIXth Cent.) (pp. 102—116), Chap. VII, Rise of the National Liberation Movement (pp. 117—136), Chap. VIII, National Liberation Revolution 1896—1898 and Creation of the Republic of the Philippines (pp. 137—159), Chap. IX, Occupation of the Philippines by the United States and Instalment of the Colonial Regime (1899—1916) (pp. 160—185), Chap. X, Philippines in the Inter-War Period (1917—1941) (pp. 186—211), Chap. XI, Philippines in the Years of World War II (pp. 212—219), Chap. XII, Achievement of Independence and First Decade of an Independent Development (pp. 220—241), Chap. XIII, Philippines from Mid-Fifties till Beginning of Seventies (pp. 242—270), Chap. XIV, In Search of Ways of Development (pp. 271—284).

The book is concluded with the year 1976 and the Chronology (pp. 288—293) goes up to April 1978.

Jozef Genzor

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Santos, Vito C.: *First Vicassan's Pilipino-English Dictionary*. With an Introduction by Teodoro A. Agoncillo. Manila, National Book Store, Inc. 1978. xxviii + 2675 pp.

The official common Philippine language called "Pilipino", "based on Tagalog", is one of the most widespread of eight major Philippine languages of the Indonesian branch of the Austronesian language family, practically not different from Tagalog. Pilipino or Filipino and English function simultaneously in various spheres of political, social and cultural life, in the light of the official State policy of bilingualism in the Republic of the Philippines accepted in the middle of the seventies. This policy dictates theoretical and practical interests to Pilipino-English lexicography which is approaching a new, modern level. V. Santos's bulky *Pilipino-English Dictionary* (2,705 pages, more than 68,000 entries) advertised as a "new word of Philippine lexicography", is considered its highest achievement.

In his Foreword to the Dictionary, the Director of the Institute of National Language (INL) in Manila Ponciano B. P. Pineda marks out "wonder how a man alone can cope with such voluminous work", compiler's substantial contribution to "correction and improvement of elaboration of meaning" of Tagalog words, as well as his considerable help to Leo English in compiling the *English-Tagalog Dictionary*[1] (p. vii). The well-known Philippine historian and philologist Professor Teodoro A. Agoncillo, himself experienced in lexicographical work and being, in fact, the initiator of compiling of the present dictionary, complains in his Introduction of an abundance of small pocket dictionaries representing "nothing but poor abbreviations of the old dictionaries prepared by the Spanish missionaries and by Pedro Serrano Laktaw whose *Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano* (1914) was the best till recent years" (p. ix). He gives a brief survey of the history of Philippine Tagalog lexicography, especially mentioning the first *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala* (1613) of Pedro de San Buenaventura, dictionaries of Domingo de los Santos (1703) and the best of all "missionary dictionaries" by Juan J. de Noceda and Pedro de San Lucar (1754). Although Agoncillo was Santos's consultant and editor, he considers his 20-year work to be his personal achievement and is delighted with his "enthusiasm and energy of a medieval monk" (p. xi), "I came to realize that it is a significant and towering contribution to Philippine lexicography" (p. xii).

Vito C. Santos was a scientific worker ("researcher-translator") of the INL before his retirement in 1958. His father, Lopé K. Santos (1879—1963), was a well-known Philippine philologist and writer, author of the *Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa* (Grammar of the National Language) (1940) (officially considered a standard

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[1] English, L. J.: *English-Tagalog Dictionary*. Manila, Department of Education 1965, xxiii + 1211 pp.

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reference grammar up to now) to whom the present dictionary is dedicated. Vito C. Santos is the author of several lexicological and philological works, sociolinguistic studies published in the Philippine press and a specialist in Philippine phraseology. Among his works is *Mga Kawikaang Tagalog* (Tagalog Idiomatic Expressions) — a collection of Tagalog idiomatic expressions published serially in the Liwayway magazine. During five years, he published the first variant of the present dictionary in a special column *Ingles sa Kahulugang Pilipino* of the defunct Philippines Free Press (Sa Wikang Pilipino). In his brief Foreword (pp. xiii—xvii) he points out that a long-standing need for an exhaustive official dictionary of Pilipino including various terminology has become imminent. Realizing the advantages of an organized and collective lexicographical work, he explains the forced character of the individual compilation of this dictionary as a private undertaking to have been necessitated by financial difficulties of the INL. Here he also specifically mentions a lack of the so-called "root-verbs"[2] in his dictionary considering all root words of the Tagalog language nominal, while verbs are formed by means of affixation (p. xiv). V. Santos attaches an important role to the fullest possible information in the dictionary entry — etymological, orthographical, orthoepical, word-formational. He appreciates experience acquired while helping L. English to compile the above-mentioned *English-Tagalog Dictionary* which, in his opinion, created "a new climate in the field of (Philippine — V. M. and J. G.) lexicography" (p. xv).

In the introductory section Some of the Salient Features of This Dictionary (pp. xviii—xx), the author says that all words are arranged in the "Pilipino alphabetical order" — both root and derivational Tagalog words in the common alphabetical order which sets this dictionary apart from other similar works. He justifies the alphabetical arrangement chosen by himself by the convenience this provides to non-Philippine readers. Each entry is followed by its syllabic division given in brackets; stress is also marked as well as orthographical variants of the word which, too, have to be entered in their alphabetical order together with a cross-reference. Each word is characterized grammatically if it may occur as a member of several classes; its class valences are divided by light Roman ciphers. Further, an etymological note, more precisely, the source of borrowing, is usually inserted to the entry. Separate lexical meanings of words are marked by Arabic ciphers with a full stop followed by an English translation, after them synonyms, antonyms or comparisons are given in most cases. Both words of the literary language and colloquial, dialectal vocabulary, as well as some widespread slang elements are included in the dictionary, together with neologisms and archaisms, numerous terminological words, illustrative examples, etc., some Philippine geographical and

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[2] See, e.g., Panganiban, J. V.: *Diksiyunaryong Pilipino-Ingles*. Ikalawang paglilimbag (Second ed.). Maynila, Bede's Publishing House, Inc. 1970, 361 pp.; *Diksyunaryo-Tesauro Pilipino-Ingles*. Lungsod Quezon, Manlapaz Publishing Co. 1973, 1976, i—xvi + 1027 + xvii—xx pp.

microtoponymical names. Corresponding Latin scientific names are indicated in brackets. Homonyms are marked by small Arabic ciphers.

The introductory section underlines that the standard 20-letter alphabet of Pilipino is used in the dictionary; an extensive list of abbreviations used by the compiler is added (pp. xxiv—xxviii). Full stops and semicolons are often used without any motivation. In spite of the presence of column titles, a search of words is difficult in this dictionary, especially derivations with *ma-*, *pa-*, *wala-* and some other prefixes. There are lacking such useful words as *aktibista*, *balikbayan*, *media*, and some others, but it is true that "any dictionary becomes dated soon after its completion" (p. xi).

Philippine critics remark that there is no difference between Pilipino and Tagalog.[3]

Vladimir Makarenko — Jozef Genzor

D a h m, B.: *Indonesien. Geschichte eines Entwicklungslandes (1945—1971).* Handbuch der Orientalistik, Dritte Abteilung, Erster Band. Leiden—Köln, E. J. Brill 1978. VIII + 200 S.

Nach einem knappen Einleitungskapitel (S. 1—10) mit Bemerkungen zur Vorgeschichte des indonesischen Staates, das zum besseren Verständnis der weiteren Geschichte kurz die Entwicklungen während der Kolonialzeit und der japanischen Besatzungszeit beleuchtet, beginnt der Autor mit der eigentlichen Thematik seiner Arbeit, einer fast dreißigjährigen Geschichte Indonesiens von 1945 bis 1971 bzw. 1977. Die Kapitel sind nach folgenden geschichtlichen Perioden gegliedert: Kapitel I (S. 11—50): Die Indonesische Revolution (1945—1949), Kapitel II (S. 51—91): Indonesien als parlamentarische Demokratie (1949—1957), Kapitel III (S. 92—141): Sukarnos gelenkte Demokratie (1957—1965) und Kapitel IV (S. 142—185): Der Übergang zur neuen Ordnung in Indonesien (1965—1971). Die Gliederung und der Inhalt dieser Kapitel decken sich völlig mit den Kapiteln 5—9 der schon 1971 bei Praeger Publishers erschienenen Veröffentlichung des Autors, der *History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century.*

Neu ist lediglich der 5. Abschnitt des IV. Kapitels über die Stabilisierung der neuen Ordnung in Indonesien in der Zeit von 1967—1971. Dieser widmet der politischen Entwicklung, die in den Wahlen vom Juli 1971 gipfelt, sein besonderes Augenmerk. Kurze Erwähnung finden auch die jüngsten Wahlen von 1977. Die wirtschaftliche Situation wird vom Autor nur am Rande gestreift, wobei er die

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[3] See review by G l o r i o s o, P. R. in Sagisag, Quezon City, April 1979, Tomo IV, Blg. 4, pp. 47—48.

immer noch währenden Schwierigkeiten in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Landes nur andeutet.

Der Autor analysiert die politischen, sozialen und ökonomischen Kräfte, die das heutige Indonesien formen. Er untersucht jedoch weniger die politischen und gesellschaftlichen Hintergründe, sondern beschränkt sich auf eine mehr oder weniger breite Darlegung von Fakten, um, wie er selbst meint, „dem Leser die Möglichkeit zu einem Urteil über die in der Literatur recht unterschiedlich bewerteten und oft verzerrt dargestellten Ereignisse" (S. VII) zu geben. Ob er damit allerdings dem Anspruch auf Objektivität genügt, ist fraglich, da ja schon allein die Auswahl von Fakten subjektiv ist und vom geschichtswissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus bestimmt wird.

Wertvoll und den Charakter eines Handbuches unterstreichend sind die am Ende jedes Kapitels befindlichen Literatur- bzw. Quellenangaben, die der Autor gleichzeitig in eine Diskussion zum Forschungsstand einbezieht. Ein ausführliches Literaturverzeichnis (S. 186—193) ist den Kapiteln angeschlossen. Der Verfasser unternimmt eine Einteilung der Literatur in die zu a) Politischen Entwicklungen und b) Kulturellen Grundlagen, wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung und sozialem Wandel gehörenden. Ein Register mit den wichtigsten Stichwörtern (S. 194—200) am Schluß der Arbeit erleichtert eine schnelle Orientierung.

Cornelia Trunkvalter

L e e , E. : *The Towkays of Sabah. Chinese Leadership and Indigenous Challenge in the Last Phase of British Rule.* Singapore University Press 1977. 271 pp.

On 238 pages of this book, the author endeavours to portray the role of Chinese traders and leaders in relation to the emergence of an indigenous nationalist elite in the period from Crown Colony to Malaysia. An attempt in which the author has fully succeeded. In his study he does not confine himself solely to his thematic area, the territory of Sabah, but looks beyond economic and political analysis of Sabah as a part of Malaya or Malaysia, and of the latter as an integral part of Southeast Asia. The reader becomes automatically conscious of parallels relating to the role of Chinese minorities in other Southeast Asian countries — a topic of particular interest. Here, the power of the upper strata of the Chinese population and their conflicts with the indigenous ruling class are laid bare. Once the Malaysia scheme begins to be applied, it must needs be applied also against the Chinese — though naturally enough, they are opposed to it.

The first chapter (pp. 1—15) depicts in a large measure the position of the Chinese during the colonial setting, in name a product of the British rule, but not equal to the

British ruler and a place superior among North Bornean peoples, but as an alien race.

The next seven chapters are devoted to the main topic — the towkays, in particular the timber towkays. Towkay means the head of either a household, a community or business, and worthy was he who could discharge the duties of all three.

The beginnings of their great economic successes are closely related to the foundation of the first British timber firms in the twenties (Chap. II, pp. 15—56). The timber towkays controlled the affairs of the Chinese community in the postwar period — and that is the subject of chapter three entitled Time at Their Command (pp. 37—58).

Chapters four to seven (The Sudden Engulfment, The Realm of Possibility, Sabah in Storm, The Commitment, pp. 59—238) present an analysis of the sixties so rich in events — such as the formation of Malaysia in 1963, the elections in 1969, international political conflicts, inner tension among the races residing principally in class conflicts.

Chapter eight (pp. 239—245) goes back to timber politics and shows the relations between indigenous companies and Chinese firms, as well as the latest efforts of the government to aid home businessmen and investors.

The closing chapter (Chap. IX, pp. 257—264) has five sections: A. Official Documents (published and unpublished) and B. Political Party Sources, C. Newspapers, D. Theses and E. Books and Articles. The literary notes that are also to be found practically on every text page of the various chapters, save time in reference retrieving in the book, and the Index (pp. 265—271) facilitates a quick orientation according to key words.

The book will be of great help in any study of similar topics dealing with the role of Chinese in Southeast Asian countries. In addition, the work may render good service as comparative material.

Cornelia Trunkvalter

Southeast Asian Transitions. Approaches through Social History. Ed. by Ruth T. McVey. New Haven, Yale University Press 1978. 242 pp.

Ruth McVey has assembled six studies for this book edition, written by experts on social, economic and political relations in Southeast Asia.

Editress, she is also the authoress of an extensive introductory chapter in which she underlines the relative paucity of Western literature on Southeast Asia and the need to devote more attention to local value systems. She sees the significance of part studies in connection with generalizations which are the principal role of the historian, and lays stress on the problem of relationships of the masses towards

leading social strata. These issues had already been dealt with by H. Benda (to whom the present book is dedicated) and editress McVey has also pursued them in several of her studies on the recent history of Indonesia.

A common base of the studies are questions that arose or became intensified during the course of intensive contacts of Southeast Asian nations with colonialism. They investigate problems of transformations in the society and relationships among local leaders and the inhabitants. The authors take note of the considerable distortion of local socio-economic patterns and point out its grave consequences for the further transformation of Southeast Asian societies. Ruth McVey emphasizes that colonialism was differently experienced at different levels and therefore she considers a view from below to be of great importance, and her view on such an approach is shared by the other authors, too.

The studies are arranged so as, gradually and on various national and social entities, to elucidate the characteristic relations between the rulers and the ruled at the various stages of the colonization process until the disappearance of colonial powers.

The author of the first study H. Sutherland examines the setting up of the colonial rule in the East Malay State of Trengganu. He starts from an analysis of the ideological, administrative and economic system prior to the intervention of British colonialism and concentrates on the consequences for the population of this region of the colonial rule in the initial stage of its existence. The subject of Edilberto de Jesus's survey in the second study is the position of the workers on the Philippine Island of Luzon during the first stage of Spanish colonization. The region of Eastern Java was studied by Onghokham who follows up the transformations that took place in the role of the village élite at the time from the beginnings up to high colonial development. John Larkin elucidates the position of the local élite in one of the Philippine provinces against a background of a specific feature taken over from the Spaniards — the theatre — which was destined to this privileged stratum and therefore, contrary to other literary formations, had neither an anticolonial, nor a revolutionary content. The last study likewise treats of a special question. During the interval between the breakdown of British colonial rule in Burma and the arrival of the Japanese army, sharp conflicts flared up in certain regions between the Burmese and the national minority of the Karens. The authoress Dorothy Guyot, using this event as a backdrop, points out some of the negative aspects of British colonialism stemming from the policy of dividing subjected nations.

The authors have processed partial topics, but their studies as a whole bring up also broader issues. It is in the first place the manner in which Asian peoples react to an intensive intervention of colonialism and to some of the other processes within the social structure of colonized nations. Along these lines, the book is a valuable contribution to the social history of Southeast Asia.

Ivan Doležal

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Pham Van Dong: *Ecrits.* Hanoï, Editions en langues étrangères 1977. 465 pp.

Après l'unification du Vietnam on a commencé à Hanoï à publier, en outre d'une réédition des œuvres de Ho Chi Minh, aussi les écrits choisis des plus notables représentats de la révolution vietnamienne — Le Duan, Vo Nguyen Giap, Truong Chinh comme aussi de Pham Van Dong. Ces livres permettent au lecteur de suivre le chemin de Vietnam vers la victoire à travers les attitudes et points de vue officiels, les analyses politiques, les considérations idéologiques et politiques, les directives politiques formulées par les personnes dans les plus hautes fonctions de l'Etat et du parti. Et cela les fait une source valuable et authentique pour une connaissance de l'histoire contemporaine du Vietnam.

Le volume des écrits et des adresses de Pham Van Dong couvrant la période 1954—1975 comprend cinq parties. Chacune d'elles contient une évaluation de la situation et des tâches de base que la révolution vietnamienne devait résoudre à cette époque. Les matières traitant des transformations pendant l'étape quinquennale la moins connue des débuts de la résistance vietnamienne contre l'intervention des Etas Unis au sud du pays à la suite des Accords de Genève sont incorporées dans la première partie. La seconde partie montre la manière dont les révolutionnaires vietnamiens cherchaient et trouvaient des moyens de braver et tenir tête dans les années de 1960—1964 aux tactiques américaines de la «guerre spéciale». Dans ses écrits Pham Van Dong n'oublie pas de souligner le contraste évident entre la violation des Accords de Genève du côté du régime des marionnettes de Saïgon, et les efforts soutenus pour son execution du côté de la République démocratique du Vietnam.

La troisième partie consiste entièrement de l'adresse compréhensive présentée en 1965 au nom du gouvernement vietnamien. En ce temps-là, l'intervention américaine avait étendu la guerre aérienne aussi au Vietnam du Nord. Pham Van Dong alors formulait de nouvelles tâches, de nouvelles formes et méthode de la lutte, correspondant aux conditions d'un combat de défense indigné avec le pouvoir impérialiste le plus puissant.

La période des tournants en 1966—1972 est enrégistrée dans la quatrième partie, la plus étendue. Déjà pendant cette étape décisive l'auteur exprimait sa conviction que les patriotes du Vietnam sud avaient atteint une supériorité absolue sur l'adversaire. Maints observateurs à l'étranger reçurent alors ce jugement d'une manière sceptique, mais le cours subséquent des événements de guerre lui donnèrent raison en fin de compte.

La dernière — cinquième — partie apporte les allocutions des années 1973—1975 qui expriment une fierté justifiée de la victoire remportée, d'ailleurs, au prix de grands sacrifices, dirigent l'attention sur le grand nombre de problèmes pressants, sans perdre de vue les perspectives de la reconstruction et du développement. Pham

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Van Dong, comme d'autres hommes d'état du Vietnam, analyse les problèmes actuels en connaissance de cause et dans la conviction que la lutte victorieuse du Vietnam fait partie intégrale du mouvement révolutionnaire mondial.

Les matériels les plus importants sont publiés in extenso, les autres dans une forme abrégée.

Les Ecrits de Pham Van Dong portent preuve que ses analyses politiques, mais aussi les textes de circonstance représentent une application réfléchie et vérifiée par de riches exprériences, de la théorie marxiste aux conditions concrètes de la politique intérieure et étrangère vietnamienne contemporaine.

Ivan Doležal

Féray, Pierre-Richard: *Le Viet-Nam au XXe siècle.* Paris, Presses Universitaires de France 1979. 272 pp.

L'intérêt à l'histoire contemporaine du Vietnam continue sans arrêt dans la production historique du monde. Une attention toute spéciale est dévouée à ce thème par des auteurs français, déjà en vue du fait que de riches archives coloniales et des matériels se rapportant à l'histoire du Vietnam sont déposés en France. Cependant, maints auteurs sont attirés par la question du Vietnam non seulement en vertu des relations franco-vietnamiennes mais aussi à cause de sa contribution notable dans le contexte du mouvement mondial de libération nationale. D'autres réfléchissent aussi sur les causes plus profondes historiques de la lutte entre les forces conservatives et modernes dans la société vietnamienne qui était au fond de la victoire remportée par la révolution anti-impériale vietnamienne au 20e siècle. Un d'eux est aussi Pierre—Richard Féray, qui dans son étude suit les éléments importants sociaux, économiques et idéologiques-politiques de l'histoire vietnamienne moderne, comprenant la période de 1919—1975. Il y dégage le rôle joué par le colonialisme français et le néocolonialisme américain.

L'auteur n'avait pas pour but d'écrire l'histoire des événements, mais de relever la logique et la tendance de développement qui échappaient pour long aux experts européens, tant scientifiques que politiques, à l'exception des marxistes.

Le livre comprend trois parties et une conclusion dans laquelle Féray se tourne vers le lecteur et lui présente dans une forme expressive les arguments en faveur d'une compréhension de la situation d'après-guerre et de la politique au Vietnam, une politique orientée vers une reconstruction du pays et un affermissement de l'unité nationale.

Les chapitres de la première partie examinent les problèmes de la composition sociale de la population vietnamienne, les interventions négatives de la colonisation

française dans son développement naturel et les conséquences néfastes d'une exploitation économique.

Dans la seconde partie l'auteur s'occupe des questions d'occidentalisation qui avait affecté tout spécialement cette section de l'élite vietnamienne qui s'était engagée au service du régime colonial et qui exerçait une influence nuisible aussi sur d'autres couches en contact avec elle. Il montre que la première réaction de la part de la société vietnamienne avait été un effort à chercher un asile dans les valeurs du passé, mais que bientôt des tendances beaucoup plus intenses se manifestaient dans une rénovation de la conscience nationale sur des bases idéologiques et politiques modernes. Sur ces entrefaites, des conflits se tenaient dans les années trente de ce siècle entre un réformisme vietnamien et les mouvements révolutionnaires. L'auteur souligne le rôle important que jouait déjà dès 1925 le jeune patriote et révolutionnaire Ho Chi Minh. Il prête attention au développpment du marxisme vietnamien et à son union organique avec le mouvement de libération nationale.

La troisième partie évalue la période culminante et la plus grave de la révolution vietnamienne depuis la proclamation en 1945 de l'indépendance, jusqu'à la victoire finale en 1975. Les motifs sociaux et économiques, surtout ceux qui touchent à la réforme agraire, ne manquent pas non plus dans cette partie, mais ce sont les aspects des événements politiques et militaires menant à la défaite d'abord du colonialisme français et ensuite de l'intervention américaine, qui prédominent ici. L'auteur évite des formulations déclaratives, mais par sa manière de présenter l'histoire vietnamienne moderne, il condamne unéquivoquement le rôle des pays impérialistes et montre que la révolution vietnamienne puisait aux sources profondes nationales et sociales, et que sa victoire était l'accomplissement du message laissé par l'histoire quatre fois millénaire du Vietnam.

Quelques imprécisions quant aux noms (pp. 236 et 258) et à la date de la libération de Hué (p. 254) ont échappé à l'attention de la correction des épreuves.

Ivan Doležal

Navarre, Henri: *Le temps des vérités.* Paris, Plon 1979. 463 pp.
Bergot, Erwan: *Les 170 jours de Dien Bien Phu.* Paris, Presses de la Cité 1979. 320 pp.

L'occasion du 25ᵉ anniversaire de la bataille de Dien Bien Phu a été marquée en France par une nouvelle vague de publications sur cet événement que a décidé une fois pour toute du sort du colonialiasme français dans les états de l'Indochine.

Il va sans dire que quiconque s'intéresse aux affinités stratégiques, tactiques et

politiques de base de cette lutte et à la théorie d'une guerre populaire généralement, doit avoir recours en premier lieu au travail bien connu sur Dien Bien Phu, écrit par le professeur d'histoire, le général Vo Nguyen Giap, le grand architecte de la victoire vietnamienne sur le corps expéditionnaire français. Par contre, les mémoires des représentants du colonialisme français vaincu n'ont pour l'historien qu'une signification complémentaire et montrent comme la France l'a trouvé difficile d'admettre officiellement la réalité que le mouvement de la libération nationale vietnamienne avait prévalu définitivement sur les champs de bataille. On peut même dire que quelques uns des commandants français n'ont pas réussi même après 25 ans de se débarrasser de toutes leurs illusions et soutiennent leurs idées qu'ils auraient pu empêcher la défaite si leurs unités avaient reçu plus de moyens financiers pour mener la guerre. Vu que personne n'est prêt à porter la responsabilité des échecs français, une polémique s'est développée entre les divers commandants militaires. Naturellement, la question de la part plus ou moins grande jouée par des individus comme tels, ne dit rien sur l'essence de l'expédition anachronique coloniale française contre l'indépendance du Vietnam.

Le livre du général Navarre s'occupe de ses expériences de longue durée — militaires, journalistiques et militaires-politiques — depuis la première guerre mondiale jusqu'à la conférence de Genève et des conflits politiques intérieurs en France concernant l'évaluation de la personnalité de Navarre dans sa fonction de commandant en chef en Indochine. Il prit cette commande seulement en 1953, mais il entra dans l'histoire de la guerre en Indochine par le plan dit de Navarre qui reçut un support considérable des Américains mais n'apporta pas la victoire aux armes françaises.

La deuxième moitié du travail contient l'explication de Navarre sur le cours et les détails tactiques et politiques de la phase finale de la guerre que la France, selon sa conviction ne pouvait pas gagner. Cependant, il voit les causes de la défaite d'une manière fort étroite comme résidant uniquement dans un manque d'unité entre le «leadership» politique et militaire français sans se poser la question d'où vint la résistance vietnamienne et pourquoi elle pouvait accomplir une telle prépondérance.

Dans un supplément spécial il règle ses comptes avec les personnalités militaires et politiques dont les bévues et omissions ont contribué, à son avis, au déclin final de la domination coloniale française en Indochine. Certes, il a mis à nu le manque de coordination et de décision dans le commandement français, mais ces moments partiels n'expliquent pas pourquoi la défaite de l'armée coloniale au Vietnam était, en fin de compte, inéluctable et inévitable.

Erwan Bergot, un autre participant français à la bataille de Dien Bien Phu, était originairement un officier actif. Par contraste au général Navarre à qui incombait une fonction importante tant militaire que politique, Bergot n'avait aucune position significative et ne s'efforce pas dans son livre de chercher des responsabilités politiques, stratégiques ou tactiques. Il se borne à rapporter les expériences et les

sentiments de la garnison française assiégée, décrit la manière dont la lutte était menée et refuse en principe de réfléchier sur les causes de la défaite à Dien Bien Phu. Il était d'avis qu'un soldat de ligne ne se tracasse pas avec de pareils problèmes. Cependant, afin qu'un livre puisse résulter de ses expériences, il a supplémenté ses mémoires par des entretiens avec ses compagnons d'armes encore vivants et de ce fait présente un relevé, d'ailleurs assez bellétrisé, des opérations militaires et de la vie quotidienne des unités françaises. Marginalement il parle aussi des détachement auxiliaires indochinois au service des colonisateurs. Il prend note des rivalités personnelles entre quelques commandants français, mais à part cela, sa vue d'en bas n'apporte rien de nouveau — ni données, ni jugement — sur la bataille de Dien Bien Phu. Des plans des plus importantes positions fortifiées françaises sont pourvus.

Ivan Doležal

P i k e, Douglas: *History of Vietnamese Communism, 1925—1976.* Stanford, Stanford University 1978. 181 pp.

Pike's book is destined to the American series of monographs on the histories of the ruling communist parties.

The Editor's foreword mentions the important gap in modern English-language historiography on this topic. However, this applies only to some smaller countries, but decisively not to the Soviet Union, China and some European countries, nor to the Vietnamese Socialist Republic either. As a matter of fact, books on communist parties published in these countries in English and destined to readers abroad have also to be included into English-language literature. Numerous and valuable foreign language books on Vietnamese history and politics have since long been published in the SRVN.

Many of them are mentioned also by Pike in his references to his present work. Although his list is by no means exhaustive, it nevertheless does show that the investigator of the history of Vietnamese communism does not enter a blank field and can draw support from numerous authentic publications and materials published in Vietnam in English. On the other hand, quite a number of books have also been published in the United States on this specific question, and this, e.g., even in the very same scientific institute as Pike's book.

Pike published works on the national liberation front in Vietnam back in 1965 and 1968. His new study conforms to the principal aspects of the scheme common to all the volumes of the series. The aim of the book in this design is to present basic information on the development and activity of the Communist Party of Vietnam in a chronological order; however, at some places, the author reflects also on the

reasons for the indisputable ideological and political successes as on sources of its superiority over the ideology and policy of Vietnamese parties of rightist nationalism.

The topic is divided into 8 chapters in which the author discusses the circumstances and the processes of the origin of Vietnamese communism in the thirties, the role and the successes of the communists during the Second World War, the question of the leading personalities, and the stage that led to the victory over France in 1954. The last three chapters deal with the result of the Communist Party in the closing stage of the victorious struggle for a unification of the country, as well as its present structure. A brief outline is given of its foreign policy relations.

In the introduction, the author has confined himself to the history of the party in the narrowest sense of the word, without analysing its political dynamics, nor investigating the overall social environment in which the party came into being and asserted itself. He looks for the fundamental currants that relate to the rise of communism in Vietnam in traditionalism, in economic and psychological consequences of colonialism, in an intensive effort at independence and in the turbulent scene that was attended by political malaise. This list of motives is evidently incomplete, for all the elements stated might have affected and did affect also other political movements whose role, however, declined in comparison with that of the communist movement. Hence, the causes of the rise and predominance of the Communist Party on the Vietnamese scene have to be looked for even deeper in the social, economic and ideological sphere.

Of three types of materials accessible to a foreign politologue, i.e. official publications, edited in the SRVN, reports of Vietnamese adversaries of the people's government and works by foreign visitors to Vietnam, Douglas Pike considers only the first to be of value, and he also quotes it most often. The author examines Vietnamese communism through the eyes of an American political observer who considers it of importance to discover in what reside the sources of strength of the political party that organized the victorious contest with the American intervention. He has not hesitated to write in his introduction that the communist system in Vietnam "has now become authentically Vietnamese and well rooted in the soil of earlier Vietnamese culture".

In his work he just touched upon some conflicting moments in the Sino-Vietnamese relations but did discern that Peking did not really wish a total departure of the Americans from the Asiatic Continent, nor a clear-cut and decisive victory of Vietnamese communists (p. 132). The question of the American intervention is just briefly inserted into the chapter Unification, without being ideologically or politically evaluated, although it had a weighty impact on the Vietnamese. On p. 114, where prior to the final dénouement, a comparison is made of the two parts of the then divided Vietnam, the author states that the North was bigger, richer and more peopled than the South. However, the first two of these statements do not hold and

even the third one was not decisive. Victory over the Southvietnamese Saigon régime was achieved because of the higher fighting morale, a superior strategy and ideological-political predominance of Vietnamese revolutionaries.

The supplement comprises a schematic table of the structure of the Communist Party of Vietnam. A few of the names in the bibliography are reproduced erroneously.

The national liberation movement lead by the Communist Party of Vietnam has played an impressive role and is constantly an object of professional interest. This is attested to also by D. Pike's book, but also by several recent publications on the modern history of Vietnam.

Ivan Doležal

Thanh ngu tieng Viet (Les idiomes de la langue vietnamienne). Tac gia (Auteurs): Nguyen Luc — Luong Van Dang, Voi su cong tac cua (En collaboration avec): Nguyen Dang Chau — Pham Van Thu — Bui Duy Tan. Ha Noi, Nha xuat ban Khoa hoc Xa hoi (Editions des sciences sociales) 1978. 363 pp.

Les auteurs et collaborateurs ont réussi à compiler une publication linguistique, mais aussi littéraire importante, qui présente un riche fonds de vocabulaire de la langue vietnamienne. Dans le passé, au cours du développement de la langue vietnamienne moderne, des tournures idiomatiques de la phrase et des liaisons commençaient à se former et se stabiliser comme moyens importants de la communication sociale. Ce développement des idiomes avait une influence positive sur l'extension du vocabulaire et, du point de vue de la rhétorique, sur un relèvement du niveau esthétique de la langue vietnamienne. Leur formation au cours du long développement historique de la nation vietnamienne eut pour résultat que les idiomes se stabilisèrent comme des groupes (liaisons) de mots précisément définis, ou comme des mots individuels avec un contenu linguistique-sémantique spécifique, qui ont conservé beaucoup de notions traditionnelles.

Les auteurs de la publication adhèrent aux principes de limitation des liaisons idiomatiques (en ce qui concerne les dictons, proverbes, adages, etc.) et un trait qui leur est caractéristique est une délimitation très nette de l'objet de leur recherche linguistique. Leur conception générale et leur mode de traiter les idiomes se distinguent par une approche scientifique conséquente et par l'application du principe de la systématique. Cela évidemment explique les résultats très satisfaisants dans la recherche des questions de base poursuivie dans la linguistique générale au Vietnam.

Dans la détermination et le choix des idiomes, les compilateurs ont fait valoir trois

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signes caractéristiques : a) un aspect formel-structural fixe, b) un aspect significatif-expressif (avec l'accent sur la capacité d'exprimer le sens figuré), c) mobilité et usage (créant des connexions grammaticales des idiomes).

Selon les auteurs, les idiomes sont des unités linguistiques (ou dialectales) limitées, où la nature déterminante de la structure est relative (tout spécialement par rapport au temps et au milieu de leur formation). Ils introduisent deux groupes d'idiomes : immuables (par exemple, *Meo gia hoa cao* — Vieux chat devient renard) et variables (par exemple, *Chau chau da xe* — au sens figuré = faire quelque chose au-dessus de ses forces ; littéralement = la cigale pousse la charrette) dont la structure, malgré une certaine stabilité, peut être quelque peu modifiée (toutefois, non pas aux dépens du sens figuré), par exemple, *Chau chau dau ong voi* — littéralement = la cigale tient tête à l'éléphant. Le vietnamien contient un groupe assez important d'idiomes de ce genre.

Au point de vue de la structure, les idiomes vietnamiens constituent des billons entre le mot et la phrase. Il est à remarquer que les interprétations sur ce qu'est un mot et ce que constitue un idiome en vietnamien ne sont pas d'accord même aujourd'hui. Par exemple, *san bay* — aéroport (litt. cour voler), *xe dap* — bicyclette (litt. charrette marcher ou pédaler). Les unités de ce genre ne sont pas comprises dans le dictionnaire des idiomes vietnamiens dont on s'occupe ici.

Un groupe moins important d'idiomes dans le vietnamien consiste d'idiomes dits sino-vietnamiens. Les auteurs les subdivisent essentiellement en deux sous-genres à savoir, idiomes d'origine chinoise, et idiomes créés par les Vietnamiens au moyen des hiéroglyphes chinois. Ce dernier sous-genre a sa justification, car le côté formel-structural de ces idiomes s'accorde avec les règles de grammaire de la langue vietnamienne.

Le volume comprend des idiomes du domaine de la langue culturelle (écrite) vietnamienne, c.-à-d. que les expressions vulgaires et le patois en sont omis. Une partie essentielle est fournie par les idiomes du vietnamien courant, une plus petite partie par des idiomes rencontrés dans la littérature vietnamienne classique du 18e et 19e siècle écrite dans l'écriture nationale de signes — *chu nom*.

Dans une introduction relativement étendue, les auteurs ont présenté un exposé de leur mode d'approche vers le problème linguistique en général et le matériel étudié en particulier ; il apporte un nombre d'aperçus, de remarques et de faits de grande valeur.

Ján Múčka

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Sokha, Boun: *Cambodge. La massue de l'Angkar.* Paris, Atelier Marcel Jullian 1979. 256 pp.

L'auteur des témoignages épouvantables sur l'administration du régime de Pol Pot est un jeune cambodgien qui n'avait aucune position d'importance et au début n'avait jamais songé qu'un jour il lui incomberait la tâche de décrire de quelle manière les simples gens avaient survécu aux plus dures années de leur patrie. Dans son livre il ne concentre pas son attention à rechercher des situations dramatiques et des scènes drastiques, mais par le style d'un citoyen réfléchi, il montre sur des épisodes de sa propre vie et sur les sorts de ses proches parents et de ses connaissances, ce que l'essai politique cambodgien, organisé par le groupe de fanatiques et d'utopistes de Pol Pot, signifiait en pratique.

Boun Sokha supportait douloureusement la perte de la famille au milieu de laquelle il avait grandi, mais il était capable de suivre encore la désagrégation graduelle de toute la société. Il avait conscience de ce que son pays était atteint d'un sort extraordinairement cruel et résolut de suivre les événements avec circonspection afin de pouvoir les enrégistrer et publier au cas où il réussirait à s'échapper du Cambodge. Grâce à des auspices favorables, il a réussi dans son dessein et son livre a été publié à Paris. Son contribution réside en ce que l'auteur — lui-même chassé de Phnom Penh à la campagne — avait réussi, par ses parentés, à venir en contact personnel avec plusieurs des fonctionnaires régionaux du parti redouté et tout-puissant de Pol Pot qui avait été active pour un long temps au Cambodge simplement sous le nom d'Angkar Loeu, et seulement en 1977 s'est publiquement désigné de parti communiste. Dans ses entretiens avec eux il obtint beaucoup de données originelles sur les vues et les buts des adhérents et des organisateurs de la dictature au pouvoir. L'auteur ne présente pas une analyse systématique de ses conceptions théoriques, mail il montre comment celles-ci se projetaient dans la conception du monde et les attitudes des cadres moyens et quelle portée elles exerçaient dans la vie quotidienne de la nation cambodgienne. A son avis, les gens se sentaient comme des serfs vivant sous la menace d'une fin physique rapprochée.

Dans le premier chapitre, l'auteur, partant de ses expériences personnelles, confirme que les habitants de la capitale attendaient avec joie, en 1975, l'arrivée les unités de la résistance et que pour eux c'était une surprise incompréhensible et un choc quand le nouveau régime chassa d'une manière extrémement rude toute la population des villes cambodgiennes à la campagne. Ces marches forcées ne représentaient qu'un premier coup. D'autres mesures sociales ultraradicales et utopistes détournèrent le peuple définitivement du régime que s'inspirait de l'exemple du maoïsme chinois et devint son outil. A la page 218, l'auteur reproduit le témoignage d'un fonctionnaire polpotiste selon lequel ce groupe avait prédominé et se maintint au pouvoir uniquement grâce au support de Peking. Cependant, cette

attache du régime de Pol Pot à la Chine maoïste n'a pas reçu dans ce livre une attention adéquate.

En plusieurs endroits, l'auteur traite du développement de l'opinion des cambodgiens. A la page 165 il montre que les gens se sont bientôt convaincus de la nature dangereuse et criminelle du régime de Pol Pot, mais qu'ils n'avaient plus intérêt au retour de l'ancien chef d'état, Prince Sihanouk et qu'ils rappelaient avec haine la période de gouvernement du dictateur proaméricain, Lon Nol. Selon Boun Sokha, les attitudes politiques des Cambodgiens étaient considérablement influencées par la guerre aérienne brutale, sans égards et destructive, au moyen de laquelle les Américains s'efforçaient de maintenir Lon Nol au pouvoir.

L'auteur s'échappa du Cambodge juste avant la chute du régime des Khmers Rouges, c'est-à-dire de la clique polpotienne. Son œuvre présente un des aperçus les plus détaillés et des plus informés d'un témoin oculaire sur un système d'une cruauté inouïe, d'exécutions en masse, d'une extermination de sa propre nation, d'une démence politique et d'un fanatisme outré.

Ivan Doležal

Miner, Earl: *Japanese Linked Poetry. An Account with Translations of Renga and Haikai Sequences.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1979. 376 pp.

Professor Earl Miner known for many extensive studies on English, American but particularly Japanese literature, now presents his readers with a book dealing with the more important genres of Japanese poetry.

The work consists of two extensive parts, the first of which analyses the linked poetry, its history, canons and the major poets of the different genres of this poetry, and the second one makes available to the readers abundantly annotated translations of the following poetic works: *One Hundred Stanzas by Three Poets at Minase* (Sōgi, Shōhaku, and Sōcho), *A Hundred Stanzas Related to "Person"* by Sōgi, *Even the Kite's Feathers* by Kyorai, Bashō, Bonchō, and Fumikuni, *Throughout the Town* by Bonchō, Bashō, and Kyorai, *A Tub of Ashes* by Bonchō, Bashō, Yasui, and Kyorai, and finally *Peony Petals Fell* by Buson and Kitō.

Of more importance to literary scholarship is the first part. But a literary comparatist may be partially surprised at Mr. Miner's looking at the problem of the linked poetry more through the eyes of a historian of national literature and taking only minor account of the interliterary aspects of this problem. These words are, of course, not meant to reproach anything to the author of this outstanding book. The intraliterary aspects of a work of art and literature are equally as important as their interliterary or interartistic aspects. These latter aspects are of more interest to me as

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a historian of Chinese literature and reader of either Chinese of Japanese poetry. Mr. Miner processed some of them in his study *Towards a New Approach to Classical Japanese Poetics*, Studies on Japanese Culture, Vol. 1, Japan P.E.N. Club 1973, pp. 99—113, the writing of which may have been prompted by James J. Y. Liu's book *The Art of Chinese Poetry*. A sinologist will not help taking note of Miner's statement: "If Western poetics originated in the Greek encounter with drama, giving us a crucial interest in mimesis or representation, Japanese poetics (like Chinese) derives from encounter with lyric poetry" (p. 6). Not only in Japanese criticism, but long before it was known in China that literature is a human response in words to certain external or internal impulses. The Japanese word *kokoro* is in essence the Chinese word mind or heart (*hsin*), and *kotoba* is essentially the old Chinese *yen* (word, language).

Japanese lyricism in many places and in numerous authors appears to me even more sophisticated, suggestive and refined than that of Chinese poetry. It would be difficult to find such gems of lyric poetry on love in Chinese literature as are the following lines: Like these leaves the words between us /Take on a truer depth of love/ — Only when you settle /like the all-too-transient dew,/ A moment white, and gone (p. 10). Besides feeling they are permeated with a delicate suggestiveness. That is to say, those words convey a different meaning from the one they represent.

It is very probable that one of several sources of Japanese linked poetry had been Chinese linked verses (*lien-chü*), but the Chinese never went so far as the Japanese, nor have they created in this genre also such outstanding works as those by Nijō Yoshimoto (1320—1388), Kyuzai (died 1376 or 1378), Shōtetsu (1381—1459), Shinkei (1406—1475), Sōgi (1421—1502), Shohaku (1448–1528), Sōcho (1448—1532), Sōyō (1526—1563), Yōha (1524—1602) and several others in the genre *renga*, and Matsuo Bashō (1644—1694) and Yosa Buson (1716—1783) in the genre *haikai*. The analyses of the last two are perhaps the most interesting in the whole book.

The canons of *renga* and *haikai* will be appreciated especially by those wishing to become more closely acquainted with this poetry. The chapter entitled Distinctive Features of Linked Poetry brings out moments important to an understanding of Japanese poetry, particularly that of the second half of the fifteenth to the second half of the eighteenth centuries. It was certainly beneficial to Japanese poetics that Chinese "neo-Confucianism had remarkably little effect on the practice of linked poetry" (p. 143), although, on the other hand, precisely neo-Confucianism in the interpretation of Chu Hsi (1130—1200) proved a philosophical support of Japanese social and political system. In the domain of poetry, the Japanese allowed themselves to be influenced by Buddhist notion on being as a void (*śunyatā* in Sanscrit, *k'ung* in Chinese and *kū* in Japanese), and this notion which may be characterized by the faith that "the things of the phenomenal world hold no existence in themselves", probably stimulated the formulation of certain important concepts of Japanese literary and art

criticism, for example, *sabi* (loneliness, stillness), *yūgen* (mystery, depth), *yōen* (ethereal beauty), *karumi* (lightness), and others. In Japan, Zen Buddhism had a greater impact on literature and art than forerunner and counterpart, Ch'an Buddhism, in China. In Japan, this impact affected not only the content, but also the formal aspect of poetry. Linked poetry would probably have never achieved its grandeur without the enormous popularity of Zen Buddhism. In China Buddhist impulses exerted no influence at all on the formal aspect of Chinese poetry and its terminological repertory in the critical domain was influenced only slightly. According to Professor Miner, metaphor-making of Western poetry is partly different from that of Japanese poetry. Japanese poets (and critics, for that matter), "worry less over ambiguity" and therefore "it is often impossible to identify the exact tenor of Japanese figurative language" (p. 147). It is as if, in terms of modern psychology, they laid more weight by the appositions (of the right hemisphere of the brain), than by the propositions (of the left hemisphere). If, for instance, Chung-ying Cheng attempted with at least a partial success to resolve the Zen (Ch'an) language and its paradoxes (see Journal of Chinese Philosophy, 1, 1973) despite inadequacies of "conceptual clarity, logical consistency and semantic meaningfulness", then it is possible, it seems to me, to deal with even greater success with the creative and critical issues of Japanese poetry produced under the impact of Zen. This involves primarily a recoding of the information conveyed to the reader under the influence of the "synchronistic" (C. G. Jung), or the "coordinative" (J. Needham) mode of thinking as usual in the traditional China or Japan, into the "subordinative thinking" as common in our times, more causally related, and consequently also more precise and compact.

It should be observed that due to the excessive orientation of Japanese poetry to subtle, for the most part natural lyrics, it contains less social criticism, although, when expressed in poetry, the latter is matchless by its suggestive innuendoes, its insinuating implications, e.g.: Each year it is but a peck of rice/ but the land-tax is paid in full (Kyorai).

The book under review is provided with a very useful glossary of Japanese terms and English cross-listing, and index of names, titles and terms.

Marián Gálik

Kim, Jeong-hak: *The Prehistory of Korea.* Translated and edited by Richard J. Pearson and Kazue Pearson. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1978. xxxv + 237 pp.

Our knowledge of the earliest history of mankind is conditioned by a study of the principal sources concerning the material and mental culture of the population. The

sources enable many economic and social phenomena in various phases of the first ages and the remotest historical period to be reconstructed. The relevance of the sources varies and depends not only on their nature but mainly on the way in which they were acquired. The most valuable are objects discovered in the course of professional archaeological research and representing the so-called closed find units. The quantity, preservation and mutual continuity of finds also enhance their testimonial value.

As for Korea, its archaeology has a fairly long tradition; however, prehistoric archaeology started to develop rapidly only a quarter of a century ago. Since then much work has been done in that branch of research but the results have been practically unknown elsewhere in the world for various reasons, not the least one being a very limited distribution of the relevant published materials.

After the Second World War, it became imperative to take steps for an immediate salvage of numerous sites discovered and often destroyed in the process of extensive construction works both in the north and the south. Unfortunately, not all the sites have been saved, especially those in the south, where this problem became aggravated by such adverse factors as large-scale pirating of ancient tombs and extensive erosion of sites from previous periods. Korean archaeology has to resolve several specific issues of basic significance related to this scientific discipline. This is fully understandable when we take into account that not so very long ago, viz. at the end of the sixties, very little was known of the Palaeolithic Period of Korea's past.

Professor Kim's book deals with the Palaeolithic Period up to the Bronze Age of Korea. His work was originally published in Japanese in 1972 under the title *Kankoku no kokogaku* and the present English version is a translation of the first half of it. (The second part describing the Three Kingdoms lay outside the scope of prehistory.) He presents Korean bronze artifacts in detail for the first time and not only gives information on many excavations, but makes groupings of them and presents their chronology. In addition to archaeology, his research enriches also comparative culture history.

The book was translated into English by Richard J. Pearson, Professor of Anthropology, a specialist in East Asian archaeology, and Kazue Pearson.

There are 97 figures, 115 plates and 5 tables in the book and the bibliography is divided into publications in Korean, Japanese, English and other western languages, and Chinese.

Jozef Genzor

Pak, M. N.: *Ocherki rannei istorii Korei* (Outlines of Early History of Korea). Moscow, Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo Universiteta 1979. 240 pp., 25 illustrations in black-and-white.

Seeing the importance of the role that Korea has played in the process of a historical development in the Far East, the earliest stages of Korean history have thus far been very inadequately researched and many moot points, often even contradictory views are to be met with in the interpretation of the evolution of Korean society. Consequently, all historians interested in the history of Korea, China and Japan, but also general historians will certainly welcome M. N. Pak's new book documenting further progress of Soviet Koreanist studies in the domain of Korean historical research.

Prof. M. N. Pak (1918), doctor of historical sciences and head of the Department of the History of Far Eastern and Southeastern Countries and head of the History Institute of Asian and African Countries at the M. V. Lomonosov State University in Moscow, is a scholar whose past studies have considerably contributed to an elucidation of various aspects of Korean history and whose work is known far and wide beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. Let us mention at least his entry in the Soviet Encyclopaedia about the history of Korea, a commented translation of part of the earliest Korean historical work *Samguk sagi* (Kim Busik: *Samguk sagi. Letopisi Silla.* Moscow 1959), his comprehensive essay Nationalism and History in the collection *Istoriya Korei v burzhuaznoi istoriografii* (History of Korea in Bourgeois Historiography), Moscow 1976, his contributions in the collections *Istoriografiya stran Vostoka. Problemy sotsialno-ekonomicheskoi istorii feodalizma v stranakh Vostoka* (Problems of Socio-Economic History of Feudalism in Eastern Countries), Moscow 1969 (pp. 222—305) and *Istoriografiya stran Vostoka* (Historiography of the Countries of the East), Moscow 1977, or his numerous textbooks for university students, etc. M. N. Pak is also one of the authors and editors of the work *Istoriya Korei* (*s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*) (History of Korea) (from the Earliest Times to the Present Days)), Vol. I—II, Moscow 1974.

In the work under review, Prof. Pak starts from a Marxist methodology of historical materialism and concentrates primarily on an elucidation of the socio-economic development of the Korean society from the remotest periods up to the end of the period of Unified Silla, i.e. up to the ninth century. He devotes attention to such questions as the disintegration of the primitive society, the origin of a class society, the existence of the slave system, the process of setting up statehood, the beginnings and the character of Korean feudalism, periodization, etc. The work comprises the following chapters:

I. The Earliest Korea (on the basis of archaeological data), pp. 5—89.

II. Some Questions Relating to the Periodization of the Earliest History of Korea (Historiography), pp. 90—142.

III. The Origin and Development of Three States — Koguryŏ, Paekche, Silla. Beginnings of Feudal Relationships, pp. 143—197.

IV. Unification of Korea in the Period of Early Middle Ages. Consolidation of Feudalism, pp. 198—237.

One of the great priorities of M. N. Pak's book is that it presents a relatively detailed specification and the author's own evaluation of various views on the problems in historical literature. This will be particularly appreciated by those (including general historians) to whom the results of those works are difficult of access for linguistic reasons — lack of familiarity with Korean, Chinese and Japanese.

In Chapter I, the author makes use also of data from the latest archaeological surveys carried out in the D.P.R.K. (eventually in North-East China) and in South Korea. This chapter also brings information of great interest on the novel views of historians of the D.P.R.K. relating to the earliest history of Korea and comprised primarily in the book by a collective of authors from the History Department of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Social Sciences in the D.P.R.K. *Ko Chosŏn munje yon'gu* (Studies on Questions of Ko Chosŏn) P'yongyang 1973. (In this study, the Korean authors present totally new aspects and views on the dating and localization of the States Ko Chosŏn, Puyŏ and Chin'guk, characterizing them as States of the slavery type.) M. N. Pak, however, maintains a reserved attitude to these inferences, as well as to the attempts to associate the beginning of the disintegration of the slave system to the appearance of iron implements.

In Chapter II, the author presents a critical analysis principally of works by Japanese historians dealing with the earliest history of Korea (pp. 92—111). But he devotes most attention to writings on Korean Marxist historiography which began to develop already in the thirties and achieved notable results especially after the liberation in the northern part of the country (pp. 111—129). Mention is made of the works of Paek Nam-un, Ri Ch'ŏng-wŏn, Kim Kwang-jin, Ri Ŭng-su, To Yu-ho, Kim Sŏk-hyŏng, Pak Si-hyŏng, Rim Kŏn-sang, etc. The author further turns attention to the discussion on the socio-economic development of Korea during the period of the Three Kingdoms which went on in the D.P.R.K. in the second half of the fifties. In addition, also some results are dealt with of the South-Korean bourgeois historiography (pp. 129—135), in particular the views expressed by Kim Sam-su, Ri Pyŏng-do, Kim Chae-wŏn, and others, based on the work *Han'guksa* (History of Korea), Vol. I, Seoul 1967, and *Han'guk munhwasa taegye* (Outlines of the History of Korean Culture), Vols I—II, Seoul 1965. A list of Russian and Soviet works relating to the study of this topic is given on pp. 135—142.

A contribution of real value to the existing, though inadequate and often conflicting attempts at elucidating the origins of statehood of the Three Kingdoms and the beginnings and nature of feudal relationships, is provided especially by Chapter III. In conformity with the views of numerous other historians in the

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D.P.R.K. and in South Korea, the author considers the States of Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla to have originally been of the "early feudal type". On the other hand, he places the termination of the State-forming process (through a gradual transition from the family-clan organization to one of Statehood) to a far later period than do, e.g. scholars from the D.P.R.K. (in the case of Paekche to the period from the second half of the third until the last quarter of the fourth century, in the case of Silla to the early sixth century) (pp. 172 and 189).

Because of the insufficient number of written sources to the socio-economic development, their fragmentary nature and the possibility of their being variously interpreted, furthermore, because of the as yet inadequate archaeological survey of Korea and adjoining regions, the author considers his conclusions to be simply "one of his working hypotheses" (p. 238). It is to be rather regretted that M. N. Pak's views stated in confrontation with those of other authors throughout the text, have not been consistently systematized in the conclusion of the work. Likewise, an alphabetic list of the sources and the literature, as well as a subject and an author index would have greatly facilitated the use of this unusually interesting, scholarly and valuable book.

Vladimír Pucek

Rabochii klass Kitaya (1949—1974 gg.) (The Working Class of China 1949—1974). Edited by V. G. Gelbras. Moscow, Nauka 1978. 272 pp.

The social structure and its role in contemporary China represents one of much examined but still little known problems restraining the possibilities of a deeper understanding of Chinese politics, economics, ideology and culture. Any scientific analysis in this field is impeded by the artificial isolation of China from the outside world, the lack or even non-existence of reliable statistical data and other information about the key socio-economic processes taking place in China, and the confusion in Maoist terminology using Marxist-Leninist terms in a non-Marxist sense. Even the essential category of Marxism "proletariat" has been misinterpreted and identified with the general term "the poor".

The book under review is the first monograph which attempts to overcome the difficulties mentioned above, summarizes the present state of research and uses new original sources to throw more light on the character and position of the working class in China, the youngest and at the same time the most important class of the Chinese society.

The book is a result of many years of research carried out by a research team headed by V. G. Gelbras, Doctor of Sciences, in the Institute of the International

Working-Class Movement of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow. V. G. Gelbras, who is the author of two thirds of the book and also its editor, is a well-known author of his earlier books, such as *Maoizm i rabochii klass Kitaya* (Maoism and the Working Class of China), published in 1972, and *Kitai: Krizis prodolzhaetsya* (China: The Crisis Continues), published in 1973. The co-authors of the present book are A. V. Kholodkovskaya, A. N. Anisimov and G. F. Saltykov.

The foreword declares that the monograph intends to be neither a history of the formation of a new class nor a history of the working-class movement in China. It is "an attempt to analyse the social aspects of the life and struggle of the Chinese proletariat together with the political conditions and the concrete circumstances of the development of the working-class movement, and the degree and character of its relations to the Communist Party of China" (p. 4).

The authors approach the problems as historians which is reflected in the whole concept of the book divided into parts and chapters on a chronological basis.

The first part comprising six chapters is devoted to the formation of the Chinese proletariat, to the results of its revolutionary struggle and to the Maoist pressure on its positions during the period 1949—1969, from the establishment of the People's Republic of China till the end of the so-called "Cultural Revolution".

At the beginning, V. G. Gelbras analyses the classes and social strata of the pre-revolutionary China, out of which approximately 55 per cent were those of a pre-capitalist type and about 38 per cent those of a transitional type. The remaining 7 per cent included the industrial proletariat, bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and bureaucracy of the capitalist type (p. 8).

The author reveals the main features and the special characteristics of the formation of the industrial proletariat in China, namely the co-existence of historically different categories of workers with the majority of them being engaged in the most primitive forms of capitalist production; the domination of the feudal-patriarchal relationship in industry which was due to the fact that the working class in China had not passed the stage of freely buying and selling the labour force and of the socialization of work on a nation-wide scale; the formation of the working class in the conditions of over-population and mass pauperization of peasants during the first half of this century; the limited mobility of the population which was developing slower than the industry itself; and, finally, the geographical concentration of proletariat in the narrow maritime areas (pp. 8—13). V. G. Gelbras also emphasizes the specific identity of the interests of the proletariat in the national liberation movement in China with those of the other classes and strata. This was one of the reasons why the working-class movement did not achieve an independent character all over the country.

In the following chapters of the first part, the authors describe the concrete class policy of the C.P.C. and the different stages of the Maoist influence within the Party. It is pointed out that already in the pre-liberation period the policy towards the

working class has been one of the weakest points in the Party work mainly due to the influence of Mao Tse-tung who failed to properly appreciate the role and the historical mission of the working class. He even did not aim at building up of socialism. What he did aim at was a sort of "establishment" of socialism in China (p. 31).

The massive attacks of Maoists against the policy of the VIIIth Party Congress and against the vital interests of the working class are analysed on the basis of numerous historical documents.

In the second part, the negative influence of the Maoist anti-proletarian policy on the social and economic position and social psychology of the Chinese working class are described in detail. The facts reveal a deep isolation of the Chinese working class caused by the Maoist leadership which has destroyed the ties with the working class of other nations, as well as the ties with other classes and strata of the Chinese society in the first half of the seventies.

The authors stress that the Maoists nevertheless failed to achieve an "absolute predominance" or an "absolute authority" both in the Chinese society as a whole and also within the Party (p. 254), and, in fact, the only unifying factor of the Party remains the Maoist nationalism and hegemonism.

Marcela Kubešová

Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews. Madison, Coda Press. Vol. 1, No. 1 and 2, January and July 1979. 288 pp.

In January 1979, a new scholarly journal became available to students of Chinese literature, one intended to appear regularly twice a year — Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (the initial letters of the five words giving the suggestive abbreviation CLEAR). It is being sponsored by three institutions: The University of Arizona, the Indiana University and the University of Wisconsin. The editors are Eugene Eoyang (Indiana University), William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (University of Wisconsin), Ronald C. Miao — book review editor (University of Arizona) and Jane Parish Yang — editorial assistant (University of Wisconsin). The fourteen-member editorial board and the twelve-member advisory board list leading personalities in American research of Chinese literature — the editorial board including also four professors from the universities of Munich, Leiden, Bordeaux and Hamburg.

As evident from the first two issues, alongside critical, analytical and historical studies on Chinese literature, reviews and short notices, CLEAR also proposes to bring information on research sources to Chinese literature, publishing projects, a wide range of scholarly notes, reports and value judgments on reprints and studies

on Chinese literature in China, Japan and Europe and provide space for scholarly discussions and polemics. The first volume focuses predominantly on research in the domain of old literature and the authors are almost exclusively American scholars. The present volume, as well as the headings prepared for the forthcoming issues imply that this concentration on old literature and on American authors is neither preemptive nor imperative, although in practice it will remain valid for the next few issues of CLEAR.

The opening and the most extensive study in the first number is by Chou Tse-tsung, and deals with problems of ancient Chinese views on literature and Tao, and on their mutual relationships. On the basis of systematic graphic and etymological analyses, the author follows up the development of meaning and understanding of "wen" and "Tao" in old China, their emancipation and relation. His analyses and conclusions convey a sense of general validity for an understanding of Chinese literary concepts and prompt the reader to become conscious of a need of such depth analyses also in the case of other notions and theories of literature in order to be able to apprehend them in a more complex and exact manner. The next two studies in the first number of CLEAR, not less scholarly in their processing and argumentation, treat of concrete literary works. In the study *Three Divine Women of South China*, Edward H. Schafer presents an analysis of three tales from the *Yung ch'eng chi hsien lu* of Tu Kuang-t'ing (850—933) dealing with female personages (K'ou Hsien-ku, Lu Mei-niang and Nan ming fu-jen). André Lévy in his article documents his view that there is no plausible reason for presuming the existence of the hypothetical "lost" edition of the novel Chin P'ing Mei from the year 1610 or 1611.

Three of the studies in the second issue of CLEAR are devoted to classical poetry. James J. Y. Liu has here a stimulative study on Time — Space — Self relations where, on examples of language analyses of the poems *shih*, he points out the most diverse ways in which the ego of a poem orients itself in time and space. The analysis of these ways is concluded by an example of transcendence of time and space, which in the author's view, is an attribute of all poetry enabling the reader to re-create the poem in his own time and space. The main body of Stephen Owen's study is preceded by ten poems from the sixth to the ninth century A.D. (in the Chinese original and an English translation) on the barren tree. His analyses of the poems containing the common motif of deadwood, barren tree lead the author to some interesting conclusions relating, for instance, to the question of topic as a general convention, the functions of convention and role which the topic plays as a literary tradition in poetic language. In the following study, Paul W. Kroll mentions several examples on the occurrence of the "egret" in Chinese mediaeval culture, predominantly in poetry. He investigates the role of the egret in literature, its various significations, aspects and their causes. Alsace Yen's contribution on adaptation in the Hsi-yu chi with focus on chapter nine, is a critical appraisal of adaptations of this novel and polemics especially with the works of Glen Dulbridge.

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The next studies bring information of great interest to all specialists in the field of Chinese literature. David R. Knechtges and Stephen Owen outline the general principles and also certain details of a project planned for a period of some ten years, the result of which is to be an eleven-volume history of Chinese literature. Similarly, Irving Lo gives information in the first issue of CLEAR on a new series from the Indiana University Press scheduled to embody translations from Chinese literature, editions of dynastic anthologies of Chinese poetry and studies in modern Chinese literature and society. In the second number, William Schultz presents a status report on the famous Twayne's World Authors Series.

Both numbers carry review articles. Leo Ou-fan Lee reviews the so-called dissent literature from the Cultural Revolution, presenting interesting analyses of two works in particular, i.e. *Yin hsien-chang* (The Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Bloomington 1978) by Ch'en Jo-hsi and the novel *Pei-ching tsui leng te tung-t'ien* (The Coldest Winter in Peking, New York 1978) from a mysterious author concealed behind the pen-name Hsia Chih-yen. This review article summarizes and evaluates also further data on the so-called dissent literature from the Cultural Revolution. Valuable information on recent publications on Chinese literature in Taiwan (by Charles Hartman) and in the People's Republic of China (by William H. Nienhauser, Jr. with an Addendum by W. L. Wong) is to be found in further reviews in the first issue of CLEAR. The only such article in the second issue by Pauline R. Yu deals with ten books, studies and translations of the T'ang poet Wang Wei.

The editors of CLEAR have rightly decided to publish more than one review of some books. As from number two, they have introduced a section headed Forum: Clearing the Air, which promises to be an interesting platform a free and matter-of-fact exchange of views on scholarly subjects. The first such subject of this Forum is the book *The Bell and the Drum* by C. H. Wang (Berkeley 1974) dealing with *Shih-ching*. Lois M. Fusek's review (CLEAR No. 1) elicited here a polemical reaction from David E. Bynum and the latter's views are then challenged in the next article by the author of the book C. H. Wang. The issue here is the problem of adaptation of Perry-Lord oral-formulaic theory. On another level, Stephen Owen replies in this Forum to Paul W. Kroll's review of his book *The Poetry of the Early T'ang* (New Haven and London 1977), which appeared in the first issue of CLEAR.

Another section that promises to be a boon is that of Scholarly Notes, opened in the second issue with three such notes, dealing with reflections on the fate of the collection of Chinese Fiction donated to the Dairen Library by Otami Kozui in the 1920s (Y.W.Ma), with the question of pronunciation (David R. Knechtges), and with translation of Chinese historical romances into Manchu and Mongolian (Stephen W. Durrant).

Each issue comprises a few reviews of books and information on materials published, or scheduled to be published, from the domain of Chinese literature.

It should be added that CLEAR is of a good typographic standard, uses the Wade-Giles system of romanization, and presents Chinese terms as well as texts in Chinese characters, too.

Although, as has already been noted, the first issue of CLEAR deals principally with old literature and among the works discussed in it those written and published in the U.S.A. predominate, this new periodical will certainly be welcomed, and rightly so, too, by all students of Chinese literature.

Anna Doležalová

Lin Man-shu, Ch'en Hai, Hai Feng: *Chung-kuo tang-tai wen-hsüeh shih-kao. 1949—1965 Ta-lu pu-fen* (A Draft History of Contemporary Chinese Literature. 1949—1965 Mainland China). Paris, Université Paris 7, Centre de publication Asie Orientale 1978. 8+456 pp.

The present book, printed by the Ngai Lean Press in Hong Kong, is the 36th volume in the series Bibliothèque Asiatique, under the editorship of René Viénet. In 1976, the 27th volume in this series by the same authors appeared from the same publisher and printer under the care of the same editor, entitled *Chung-kuo tang-tai tso-chia hsiao-chuan* (Short Biographies of Contemporary Chinese Writers). It comprises 180 biographies and may serve as a suitable supplement to the book under review.

A need to know Chinese literature from the period after the year 1949 is generally felt by investigators following not only culture and art, but also the inner political and ideological development in the People's Republic of China. Studies available thus far, with rare exceptions, all concentrate on problems of literature of the PRC from the aspect of cultural policy and cultural campaigns. But about literature in the PRC as such, sinological literature contains a rather small, though hopefully increasing number of studies, bibliographies and diverse sources of information.

It is of course unthinkable that literature of the PRC could be studied without taking note of the socio-political conditions and the cultural policy of the Chinese Communist Party, which has been reflected also in the two available books on history of contemporary Chinese literature.

These issues are dealt with length by the very first history written by Minoru Takeuchi, *Gendai Chūgoku no bungaku* (Contemporary Chinese Literature), Tokyo 1972, covering the period 1949—1970. The second history of literature in the PRC (besides the history of Chinese literature of the fifties, published in the PRC) is the work under review. In addition, it is so far the most detailed and the most informed study on the development of Chinese literature of the years 1949—1965, focusing on an explication of literary works.

In the first chapter, the authors present a brief and rather simplified interpretation of Mao Tse-tung's literary line, but also give some useful bits of information on the writers' organization, publishing conditions and training of young writers in the PRC. The next four chapters deal in a chronological manner with literary discussions, slogans and campaigns from the beginnings of the PRC until the Cultural Revolution. These passages take up no more than 55 pages all told, a fact that precludes a thorough processing of the problems in their entire breadth and in all their affinities. The principal section of the book (pp. 86—340) focuses on the development of the literature itself and is divided into twelve chapters. Five of these treat of *hsiao-shuo* (novel and short story) thematically encompassing these topics: village life, industry and the workers, the army and the border regions, history, military affairs, with the eleventh chapter being devoted to nonconventional stories from the period of the Hundred Flowers Campaign. The most extensive chapter follows up the development of poetry, and the twelfth one that of prose san-wen. Two chapters are concerned with drama, the first one with plays and revolutionary operas, the second one with historical plays. The last two chapters process children's literature and literatures of national minorities. The book has two supplements. The first one brings a relatively detailed chronology of the literary development during 1949—1965, listing political events that had an impact on the social atmosphere, nodal points in the cultural policy and literary criticism, as well as publication of important literary works. The second supplement comprises a review of writers with a bibliography of their works and is divided into "hsiao-shuo", poetry, "san-wen" and theatre, the last being subdivided into drama and opera. The list of writers is a selective one, and so is also the bibliography which does not always mention first editions. The photographs of scores of writers in the PRC are also included. Throughout the book, the authors mention and quote exclusively Chinese source references, books and journals.

The team of authors endeavoured to record the most important and the most characteristic literary works from the given period and to give their assessment. As is only to be expected, the present book could not aspire to being exhaustive, and individual scholars may miss some definite work, or feel that some of the entries usurp the place of more deserving ones. To make the choice is the authors' inalienable right, especially in a work of such broad design, and stands on its own merit. It should nevertheless be observed that this book contains determining moments and profiling works and writers of the period 1949—1965 without limiting itself to only the principal works and known writers. Thus, the book meets satisfactorily its proclaimed task of being a draft history of Chinese literature from the beginning of the PRC until the Cultural Revolution. In passing judgment on the literary works, the authors strove to present a balanced and objective appraisal with which one may agree in the great majority of cases. The authors' attitudes unambiguously betray their sympathy with realist literature and are opposed to

a simplifying schematism in literary works and to dogmatism in their evaluation.

As the authors mention in the conclusion, the work on the Draft History of Contemporary Chinese Literature took them four full years, and the present reviewer may state that the result of their four-year effort is a highly needed pioneering work that has the significance of a basic textbook for a knowledge of literature in the PRC before the Cultural Revolution. Simultaneously, it constitutes a useful and inspiring springboard which might stimulate the processing of the history of Chinese literature after the year 1965, which would be a welcome deed.

Anna Doležalová

Meishi Tsai: *Contemporary Chinese Novels and Short Stories, 1949—1974. An Annotated Bibliography.* Harvard University, Council on East Asian Studies 1979. xvi + 408 pp.

This book by Meishi Tsai, prepared with the assistance of 1-mei Tsai, is the 78th publication in the Harvard East Asian Monographs series. It is the result of a tremendous amount of patient, painstaking and expert work in favour of sinologists the world over, as well as of an English-reading public interested in fiction of the People's Republic of China. The bibliography brings an annotation of the great majority of novels, novelettes, short stories and reportages with novelistic technique that were first published in the People's Republic of China in the years 1949—1974, hence, a period the literature of which is steadily getting into the centre of scientific interest. By processing in detail the very first bibliography of fiction written in China during this time, Mr. Meishi Tsai has performed a supremely meritorious piece of pioneering work.

The main body of the book (pp. 11—369) has the title Authors and their Works. Here he has set down in an alphabetical order (the Wade-Giles system of romanization is used throughout the work) a total of 455 writers, in many cases providing also biographical data. Every author entry includes a chronological list of his works — novels, collection of short stories, eventually separately published stories in magazines. Meishi Tsai gives their titles in transcription, in Chinese characters and in English translation, together with the place of publication, the publisher, the year of publication and the number of pages. If the work was published in English by the Foreign Languages Press in Peking, bibliographic data on translation are also entered. Separately published works are commented by a brief summary. The author gives a thematic characteristic of collections of stories, stating the titles of all the stories in the collection and their theme. This commentary is omitted when the title adequately embodies the topic of the story. The author has

made use of an ingenious numeric system for identifying authors, enabling a ready orientation in pseudonyms, co-authors, or tracing a work published in several magazines. The bibliography is primarily based on collections and publication of a story is given only when it did not appear in any one collection. Hence, data on first publication of a work will not be found in this bibliography.

The author has provided three indexes to this bibliography.

An Index of Authors comprises an alphabetical list of writers, with their names also in Chinese characters and data on the total number of each one's works annotated in the present book.

The Index of Titles brings the headings of works, likewise arranged in alphabetical order in transcription, followed by the title in Chinese characters. Works published in English may be retrieved in this index both according to their Chinese or their English title. Each entry bears a number permitting it to be easily identified in the section Authors and their Works and also in the other two indexes. The Index of Titles gives only the titles of monographs, hence, not individual stories published in anthologies. Therefore, although this index is far from including all the annotated works, yet it contains around 1,500 items, thus giving an idea of the enormous range of the processed material.

Every user of this bibliography will be grateful to the author also for the third index, the Subject Index of Selected Topics. The latter assigns the authors and their works into a score of topics thus greatly facilitating the use of the present Annotated Bibliography, saving time in search work, which still enhances its overall value. This thematic indexing is fairly detailed. It does not indicate merely the major topics, as for example, Workers, but breaks down the work into further sub-topics, as Workers in Dams and Irrigation, Dock, Electrical, Petroleum, Railroad, Steel, Textile Workers, Miners, etc.

As Mr. Meishi Tsai states in the Preface, he did not include authors and works that are inaccessible outside of China and Hong Kong and only exceptionally included works published in monographs that were not at his disposal. He processed the collections in four libraries of the United States, checked two main catalogues published in Peking and Tokyo and processed a number of Chinese literary periodicals. This gave rise to a bibliography comprising an enormous quantity of annotations, novels, novelettes, short stories and novelist reportages. It stands to reason that even a work of such an imposing scale could be added to, supplemented with further items. We should like to include at least, e.g. Hsiao Chün (T'ien Chün) in the list of authors, whose novel *Wu-yüeh-ti kuang-shan* (Coal Mines in May) published in 1954, elicited considerable criticism in 1955. Attention should also be drawn to Shih T'o (of whom it is generally thought that he did not publish after the year 1949), concretely to his short story published in the monthly Jen-min wen-hsüeh (People's Literature), 1954, No. 3. The number of works by Lu Wen-fu might be enlarged by the story of *Hsien-kang shen-ch'u* (In a Quiet Street) published

in *Tuan-p'ien hsiao-shio hsüan* (Selection of Short Stories), Peking, Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she 1957. In an eventual enlarged second edition of the bibliography, the scale of writers and works might fittingly be increased by the inclusion of fictions treated of in *Chinese Communist Literature*, New York 1963, edited by C. Birch (particularly those published in the People's Literary Monthly). These remarks are of course not meant to throw doubt on or detract in any way from the immensely valuable and meritorious pioneering work of Mr. Meishi Tsai.

The annotated bibliography of contemporary Chinese novels and short stories 1949—1974 will be eagerly welcomed by all students of contemporary Chinese literature and contemporary China generaliy. Mr. Meishi Tsai's extensive and devoted work will help to make research in this domain more effective and more efficient and, as pointed out Prof. Ezra F. Vogel in the Foreword, we all are very much in debt to Mr. Meishi Tsai who undertook a painstaking task that required a decade of work.

Anna Doležalová

Ukazatel periodicheskikh izdanii na kitaiskom yazyke v fondakh bibliotek Moskvy i Leningrada (Index of Periodicals in Chinese Language in the Library Stocks of Moscow and Leningrad). Moscow, Akademiya nauk SSSR 1979. 344 pp.

This Index, published by the Institute of Scientific Information associated to the Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R, was compiled by a team of authors including L. A. Kivshinnikova, V. V. Bakalyuk, T. N. Kholmovskaya, I. E. Tsiperovich and L. I. Malyshko, the editor-in-chief being V. V. Petrov. The authors processed the stocks of nine principal libraries in Moscow and Leningrad and prepared a detailed index of a total of 1846 titles of periodicals in Chinese language. This index comprises Chinese periodicals from every domain of scientific and social life (newspapers are not included) that were in the holdings of Moscow and Leningrad libraries on 1st January 1978.

The periodicals are arranged in the order of the Cyrillic (Russian) alphabet and beside the titles, transcribed in the Cyrillic, entries include the name of the editor (eventually of the editors, the years of editorship of each), place of publication, the publishing house (all changes are stated), the years during which the periodical appeared, and its periodicity. The title of periodical, names of the editors, the place of publication and the publishing institution are also given in Chinese characters. If a periodical had a subtitle in a European language, that too is given with the respective item. These data are given for each periodical according to the libraries, and each relevant library has entries for the volumes and numbers of the periodical in its holdings.

The Index has two supplements. The first one is an alphabetic list of periodicals that also have a title in some European language with their serial number in the Index. The second one is a reference list of 36 Russian, Chinese, Japanese, European, Singaporean and Australian bibliographic catalogues which the editors made use of in their work.

The Index of Periodicals in Chinese Language in the Library Stocks of Moscow and Leningrad shows that these libraries hold not only an enormous complex of periodicals published in the People's Republic of China, but also several rare journals of the Yen-an period, as well as journals published in the Kuo-min-tang regions. The Index also lists an impressive number of Chinese periodicals from the twenties and the thirties and several titles from the first decade of the present century.

This Index will substantially facilitate the use of Chinese stocks in the libraries of Moscow and Leningrad to scholars, and in addition, will supplement or complete existing bibliographies of Chinese periodicals in European libraries.

Anna Doležalová

Zhelokhovtsev, A. N.: *Literaturnaya teoriya i politicheskaya borba v KNR* (Literary Theory and Political Struggle in the PRC). Moscow, Nauka 1979. 207 pp.

The literature of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the cultural policy of the Chinese Communist Party form the subject of a systematic study on the part of Soviet sinologists. During the past decade they have published a whole series of studies from this field in Soviet periodicals and collections, besides several monographs, e.g. those by L. S. Kyusedjan, S. D. Markova, S. A. Toroptsev, A. S. Tsvetko, the team-authored monograph *Sudby kultury KNR* (Fate of Culture in the PRC). The latest from the series in this field published in Russian is the book under review by A. N. Zhelokhovtsev, a foremost Soviet expert on this topic, known also to Western readers particularly by his book in which he gave an eye-witness testimony to the cultural revolution in China, and which was published in several Western languages.

The book also includes several of the author's part studies that had appeared in various periodicals, particularly in the quarterly Problemy Dalnego Vostoka (Far Eastern Affairs). However, the book also brings a large number of new facts, views and evaluations of relationships between literature and politics in China in the period 1942—1978, the principal emphasis being laid on the sixties and seventies.

The book comprises three main sections dealing with the theoretical basis of Mao Tse-tung's line in relation to literature and art, with Maoist criticism of socialist literature, and with literature of the period 1966—1976.

Part One of the book is introduced by an analysis of Mao Tse-tung's Yen-an Talks on Literature and Art, in which the author sees the theoretical basis of the antisocialist cultural policy to reside. Of interest are his comparisons of the texts in Talks from the 1943 and the 1953 editions, as also his information on the tone of Yean-an publications from the year 1942. The author also compares Lenin's and Mao Tse-tung's theses on literature and art and underlines a series of Mao Tse-tung's basically non-Marxist attitudes. In this connections he presents a detailed study of the question of humanism in Marxist theory and in Pa Jen'y views which he unequivocally appraises as positive. Then, by several concrete examples, he documents the strictly utilitarian attitude on the part of Maoists towards Chinese cultural heritage and towards foreign culture. This first part of the book is concluded by a chapter on the method of a "combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism" in which the author sees an attempt theoretically to separate Chinese culture from that of the other socialist countries and expounds the baneful sequelae of the application of this method to the literary production in the PRC. Here, as in the rest of his book, the author as an experienced sinologist supports his appraisal of Mao Tse-tung's theories with concrete evidence from Chinese literature and art, as well as from literary criticism of that time and of the years 1977—1978.

Part Two of the book also brings along a considerable number of concrete and as yet unprocessed insights. In the first place, A. N. Zhelokhovtsev shows in some detail why the principles of realist literature proved unacceptable to Mao Tse-tung's conception. Through an analysis of literary works and their criticisms, he then documents the various stages of condemnation of realist literature in the PRC from before 1966. The author sees the genesis of an anticultural nihilism, for which he has collected convincing data, and culminating in the years 1966—1971, in Mao Tse-tung's Yen-an Talks and in his manipulation with the theory of the "utility of the harmless". The last chapters of this part are devoted to deformations in the evaluation of the personality and work of Lu Hsün and to the demagogical condemnation of Soviet literature and art, which he documents on a large quantity of concrete data.

One of the most interesting sections of the book under review is the first chapter of the third part on the culture of religious forms of mass consciousness in the ideological policy from the years 1966—1971. Here, the author shows to what extent Maoism remained tributary to negative elements in Chinese tradition. He sees religious forms, for instance, in attributing a sacral character to ideology and political power, which he shows on concrete expressions in the Chinese ideological mechanism. In a like manner, he adduces concrete evidence to his thesis on religious elements being present in Maoism, citing examples of an introduction of rituals, rites and faith in supernatural phenomena into mass consciousness. In the chapter devoted to the ideology of Maoism, the author shows that the basis of literature and art was not to be reality, but ideals, which explains also the antagonistic attitude of

Maoism towards every other culture. The author sees certain quantitative, though not qualitative changes in Chinese culture after the year 1971. This chapter is related to that on a new, normative hero in literature and art, and on his many-faceted identities. Part Three of the book is concluded by a chapter on the specific features of the works of Chinese literature after the cultural revolution, which he subjects to a concrete analysis. He points out that these specificities never led to any positive results and the state of Chinese culture elicited dissatisfaction on the part of the leadership also before 1976.

In conclusion, the author gives a brief characterization of the situation after October 1976. He points to the half-hearted and artificial nature of criticism of past deformations in cultural policy, for which Mao Tse-tung was fully responsible also in the years 1966—1976. A. N. Zhelokhovtsev considers the contemporary changes as forced concessions and not a fundamental "demaoization" of the cultural policy, which he supports with the conclusions of the XIth CCP Congress.

A. N. Zhelokhovtsev has analysed in detail Mao Tse-tung's ideas on literature and art, pointed out their anti-Marxist character and their pernicious consequences for the cultural life of the PRC, particularly since the sixties. In several places the book supplements Western authors or polemizes with them. The present work goes to show that a thorough knowledge of Marx-Leninist theory in literature and art has enabled the author not only clearly to differentiate between Maoism and Marxism, but has allowed him also a deeper insight into the causes and affinities of the PRC's cultural policy.

In this book, A. N. Zhelokhovtsev has processed a very great quantity of source material, both Soviet and Western and provided cogent arguments to support his views. It is to be regretted that the scope of the book has not permitted him to expand some of the passages in a measure corresponding to the importance of the subject-matter, all the more so as the author's knowledge and ability would have permitted him to do so. Work with the book will be greatly facilitated by an Index of names and subjects — something that is often lacking in Soviet publications. This book constitutes an incontestable contribution to a complex knowledge of the cultural policy of the PRC by the numerous insights and judgment values, and deserves the attention of every student and scholar in this field.

Anna Doležalová

Baoczyuan o Pu-mine. Faksimile. Izdanie teksta, perevod s kitaiskogo, issledovanie i kommentarii E. S. Stulovoi (P'u-ming Pao-chüan. Facsimile of the Text. Translated from Chinese, Commented and Analysed by E. S. Stulova). Moscow, Nauka 1979. 402+236 pp.

The book under review — a facsimile of the text and the Russian translation of a unique xylograph from the end of the sixteenth century preserved at the Leningrad Department of the Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, represents an uncommon contribution to contemporary sinological literary scholarship. Alongside G. Dudbridge's *The Legend of Miao-shan* (London, Ithaca Press 1978), this is the only major publication (outside of China and Japan) dealing with the study of the popular literary form pao-chüan (precious scrolls). This book was done on the basis of the only well-preserved specimen of *P'u-ming pao-chüan* in the world. That one in the private collection of Mr. Li Shih-yü, the author of *Pao-chüan tsung-lu* (A Complete Catalogue of Pao-chüan), Peking—Shanghai 1961, is badly damaged and practically illegible.

P'u-ming pao-chüan, more precisely *P'u-ming ju-lai wu-wei liao-i pao-chüan*, was published (this was the second edition) in the year 1599, during Wan-li's reign, very favourable to Chinese popular and folk literature. The place of publication is not known. In E. S. Stulova's view, the author of this pao-chüan is not P'u-ming, as supposed by Li Shih-yü and the Japanese scholar Sawada Mizuho, but P'u-ching, and the text was written probably in the year 1584.

P'u-ming pao-chüan is made up of two volumes (*chüan*), the first of which comprises nineteen and the second seventeen chapters. Each of them carries one of the 35 names of Buddha. The last one is named after P'u-ming who, according to the author of the text, is the 36th Buddha, i.e. Tathāgata Knowing the Ultimate Meaning of Inaction (*wu-wei liao-i ju-lai*).

Similarly to other books of this kind, this work belonged in China among forbidden writings in the times of the last Manchu dynasty. Very often these works propagated teachings of various secret and anti-Manchu oriented religious sects and societies. According to Li Shih-yü and E. S. Stulova, *P'u-ming pao-chüan* contains the religious view and the *Weltanschauung* of the Yellow Heaven Sect (Huang-t'ien tao). Its founder was P'u-ming (died in 1562). P'u-ching, the possible author of *P'u-ming pao-chüan*, is the name of P'u-ming's daughter, although it may well have been somebody else from among his followers. The very name of the sect is of a Taoist origin. Chang Chüeh (2nd cent. A.D.) was the founder of the Taoist sect T'ai-p'ing tao. It is a generally known fact that the aim of this sect and of the rebels against the declining Han dynasty (they were called Yellow Turbans) was to create a "Yellow Heaven", i.e. a country of happiness for all. The Yellow Heaven Sect does not seem to have any worldly or political designs in its teaching, but only religious issues and problems of world outlook (cf. pp. 74—126). Otherwise, it was of a syncretic nature. It can be characterized as predominantly Buddhist, with certain Taoist elements.

The moralist orientation caused that *P'u-ming pao-chüan* is of less interest along the literary line than *Miao-shan pao-chüan*. But E. S. Stulova's research on the structure and artistic peculiarities of *P'u-ming pao-chüan*, her detailed analysis of the

poetic forms (*shih, tz'u*), the rhymes, the rhythm and various devices of expression (tropes and figures of speech) are very important for the understanding of the literary and structural peculiarities of this little known genre of Chinese popular literature.

A bibliography, a useful Chinese glossary and English summary are appended.

The book under review appeared as the 56th volume in the series Pamyatniki pismennosti Vostoka (Monuments of Oriental Literatures).

Marián Gálik

D e b o n , Günther : *Grundbegriffe der chinesischen Schrifttheorie und ihre Verbindung zu Dichtung und Malerei* (Basic Concepts of Chinese Calligraphy and its Relation to Poetry and Painting). Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1978. 103 pp.

This book has truly appeared at the right moment and, as it seems, it is the only one of its kind in Western sinology to have taken as its task "to serve as preparatory work for a broader examination of Chinese terminology, its merits and limitations, and thereby to serve as a contribution to the assessment of Chinese thinking in general" (p. 77).

Of course, of more concern here is the "particular" than the "general", and an elucidation of this terminology has for aim to decipher the metalanguage of Chinese aesthetics, to take the mask off the mystic, the ineffable, the fluxionary in individual terms. It is time an attempt be made at least approximately to define them, and this can be done only on the basis of a deeper knowledge.

It should be kept in mind that the concept is not only a sign form presented in the text, e.g. *yen* (eye) as is the case in the book under review, but one that also has a meaningful content. The latter may be far broader, or essentially different from its sign form. Efforts should be made to present a concept as a system of notions, as a faithful image of what the sign form only implies or indicates (often very imperfectly only, occasionally even in a contradictory manner).

The beginnings of such a study and such efforts became clearly manifest at the conference in St Croix, Virgin Islands, in December 1970. Many of the papers then presented appeared in the volume entitled *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*, Princeton, Princeton University Press 1977. One of the two papers included in the present book was also read at the above conference. This paper called *Links between the Theories of Literature, Calligraphy and Painting* belongs to the domain of the so-called "mutual illumination of the arts" (*wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste).* At the time Professor Debon read these

words, the above combination might truly be said to have been a branch of scholarship looked upon with much doubt. But in recent years numerous studies have been forthcoming that go to show that the "comparative arts" represent a discipline of great importance to contemporary research and to an understanding of the essence of art. This paper has as its theme an analysis of the meaning of several terms of traditional aesthetics occurring in the repertory of man of letters (critics), calligraphers and painters: *ch'en-cho t'ung-k'uai* (concentrated — swift and free, or swift and free out of concentration), *tun-ts'o* (emphatic), *chü chung yu yen* (there are the eyes in the verses), *hsiang wai* (beyond the image), and *tu wan chüan shu* (having read ten thousand books).

The second paper entitled *Lines in the Sand* is an analysis of twenty *topoi* including also the first two of those referred to above. In each of them the author endeavours to find the *locus classicus*, the place of the first occurrence and with the help of later findings to determine its meaningful content. It should be noted that at the present state of investigation, this involves more or less mere experimentation, for with numerous terms the question of its first occurrence will remain doubtful. In any case, an analysis of subsequent meanings may greatly contribute to this kind of research.

When reading some works from the field of traditional Chinese literary criticism, one may easily get the impression that their authors — and hence, also expounders of concepts — do not manipulate the words with adequate attention, they lack a sense of measure and therefore fail to determine the appropriate meaning of the message. Individual concepts are nothing else than elements of systemo-structural entities existing at least relatively. They are decidedly no vignettes that the author and after him also the translator may use *ad libitum*. Nor does he create them *sua sponte*, rather, they are a product of the systemo-structural field influenced by the ambient environment and anterior development.

Historians of the enormous domain of Chinese aesthetics are in for a long spell of toilsome work in decoding its metalanguage. The seventies of our century were marked by the efforts of the scholars from St Croix, Mr. Debon's book reviewed here, the outstanding publication by I. S. Lisevich entitled *Literaturnaya mysl Kitaya na rubezhe drevnosti i srednikh vekov* (Literary Mind of China at the End of Antiquity and the Beginning of the Middle Ages), Moscow 1979, and Chow Tse-tsung's study *Ancient Chinese Views on Literature, the Tao, and Their Relationships,* in Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews, *1*, 1979, 1, pp. 3—29. These works (together with some not mentioned here) may be said to have laid down solid foundations for further research in this important realm.

Marián Gálik

Hana, Corinna: *Sun Yat-sen's Parteiorgan Chien-she (1919—1920). Eine Quelle zur Bewegung vom vierten Mai in China* (Sun Yat-sen's Party Organ Chien-she. A Source to the May Fourth Movement in China). Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1978. 430 pp.

During the past two decades or so, several books appeared that dealt explicitly, if not exclusively, with the important though relatively brief period in modern Chinese history, known as the May Fourth Movement. Such are, e.g. Chow Tse-tsung's *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in China.* Cambridge, Mass. 1960, Joseph T. Chen's *The May Fourth Movement in Shanghai*, Leiden 1971, the Soviet work *Dvizhenie "4 Maya" v Kitae* (The May Fourth Movement in China), Moscow 1971, and *The May Fourth Movement in China. Major Papers Prepared for the XXth International Congress of Chinese Studies*, Prague 1968. The book under review is a further study devoted to this period and the first monograph dealing with a significant, though only short-lived periodical of this time.

As implied by the title of this book the journal Chien-she (The Construction) was one of the periodicals of the then as yet progressive Kuomintang and appeared from August 1919 until August—December 1920. Sponsored by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866—1925), this journal was edited by Chu Chih-hsin (1885—1920), Hu Han-min (1879—1936) and Tai Chi-t'ao (1891—1949). Its twelve issues, comprising 78 articles and 16 translations, constitute an important material source for the study of modern Chinese history in the domain of politics, ideology, nationalism, imperialism, revolution and socialism.

As a matter of fact, the analyses of all articles will be of the greatest profit to sinologists interested in China of the time of the May Fourth Movement. A pity, though, that the author has not utilized them to a greater extent for her own work, but seems to have relinquished them as prey for those coming after her. In their processing she made use of a certain "annalist" form and failed to make a thorough, many-sided analysis of the material and its relationship with general tissue of the contemporary historical situation. Her analyses and translations of long passages will certainly be helpful to others in formulating sections of more general works from the most diverse branches of modern Chinese intellectual history.

The journal Chien-she had its own physiognomy, its own "image", imparted to it in a large measure by its founder Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In his view, the aim of the journal was to be: "construction of a stream of thought" (*chien-she chih ssu-ch'ao*), "construction of the principles" (*chien-she chih yüan-li*), and finally "construction of -ism" (*chien-she chih chu-i*). These three premises of similar grammatical structure, were to have concealed the accumulated spiritual wealth, its gradual processing and ultimately the setting up and formulation of a unified ideology and world view (i.e. *san-min chu-i*, the Three Principles of the People) that would subsequently serve in bulding up new China.

The fact that a second journal called Hsing-ch'i p'ing-lun (Weekly Review), edited by the Kuomintang in Shanghai between June 1919 and June 1920 is not available outside the People's Republic of China, proved a certain handicap to the author. But other researchers coming into contact with individual Chinese journals are not better off in this respect. Chinese journals are for the most part *terra incognita* and if anything at all is known about some of them, this is usually on the basis of various bibliographies or a few individual studies. One such source of our knowledge of the journals from the period we have in mind here is *Wu-ssu shih-ch'i ch'-k'an chieh-shao* (An Index to the Periodicals of the May Fourth Movement), 3 Vols, Peking 1958—1959. But here Mrs. Hana warns us, and with good reasons, to exercise caution when using materials from this abundant source of reference, and whenever possible, to compare them with the original texts in various journals.

The period of 1919—1920 as portrayed on the pages of Chien-she corresponds by its character to the same time which as in the case of the magazine New Youth (Hsin ch'ing-nien) was usually marked as a period of theory bulding. These were years of a systematic searching of principles and theories that were to have helped in building up the philosophical and political theories of a new China.

Two bibliographies are appended to the book. One is an exhaustive enumeration of Western literature referred to in Chien-she (insofar as it was possible to trace it) and the other is a selected bibliography. Both will prove valuable aids in the study of Sino—Western relations at the time of the May Fourth Movement.

Study of materials from Chinese journals has its history. But their enframing into the overall cultural, economic and political life (depending on the nature of the various journals) has not yet grown out of its swaddling clothes. The work by Dr. Hana ought to be carried on and it would be beneficial if studies dealing with important periodicals of modern China came to the attention of readers. A study and analysis of journals is a less rewarding task than, say, a monograph devoted to one personality, period or some phenomenon, nonetheless, it is extremely useful, and a complete knowledge of certain times without the analyses of the most important periodicals and other means of communication is impossible. The difficulties inherent in such a research, e.g. inaccessibility of certain issues, difficulties with pseudonyms, inadequacy of information on various contributors, quotations or even translations without acknowledgement of the debt, should not discourage the researchers.

Marián Gálik

New Asia Academic Bulletin. Volume 1, 1978. Special Issue on East-West Comparative Literature. New Asia College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. 305 pp.

The collection under review is the first undertaking on the part of a larger group of Hong Kong scholars in the domain of comparative study of Sino—European and American relations. The Editor-in-Chief, Dr. William Tay, an expert on English and comparative literature compiled the volume from contributions by Hong Kong, American, Asian and European comparatists.

The first volume of this periodical opens with a shorter study by D. W. Fokkema from Utrecht who endeavours to make accessible to the interested reader some of the works of Russian formalists and Czech structuralists insofar as they can be made use of in the comparative literary studies. A. Lefevere from Antwerp is the author of a relatively extensive study on "general poetics", while A. H. Plaks from Princeton University, in his valuable contribution, compares Chinese novel from the Ming till Ch'ing periods (16th—18th century) with the European novel from the eighteenth till the twentieth century. He provides convincing arguments to his view that a genological similarity does exist between them and that European forms of criticism (Ian Watt, G. Lukács, Northrop Frye) may also be applied to full-length Chinese *hsiao-shuo* (novel).

W. L. Wong presented a comparative study of some pronouncements from traditional Chinese poetics (*shih-hua* and *tz'u-hua*) with the so-called touchstones of Matthew Arnold. Chung Ling, a translator of poetry written by Chinese women, in her noteworthy study deals with the reception and impact of Han Shan poetry in the United States, especially among the Beat Generation in the late fifties and in the sixties. In a study devoted to questions of concreteness and nature imagery in the T'ang poetry, especially as found in the poems by Wang Wei, Mr. Tay makes a comparison of the qualities of Chinese poetry of that period with those of premodern English poetry, and with the poetic theory of T. E. Hulme and the poetic achievement of Ezra Pound. Tay's contribution will be especially appreciated by translators, but also by theoreticians of literature and artistic translation.

Clara Yü Cuadrado's study on cross-cultural currents in the theatre, written on the basis of her Ph. D. dissertation thesis, is one of the finest contributions to this volume and belongs among the more significant works in the domain of Sino—Western literary relations in general. It brings a brief but succinct review of the development witnessed in the theatre both in the West and in China and points to the reciprocal impact they have made on each other through the centuries. Using a great quantity of theoretical and practical material from European literary history, and on the basis of Kuan Han-ch'ing's masterpiece, Ping-cheung Cheung in his paper on Tou O yüan as tragedy, strives to bring evidence to the questionable literary fact that tragedy

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existed also in China. Simon S. C. Chau's article on the nature and limitations of Shakespeare's translations into Chinese presents the reader with numerous theories but few concrete results and information that would be extremely welcome.

Dr. Tak-wai Wong in his contribution endeavoured to point to the frequently debated problem of "period style and periodisation" in its application to the history of Chinese and European literatures. As might be expected, his study is far better in the first part concerned with Western literatures and views of outstanding foreign literary critics.

Dr. Anthony Tatlow, the well-known expert on B. Brecht, pointed to the influence of old Chinese philosophy on part of the work of the great German playwright, particularly on his *Me-ti — Buch der Wendungen.*

Some of the studies in this volume do not go beyond the frontiers of Chinese national literature but their authors made use of Western methods of study. Such are, for example, studies by Ping-leung Chan on the tragic theme in *Li sao*, Ying-hsiung Chou's on the *yüeh-fu* ballad Lord, Do Not Cross the River (*Kung wu tu ho*), or a structuralist analysis of the Yang Lin story series by Chang Han-liang.

John J. Deeney's contribution, as the only bibliographic article in the volume, is a promise for the future, as he has succeeded "to map out some of the more notable highlights" in the complex field of Sino—Western literary relations. It is to be hoped that future efforts of this kind not only on the part of Mr. Deeney, but also on that of the members of the Hong Kong Comparative Literature Association, will provide new insights and lead to important results in this field of study.

Marián Gálik

Spence, Jonathan D. —Wills, John E., Jr. (Eds): *From Ming to Ch'ing. Conquest, Region and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China.* New Haven—London, Yale University Press 1979. 413 pp.

This book is a result of a conference on the Ming-Ch'ing transition that was held in 1974.

In 1644 the last Chinese dynasty Ming fell very suddenly and was replaced by a foreign one — the Manchu dynasty Ch'ing. Historians became much interested in the process of this change-over which was of special significance in the Chinese history because of its typical features: it did not involve solely a change of the Mandate, but also foreign bearers of this change, not only new, more vital rulers, but also some of the most competent monarchs in the whole Chinese history; there was also a question of an adaptation to Chinese culture, getting even with Chinese culturalism, etc.

Nine papers in the book under review deal with various aspects of the Manchu conquest, some of them being truly a discovery in the field of Chinese studies. The very first one, *The Manchu—Chinese Relationship, 1618—1638*, by G. Roth is unique since it uses as its source data from a chronicle written in Manchu and shows in a substantially different frame of reference the preparatory period of the Manchu conquest than the far more biased and hence less objective Chinese materials. A factor of essential significance to subsequent development was the fact that the Manchus came to China (here is meant their ruling class and its political institutions) already strongly marked by Chinese culture and customs and thus Chinese history could develop along different lines than had been the case when Chinese people lived under the domination of Mongols or other nomadic nations.

The most readable paper is that by F. Wakeman, Jr. entitled *The Shun Interregnum of 1644*, where particularly the six week period between 25th April and 5th June, 1644, hence, between the occupation of Peking first by the peasant armies of Li Tzu-ch'eng and later by Manchu invaders led by Dorgon, is analysed. Professor Wakeman makes use of yeh-shih, unofficial or "wild histories" which may indeed supplement in many points other types of Chinese historiographic literature, but it should be noted that they are difficult to work on, and even more difficult to evaluate objectively, for their "contents seem to range from precise documentation to wild invention or mythic distortion" (p. 41). This applies in a special manner to Li Tzu-ch'eng and his peasant soldiers. Very often, those who wrote "yeh shih" were not objective (because of their class attitude) and a scientific evaluation of this brief, yet important episode in Chinese history will demand more than one critical research.

Ian McMorran's contribution *The Patriot and the Partisans* is concerned with the famous Chinese philosopher, historian and literary critic Wang Fu-chih (1619—1692) and his political involvement with the Prince of Kui during the so-called Yung-li reign (1647—1662). Besides analysing Wang's historical work *Yung-li shih-lu* (Veritable Records of Yung-li's Reign), this study is of significance because it shows Wang Fu-chih as one of the possible paradigms of the members of Chinese intellectual élite, and a stereotype of Confucian virtues. Wang Fu-chih himself, of course, followed paradigms and stereotypes of the eminent men who had lived before him and he compared himself to them, e.g. to the poet Ch'ü Yüan. His other models were Liu Kun, Chi Shao, Wen T'ien-hsiang, Chang Tsai and Ku Hsien-ch'eng. McMorran is right when he asserts that such stereotypes or models "provided more than mere pegs of reference or opportunities for vain literary posturing (though they did both), but actually influenced the conduct of men..." (p. 139).

The study called *Muslim and Central Asian Revolts* by Morris Rossabi contributes to our existing knowledge on Muslim contexts of the great uprisings. Muslims were important participants of the great insurrections which led to the downfall of Ming,

but also of those oriented against the Ch'ing around 1645—1648 and also later in 1670s.

Urban Riots and Disturbances by Tsing Yuan is an interesting study of some Chinese towns of that time, their relation to the ruling class and their reaction to oppression of workers, day-labourers and students, the diverse nature of these relations and reactions.

The last study of the collection under review called *Ambivalence and Action* with the subtitle *Some Frustrated Scholars of the K'ang-hsi Period* by L. A. Struve is devoted to some less known intellectuals of the period 1662—1722, who although never achieving the greatness of Ku Yen-wu (1613—1682), Wang Fu-chih or Huang Tsung-hsi (1610—1695), were nevertheless typical of their times: Wang Yüan (1648—1710), Liu Hsien-t'ing (1648—1695) and Wen Jui-lin (fl. 1690—1710). They were characterized by a firm, uncompromising attitude and also some too much hyperbolised ideals. The authoress applies the term "ambivalent generation" to these people "with fresh memories and frustrated dreams" which led them "to combine colour and romance with empiricism and pragmatism" (p. 355). These were people to whom the Manchus formed an obstacle to a realization of at least their greatest ideals. They were allowed to achieve some goals, but uniquely for the needs of the dynasty. Sometimes, very able individuals of the post-conquest generation waited for their opportunity all their life-time. The Manchus appointed Chinese (unless they had collaborated with them prior to the year 1644) to high posts very rarely.

The book is supplemented with an extensive and valuable bibliography dealing with the period under study, a glossary of Chinese names and terms and an index.

Marián Gálik

Bauer, Wolfgang (Ed.): *Studia Sino-Mongolica. Festschrift für Herbert Franke.* Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1979. 470 pp.

Professor Herbert Franke is one of the most prominent sinologists and mongolists of our times and the book under review has been published on the occasion of his 65th birthday. It is a mirror of his broad scholarly and pedagogical interests and as such can hardly be adequately evaluated by any one man single-handedly. It is made up of several parts dealing with Chinese history, with the history and literature of the Khitans, Jurchens and Mongols, with historical documents bearing on archaeology and art, with Chinese literature and language, with religion, medicine, philosophy and music insofar as they are related to countries of the Far East.

The book begins and practically ends (with the exception of R. Wolpert's study on Sino-Japanese music) with two essays by Wolfgang Bauer. The first one is an attempt at evaluating H. Franke's life and work thus far in connection with Chinese studies in his country after World War II, and the closing one treats of the interesting, though as yet inadequately researched problem of individualism and egoism in Chinese thought. Bauer follows two aspects and prerequisities of individualism: equality and liberty. The problem of equality is not as intriguing in Chinese philosophy as that of liberty which in European world presupposes autonomy, self-development and privacy. Self-development was emphasized in Confucianism, but it was concerned only with the so-called moral cultivation, self-perfection, and it would be an error "to infer that Confucianism also advocated the unlimited autonomy of individuals in that they should be subject to their own laws" (p. 433). The concept of autonomy has been developed among Taoists, although it might be said in a provocative, rather than a positive or creative sense of the word. It was professed by individualists of early Chinese Middle Ages. They expounded it, however, in a manner that elicited some attention but failed to arouse wider interest, and they had no followers (e.g. Yang Chu's teaching as expressed in the book *Lieh-tzu*). Among the concepts dealt with in Bauer's essay that of privacy has been processed in more comprehensive manner. Privacy among Chinese Confucianists, "was socially and morally undesirable, being the result of punishment, or, if it was voluntary, an indication of sheer egoism..." (p. 434). Privacy among Chinese Taoists, was of a different kind, because it was a privacy of the "outcasts", living outside the society, in the embrace of nature.

Of the papers dealing more or less with the scholarly interests of Professor Franke, mention might be made of Hok-lam Chan's very interesting article *Tea Production and Tea Trade under the Jurchen Dynasty*, then *The Liao-Sung Border Conflict of 1074—1076* by Klaus Tietze, and especially *Khubilai Khan and the Women of His Family* by Morris Rossabi. The last one, by its character is reminiscent of Franke's paper *Women under the Dynasties of Conquest* read at the international conference Women in Imperial and Republican China, held at Venice in November 1978 and published in the series Civiltà Veneziana. Rossabi and Franke arrived at very similar conclusions. The position of women had always been better in the nomad societies (Khitans, Jurchens, Mongols, and probably also Tanguts), and sinicization meant a deterioration.

Of the remaining papers close to Herbert Franke, there are two written following a visit of the People's Republic of China by thirteen West German sinologists. Among these was also Professor Wolfgang Franke who wrote for his namesake a paper from the domain of epigraphy entitled *Miscellen von einer Chinareise 1977: Bemerkungen zu einigen Ming-Inschriften,* and Professor Günther Debon who made a translation of Ts'ao P'ei's (187—226 A.D.) from *Wen-hsüan* for his former teacher. H. Franke was likewise a participant of this trip to China.

It is a pity that the comparative analysis by S. R. Bawden called *Injanasi's Novel*

Nigen Dobqur Asar remained a semi-product only. The author failed to bring the comparison of this novel and its continuation *Ulayan-a ukilagu tingkim* with the Chinese novels *Hung lou meng* (*Dream of the Red Chamber*) and *Ching hua yüan* (*Flowers in the Mirror*) to an end and to show the measure of national adaptation, originality or imitation involved.

My attention was further drawn to a brief but cogent paper by E. Rosner on the interdiction of exporting Chinese historical works (*shih shu*) abroad which suitably supplements our notions on Chinese historiography. The same might also be said about H. Wilhelm's paper *The Yen-chou shih-hua of Hsü I* which enriches our modest knowledge of the impressionist Chinese poetics (*shih-hua*).

The book is aptly supplemented with a rich bibliography of Professor Franke's works between the years 1933—1979.

Marián Gálik

Jackson, Anthony: *Na-khi Religion. An Analytical Appraisal of Na-khi Ritual Texts.* Religion and Society, 8. The Hague—Paris—New York, Mouton 1979. XXII + 365 pp.

The book reviewed here is largely based upon the author's doctoral thesis presented at the University of Gothenburg in 1970. His concern in this book is exclusively with an ethnic minority, the Na-khi, forming a separate enclave in the northwest of Yün-nan province. The Na-khi number some 130,000 people who live along the upper reaches of the Yangtze Kiang, they speak a Tibeto-Burman tongue and they are small farmers who were traditionally ruled by chiefs and they practised a form of animistic religion.

What lends particular interest to a study of the Na-khi is the fact that they invented a special pictographic script to record their rituals. The Na-khi manuscripts which are found in Western libraries are one of their unique possessions, for they represent the entire religious beliefs of a single tribe. Thus an analysis of the Na-khi texts not only tells us about the religious beliefs of a minority group in Southeast Asia, but at the same time, because of the nature of the Na-khi religion, it reveals connections with the ancient Bön tradition of Tibet.

Most of the manuscripts were collected from the area by the only European to study them in detail: Dr. J. F. Rock. Before his death seventeen years ago, Rock had published numerous scholarly translations but he never gave a systematized account of the Na-khi religion. The aim of A. Jackson's book is to complement Rock's work by providing the principles upon which the Na-khi religion is based and thereby elucidating its structure.

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The book is divided into five sections: Historical Background, The Basic Structures, Analysis, Conclusions and Appendices. In the first section the history of the Na-khi people is sketched and the tribe is placed in its ethnographic setting. The influences of the various types of Tibetan Buddhism are also discussed. In the second section, the cosmology of the Na-khi is described to show how the physical and social environments are incorporated and symbolized within it. The central section is devoted to the analysis of the main components of the Na-khi religion. Six themes are chosen to illustrate the structure of myth and ritual found in the texts, while the inter-relationships between all the 130 rites are examined and commented upon. In the conclusions it is claimed that the origin of the pictographic script and many of the Na-khi rites stem from the presence of proscribed Bön monks at a time when the Na-khi social structure was undergoing radical changes imposed upon it by Chinese. The rites themselves seem to have been systematically and consciously built around certain key themes taken from the Bön sect of Tibetan Buddhism. At the end of the book there are three appendices: the first appendix is a critical study of the relationship between the Na-khi and the Hli-khin (Mo-so) peoples with the conclusion that they were once a single tribe; the second appendix explains how the basic ritual pattern was discerned in the analysis of one ceremony; the third appendix is an attempt at a computer analysis of the pictographs.

Anthony Jackson's work is a brilliantly designed publication, rich in tables, maps, diagrams and illustrations, provided with an ample bibliography, index and notes to chapters and appendices. It is a good analytical study of fascinating Na-khi manuscripts having their origin on the confines of China, Tibet and Southeast Asia.

Rostislav Fellner

Lörincz, László: *Mongolische Märchentypen.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1979. 428 S.

László Lörinczs Arbeit *Mongolische Märchentypen* ist ein weiteres Glied in der Katalogreihe der mündlichen Prosaliteratur, die in ihrer Gesamtheit im wesentlichen an das System von A. Aarne, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen,* FFC Helsinki 1910 anknüpfen.

Der ungarische Mongolist schickte dem Katalog der mongolischen Märchen eine nützliche Information über die aus geographischen, historisch-politischen sowie kulturellen Fakten sich ergebenden Zusammenhänge und Differenzen der mongolischen Völker voraus. Das Ergebnis ihres Einflusses sind Gruppen von nomadischen Reitervölkern, die sich mit Viehzucht befassen, Gemeinschaften von Jägern in Gebirgslandschaften und schließlich Bauern, die sich im Flachland ansiedelten.

Das Interesse für mongolische Märchen hat verhältnismäßig weit zurückliegende Wurzeln und hängt mit dem gesamten ethnographischen Forschungsaspekt über bis dahin unbekannte Kulturen der Forscher des 18. und des beginnenden 19. Jahrhunderts zusammen. In einem solchen Zusammenhang erschienen mongolische Märchen zum ersten Mal im Werk von B. Bergmanns: *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmücken in den Jahren 1802—1803*, Riga 1804—1805. Eigentlich ging es hier um eine Umerzählung kalmykischer Märchen, die vom tibetischen Märchenfonds übernommen wurden, was jedoch die Gesamtbedeutung und den bahnbrecherischen Wert von Bergmanns Werk keineswegs herabsetzt. Im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts ist das Interesse für mongolische Folklore nahezu ununterbrochen geblieben (Reisende, Naturforscher, Missionäre und verschiedene andere Interessenten). Es kann sogar ein Aspekt beobachtet werden, der mongolische Märchen und Lieder vergleicht sowie eine Überlegung über die Bestimmung derer Ursprungs und der Beziehung zur europäischen Folklore (B. Potanin). Das sammlerische Interesse für mongolische Folklore verläuft seit dem Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts am systematischsten und hängt mit politischen Ereignissen zusammen: dem Entstehen der Burjatischen ASSR und der Kalmykischen ASSR, später dem Entstehen der Mongolischen Volksrepublik. Die neue politische Regelung schuf auch Voraussetzungen für ein wissenschaftliches Leben und dadurch für eine selbständige Folkloristik. Besonders nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg intensivierte sich das Sammeln von Folkloristik. Das angesammelte Material erforderte eine Klassifizierung, die dessen diverse Auswertung bei Forschungsarbeiten sowie eine thematische Bearbeitung ermöglichen würde.

Ein Grundproblem der Katalogisierung mongolischer Märchen ist eine genaue Begrenzung des Begriffes des Mongolentums und des Gesichtspunktes der Folkloristik. Diese Tatsache diente auch für Lörincz als Ausgangspunkt und er löste das Problem in einem direkten Zusammenhang der Folklore und der Sprache.

Der Autor gab eine treffende Information über die Einteilung der mongolischen Sprachen in zwei Gruppen, die die sog. großen mongolischen Sprachen bilden (die offizielle Sprache in der Mongolischen Volksrepublik, in der Burjatischen und Kalmykischen ASSR). Die zweite Gruppe bilden die archaischen, bzw. Randdialekte der in Afghanistan, im Grenzgebiet von Tibet angesiedelter ethnischer Gruppen, sowie mehrere Gruppen der Inneren Mongolei; die beiden letzteren werden jedoch durch eine andere geschichtliche Vergangenheit und durch diese bedingte Kultur abgesondert.

Durch ein vergleichendes Studium von Folkloreaufzeichnungen wurde erwiesen, daß die komplizierte sprachliche Differenzierung im Folkloreschaffen der mongolischen Völker einen Prozeß der Vereinfachung durchgemacht hat und von einer grundsätzlichen Einheitlichkeit gekennzeichnet wird. Diese Feststellung behält ihre Gültigkeit natürlich nur bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts. Im kalmykischen und burjatischen Folkloreschaffen, das in den Bedingungen des neuen Lebens in der

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sowjetischen Gesellschaftsordnung entstand, erscheinen Kompositionen, die im gemeinschaftlichen mongolischen Inhalt der Folkloretradition unbekannt waren. Eine Entwicklungsdifferenzierung fand auch im prosaischen Folkloreschaffen ihre gesetzmäßige Widerspiegelung und wirkte in der Beziehung zum urpsrünglichen einheitlichen Folklorefonds dissimilierend.

Vom Gesichtspunkt der systematischen Klassifizierung des gänzlichen und für alle Völker gemeinsamen Märchenfonds war es unerläßlich für einige mongolische Völker eine zeitliche Grenze zu setzen. In diesem Sinne entschloß sich der Autor für die obere Zeitgrenze — das Jahr 1920. Das Problem betrifft vor allem die Kalmyken in der ASSR, in deren Folkloreschaffen sich seit dem Jahre 1920 eine neue Thematik nichtmongolischen und nichtasiatischen Types entwickelt hat. Richtig weist Lörincz darauf hin, daß die historische und aktuelle Besonderheit der kalmykischen Märchenfolklore erst durch einen eigenständigen Katalog gelöst werden wird.

Die systematische Klassifizierung mongolischer Märchen ist das Ergebnis einer fünfzehnjährigen Arbeit des Autors. Er bearbeitet den Märchenfonds der mongolischen Völker auf dem Gebiet von Mittelasien, der Mongolischen Volksrepublik und der Burjatischen ASSR. Die Märchen dieser Völker stellen eine, durch den Einfluß unterschiedlicher, historisch bedingter gesellschaftlicher Formationen innerlich differenzierte Einheit dar.

Lörinczs Vorgang bei der Klassifizierung geht aus einer gründlichen Kenntnis des Materials hervor. Er hat daher A. Aarnes Systemprinzip auf den Korpus der mongolischen Märchen nicht vorbehaltlos angewandt, sondern bediente sich seiner lediglich als eines Ausgangsaspekts. Den Katalog bilden drei Teile. Im einleitenden Teil reihte der Autor Varianten mongolischer Märchen nach einer eigenen Systemgliederung aneinander. Dieser Teil ist von hohem Nutzwert auch für die Orientierung eines Forschers, z.B. eines Komparatisten, der mit den mongolischen Märchen nicht vertraut ist. Der Autor führt auch ein treffendes inhaltliches Schema mit variablen Gliedern an. Der bibliographische Hinweis zeigt die Liste von Quellen, die der Autor im Werk anführt. Ein Beitrag des Autors ist die Anmerkung, die wichtige Hinweise enthält: vor allem den Hinweis auf AaTh, auf die Affinität zu einem bestimmten Typ, auf die Selbständigkeit oder Kontamination des Typs und schließlich auf die vom Autor vorgeschlagene neue numerische Typenbezeichnung für den Fall, daß er sich nicht in AaTh System eingliedern läßt.

Im zweiten Teil des Katalogs beweist der Autor seine These von der Unmöglichkeit einer konsequenten Anwendung des AaTh Systems auf den Korpus der mongolischen Märchen. Es läßt sich nur ein kleinerer Teil dieser Märchen mit den Äquivalenten der AaTh Klassifikation konfrontieren. Diese Feststellung diente als Beweis für die Richtigkeit seiner Überzeugung, daß das Material der mongolischen Märchen einer eigenen Gliederung bedarf. Diese wurde vom Autor ausgearbeitet, wenngleich deren Grundschema auch weiterhin das auf die Eigenartigkeit des klassifizierten Materials entsprechend modifizierte AaTh System bildet.

Lörincz ordnete die mongolischen Märchen in fünf Gruppen ein: Tiermärchen, Heldenmärchen, Zaubermärchen, soziale (novellistische) Märchen sowie humorvolle Erzählungen und Lügen- sowie Rätselmärchen. Wir haben kein Befugnis die Frage zu berühren, ob die Anzahl und die Begrenzung dieser Gruppen dem Inhalt und der Form der mongolischen Märchen entspricht. Wir beanstanden jedoch den Gesichtspunkt von Lörinczs System, und zwar dessen begriffliche Uneinigkeit. Ein Teil der Gruppen entstand auf Grund des Gesichtspunkts der dramatis personae (Heldenmärchen), ein anderer mit Hinsicht auf den Inhalt (Zaubermärchen), noch andere unter Anwendung des semantischen Aspekts (Sozialmärchen). Diese Diskrepanz ist nicht nur ein Vorwurf dem Autor gegenüber, sie kennzeichnet im allgemeinen die gegenwärtigen Bestrebungen nach einer Systemgliederung (vergleiche z.B. den Vorschlag eines Katalogs nationaler und europäischer Balladen — Freiburg 1967; der 7. Kongreß ISFNR in Edinburgh 1979 — der Vorschlag für 13 Gruppen theoretischer Fragen des Studiums der mündlich überlieferten Literatur).

Es ist seit langem und allgemein bekannt, daß sich das Folklorematerial einer Eingliederung in Kategorien und Gruppen zu widersetzen scheint. Die Grenzen der Folkloregattung müssen nicht immer und in jedem Fall klar sein, was dann eine genaue Klassifizierung unmöglich macht. Dies sind jedoch Grenzfälle und eine Systemklassifizierung ist vom Gesichtspunkt der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis und Bearbeitung unumgänglich. Dieses Ineinanderfließen der Grenzen der Folkloregattungen, bzw. deren Kreuzung haben wir im Sinn bei Lörinczs Bildung der Gruppe Heldenmärchen und Zaubermärchen; mehrere Typen in der Gruppe Heldenmärchen weisen eine deutliche Affinität zu den Zaubermärchen (Nr. 88, 89, 90 u.a.) auf. Es ist möglich, daß dem Folkloristen, der den Vortrag von mongolischen Märchen nicht kennt, sondern lediglich deren inhaltliches Schema, die Erkenntnis der semantischen Geste dieser „Heldenmärchen" fehlt, die gerade der entscheidende Faktor für die Ausgliederung einer eigenständigen Gruppe sein kann.

Die Bemerkungen verringern keineswegs die Bedeutung von László Lörinczs gewissenhafter und äußerst gründlicher Arbeit bei der Klassifizierung mongolischer Märchen. Es ist sein Verdienst, daß ein bislang wenig bekannter Teil des folkloristischen Schaffens zugänglich gemacht wurde, was die Orientierung der Folkloristen ausweiten kann und es ihnen ermöglicht dieses von verschiedenen Aspekten aus zu nützen. Den Worten des Autors zufolge endet die Bestrebung um ein Systematisieren mongolischer Märchen mit diesem Katalog bei weitem nicht. Das durch Forschungsarbeiten ständig anwachsende Material wird eine Ergänzung dieses Katalogs, sowie die Entstehung einer selbständigen Bearbeitung der Märchen einzelner mongolischer Völker erzwingen.

Mária Kosová

Kling, Blair B. — Pearson, M. N. (Eds): *The Age of Partnership. Europeans in Asia before Dominion.* Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1979. 250 pp.

The present book comprises nine essays written in honour of Holden Furber, one of the first Americans to work in Indian history. The essays deal with detailed studies of some aspects of Asian-European relations before dominion in some areas of South and Southeast Asia. As M. N. Pearson puts it in his introduction, "The basic intent of present studies is neither to vilify nor to ignore the early Europeans in Asia but rather to place them, in several areas and several times, in a correct perspective and see them operating, successfully or otherwise, in the context of this time and place ...".

The majority of the essays in this volume illustrate the interest of Europeans in trade and their commercial policies and activities.

M. N. Pearson in his essay *Corruption and Corsairs in Sixteenth-Century Western India: A Functional Analysis* studies the Portuguese administration in sixteenth-century western India, the character of a group described as "corsairs" as well as a practice labelled as "corruption" by some historians. The author stresses that it is of a basic importance for a historian to see past societies in their own terms, i.e. to avoid his own cultural biases as well as preconceptions stemming from the fact that he is situated in the present but writing about the past. Pearson tries to see "corruption" and "corsairs" functioning in their own time and culture. He successfully avoids applying twentieth-century standards of official conduct, as well as categorizations of the sixteenth-century Portuguese when analysing these two complex phenomena.

Om Prakash's study *Asian Trade and European Impact: A Study of the Trade from Bengal, 1630—1720,* deals with the impact of European merchants on the organization of Euro-Asian trade from India, discusses the changes in the Asian merchants' trade between Bengal and Southeast Asia in the investigated period, as well as the Dutch East India Company's pass policies and commercial privileges.

Joseph Jerome Brenning in his essay *Joint-Stock Companies of Coromandel* studies the beginnings of these trading companies and tries to correct various interpretations of the joint-stock company which "either exaggerate the contribution of the Coromandel joint-stock companies, ignoring the restrictions of the local commercial environment, or fail to recognize just what it was in the joint-stock companies which attracted the local merchants to European-sponsored initiatives" (p. 72). He discusses various modes of introducing these companies by the Dutch and the English, and tries to evaluate their efforts at changing intermerchant relationships in Coromandel.

The essay *Gujarati Merchants and the Red Sea Trade, 1700—1725* by Ashin Das Gupta describes the organization of this trade, the importance of the Gujarati Banias in the financial life of Mocha, the reasons of the decline of Gujarati trade to the Red

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Sea, as well as the role of competition or collaboration with European merchants in Gujarati commerce.

The study *Dutch Commercial Policy and Interests in the Malay Peninsula, 1750—1795* by Sinnappah Arasaratnam treats of mixed success of the Dutch trade in Malaya supported by military and political activities in the second half of the eighteenth century.

In the essay *Masters and Banians in Eighteenth-Century Calcutta*, Peter Marshall studies various roles of the banians, men who cooperated with the British from the seventeenth until the nineteenth century, the incentives for an Indian merchant to become banian to a European, and the impact of the banians on their own society.

The main subject of the essay by C. R. Boxer (*European Missionaries and Chinese Clergy, 1654—1810*) and Rosane Rocher (*Alien and Emphatic: The Indian Poems of N. B. Halhed*) is the question of religious and intellectual contacts in the eighteenth century.

The last essay of the volume, Blair B. Kling's *Holden Furber at Work*, evaluates Furber's contribution to South Asian history and introduces his works.

The book under review can be recommended to those interested in the history of Asian-European relations in South and Southeast Asia before the colonial expansion mainly because of persistant and successful efforts of the authors to investigate problems within the context of the respective areas and times.

Anna Rácová

Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art. Ed. G. Fehér. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1978. 942 S.

Der Aufschwung der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der türkischen Kunst brachte in den letzten Jahrzehnten eine Reihe hervorragender Ergebnisse nicht nur in Form von Synthesen (über osmanische Miniaturen, Architektur, Keramik usw.), sondern auch spezieller Arbeiten. Für nicht minder wichtig für diese Forschung kann ihre internationale Organisation und die Präsentation auf regelmäßigen Kongressen der türkischen Kunst (seit 1959) gehalten werden. Das qualitative Anwachsen dieser Forschungsarbeit wird natürlich auch von einem quantitativen Aufschwung begleitet, worüber die Materialien vom 5. Internationalen Kongreß der türkischen Kunst (*Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*) zeugen, der vom 21.—27. September 1975 in Budapest stattgefunden hat. Breit war auch der Themenkreis der vorgetragenen Referate. Es waren nicht nur die traditionelle osmanische Architektur und die Miniaturen, obgleich Referate über diese Fragen vorherrschend waren, sondern auch Beiträge über Keramik und andere Gattungen der angewandten Kunst (Stoffe,

Teppiche), über Kalligraphie, Epigraphik, Numismatik, das Museumswesen und sogar über die Phaleristik.

Der Charakter des Budapester Kongresses wurde außerdem von der bisher größten Teilnahme türkischer Wissenschaftler bei einem ausländischen Kongreß gekennzeichnet. Auf diese Weise bieten uns die Materialien vom Kongreß auch ein sehr gutes Bild über die kunsthistorische Forschung in der Türkei.

Was die Methodik betrifft, stellen die Referate verschiedene Stufen der Bearbeitung dar: Berichte über Funde, Analysen einzelner Kunstwerke und Artefakte, Synthesen sowie Vergleichsstudien. Als positiver Schritt ist auch das Überschreiten des Rahmens des gewesenen Osmanischen Reiches und der heutigen Türkischen Republik und die Erforschung mittelasiatischer, persischer und indischer Denkmäler zu bewerten. Des weiteren ist auch das Interesse um die moderne und Volksarchitektur zu begrüßen, obwohl auch die moderne türkische bildende Kunst, die die Kongresse der türkischen Kunst irgendwie zu meiden scheinen, bemerkenswert wäre.

Bewerten wir das Sammelwerk vom *5th International Congress of Turkish Art* als Ganzes, kann auch die Vielzahl der Abbildungen, von denen die meisten Referate vervollständigt werden, nicht unbeachtet bleiben. (An einigen Stellen ist jedoch gelungen die Fotografien verkehrt zu placieren, so S. 75, 76, 530.)

Es wäre wohl überflüssig die Titel aller Beiträge im Englischen, Deutschen, Französischen und Türkischen, von denen mehrere lediglich als Zusammenfassungen erschienen, anzuführen, da dies mehrere Seiten in Anspruch nehmen würde, ohne sie dabei auch nur kurz bewerten zu können. Es sei lediglich bemerkt, daß das Sammelwerk auch eine Liste der Teilnehmer, die Eröffnungsansprachen, sowie eine Erinnerung (samt Bibliographie) an den großen Kenner der osmanischen und islamischen Kunst Ivan Stchoukin enthält, der nach Abschluß des Kongresses tragisch ums Leben kam.

Die Herausgabe des Materials vom *5th International Congress of Turkish Art* ist eine verdienstvolle kulturelle Tat der Veranstalter des Kongresses und ein repräsentatives Vorgehen des Verlags der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Vojtech Kopčan

Babinger, F.: *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time.* Transl. by R. Manheim. Edited with a Preface by William C. Hickman. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1978. xx + 549 pp. Bollingen Series XCVI.

The English translation of Babinger's *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* appears a full quarter of a century after its original edition (1953). It may certainly be

considered as a surprise that the English translation of such an eminent Ottoman work comes only fourth in order, and this not only after a prompt French (1954) and Italian (1957) translation, but even after one in Serbo-Croatian (1968), and appears simultaneously with an incomplete Polish translation. The editor of the present edition William C. Hickman explains in the Editor's Preface that the English translation was prepared back in 1965, but in an attempt at preparing a final and definitive version of the work, Babinger intended to get together the relevant notes and include also the sources and references. His sudden death in 1967, however, caused a further adjournment of the publication.

William C. Hickman who undertook to prepare this edition of Babinger's book in 1972, took over Ralf Manheim's draft translation of the second German edition (1959), supplemented and revised on the basis of the second Italian edition, with the author's further notes included. His editorial efforts have brought certain alterations in the English version, especially in the organization of the material, adjustments of and supplements to the text on the basis of more recent publications, and interventions on matters of no scholarly significance. The editor's principal contribution has been the addition of footnotes, primarily bibliographic, for the original design to publish a completely revised and annotated edition after the author's death was found to be impossible. The notes thus constitute the editor's own independent supplement which makes no claim at completeness, but should serve primarily as a guide to further reading. Nonetheless, it is thought fit before concluding this review to add at least a few further data deemed of basic significance to the topic dealt with here.

The transliteration of names, whether oriental, Slavonic, Greek and others as well as of geographic terms has been done very carefully. Nevertheless, on p. 25 below the correctly rendered Zlatitsa, Melshtitsa, we found Mount Kunovica instead of the correct form Kunovitsa. On p. 16 Şibiu should be Sibiu. Braşov was called Oraşul Stalin for only a few years, at the time of the first and second German editions of Babinger's work.

Babinger's book is divided into seven parts, dealing successively with the various stages of the life of sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror. The last section, The Personality and Empire of Mehmed the Conqueror is something of a summary of notions on his own personal character, his way of ruling, on the Ottoman society and culture during his time and, finally, on his relation to the West. It is well known that Babinger had been preparing for a long period for his work on sultan Mehmed II, and even after its publication he wrote further studies relating to his personality or the period of this sultan's reign, that either brought new concepts, just touched upon in the book or inadequately processed because of space limitations. The best parts of the book are certainly those dealing with the relations between Europe and the Ottoman empire, primarily those of Italian Renaissance States and the Porte. However, his judgments on European politics at the time of Mehmed II's reign may

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be considered as insightful and exact, for instance, those on the policy practised by Matthias Corvinus towards the Ottoman empire are certainly correct.

Babinger's book is indeed noted for its portraying of diplomatic-political history, while it is rather modest in its analysis of the economic and social events during Mehmed II's rule. This, and further facts go to show that the work originated in the spirit of the traditions and methods of European orientalist scholarship of the first half of our century.

A few minor remarks concern certain corrections to be made and additions to the bibliography cited by the editor.

The term Wagenburg (waggon barricade) which Hickman explains on the basis of earlier literature as "apparently of Russian origin", is, in our view, a contribution of Czech Hussites into fifteenth-century warfare technique.

As regards the battle near Varna, mention should be made of more recent Bulgarian historians B. Tsvetkova, Kh. Kolarov and A. Kuzev.

Further data on the eastern policy of the papacy and other European states may be found in the works: B. von Palombini: *Bündniswerben abendländischer Mächte um Persien 1453—1600.* Wiesbaden 1968; then studies and books by L. Tardy and J. E. Woods: *The Aqqoyunlu: Clan, Confederatori, Empire. A Study in 15th/9th Century Turko-Iranian Politics.* Minneapolis—Chicago 1976.

For the question of islamization of Bosnia and the Balkan, see N. Filipović: *A Contribution to the Problem of Islamization in the Balkan under the Ottoman Rule.* In: *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe and Balkan in the 16th and 17th Centuries.* Prague 1978.

Data on various issues, e.g. on the Crusaders' plans following the fall of Constantinople, on European views on the name and the origin of the Turks, etc., are given, on the basis of European writings, by C. Göllner: *Turcica III.* Bucharest—Baden Baden 1978.

The last part of Babinger's book should be complemented by the work K. Dilger: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des osmanischen Hofzeremoniells im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert.* München 1967.

The Appendixes give Lists of Rulers and Popes and a Glossary of Turkish Terms. The extensive Index (pp. 517—549) facilitates work with the book. Nor should the creative aspect of the book be passed under silence. It is illustrated with over a score of selective photographs and eight maps.

The English edition of Babinger's book has been produced with great editorial care and with a great sense for design.

Vojtech Kopčan

Binswanger, K.: *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im Osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts. Mit einer Neudefinition des Begriffes „Dimma".* München, Dr. Dr. R. Trofenik 1977. VI + 418 S. Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients, Band XXIII.

Der Autor setzt sich als Ziel den Status der Nichtmuslime im Osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts sowie die Modi der Koexistenz der Muslime, der Christen und der Juden zu durchforschen. Insbesondere interessiert ihn die Frage inwiefern das zugrunde liegende „Rechtsverhältnis", die Dimma, eine Koexistenzform darstellt, beziehungsweise wodurch dieser ein integrierender Effekt zukommt.

Als Quellengrundlage erwiesen dem Autor hauptsächlich zeitgenössische europäische Reiseberichte und das osmanische Archivmaterial, vor allem die Protokollbücher von Kadis und sultanische Erlasse, sowie Sammlungen von Rechtsgutachten (*Fetwas*) gute Dienste.

Schon in der Einleitung (S. 1—39) legt Binswanger eine Reihe untraditioneller Ansichten und Fragen vor, die er in den folgenden Teilen des Buches lösen will. In einer permanenten Polemik mit der herkömmlichen Fachliteratur weist er auf die Mängel der von ihm benutzten Terminologie, wie z.B. die Benennung der Beziehung der muslimischen Gesellschaft zu den Nichtmuslimen als Gastfreundschaft oder Toleranz hin. Genau studiert er die drei Arten der Unterwerfung des feindlichen Landes durch Muslime, denn davon war dann die Art der weiteren Behandlungen bzw. Rechtsstellung der Unterworfenen abhängig. Abschließend befaßt er sich eingehend mit den Bedingungen des Dimma-Verhältnisses. Er weist auf die Verbote und Anordnungen hin, die mit diesem Status verbunden waren, auf die gesellschaftlichen und ökonomischen Lebensbedingungen der Nichtmuslime in der muslimischen Gesellschaft und auf Fälle, die zum Verlust des Dimma-Vertrags führen konnten.

Das umfangreichste, erste Kapitel „Was leisten die Dimma-Bestimmungen für die Integration der Dimmīs?"(S. 40—207) betrachtet die im Titel des Kapitels gestellte Frage vom Gesichtspunkt der geographischen Integrität, der Kirchenpolitik, der Autonomie sowie der diskriminierender Maßnahmen. Obwohl das islamische Recht den Nichtmuslimen die Behaltung von Immobilien zusicherte, bestand für sie jedoch keinerlei Garantie für ihre geographische Integrität. Die Integrität konnte durch Einpflanzen islamischer Kerne in ein nichtmuslimisches Milieu gestört werden, was rechtlich durchaus gestattet war, da das Beispiel des muslimischen Lebens die Nichtmuslime zur Konversion anregen konnte. Aber gerade aus der engen Koexistenz erwuchs den Dimmīs die Gefahr einer Störung ihrer Integrität, da die Nichtmuslime in der Nähe der Moschee weder wohnen noch arbeiten durften, damit sie durch ihre Lebensweise (Gesang, Genuß von Wein) die Andachten der Muslime nicht stören konnten. Im Endergebnis führte dies zur Schaffung von rein muslimi-

schen Wohnvierteln und zur Störung der kommunalen Geschlossenheit und des sozialen Zusammenhalts der Nichtmuslime.

Die Kirchenpolitik (unter Kirche versteht der Autor alle nichtislamische Kultgebäude) der Osmanen war auf eine Herabsetzung der Anzahl von Kultgebäuden im Reich gerichtet. Anhand zahlreicher Beispiele insbesondere aus Galata zeigt Binswanger, auf welche Art die Kirchen ihrer Aufgabe entledigt wurden. Das allmähliche Herabsetzen der Zahl der Kirchen führte die Nichtmuslime zur Übertragung des Gottesdienstes in Privathäuser, was jedoch unzulässig war und so mußten diese Häuser abgerissen werden. Dem Autor zufolge tolerierte der Islam also den nichtmuslimischen Kultus nicht generell, sondern nur jenen, der in Kultgebäuden praktiziert wird, die aus der Zeit vor der Unterwerfung stammen.

Aus der anregenden Studie Kreisers (*Zur inneren Gliederung der osmanischen Stadt.* ZDMG, Supplement II, 1974) hervorgehend zeigt der Autor, daß hinsichtlich der Tatsache, daß die kommunale Selbstverwaltung der Stadtviertel (*maḥallāt*) von der Konfession der Quartierbewohner völlig unabhängig ist, stellt sie bei einer reinen Ḍimmī-maḥalle keinen Ausfluß des Ḍimmī-Status dar; auch zielt sie nicht auf Erhaltung dieses Status ab, sondern nur auf das Funktionieren des sozialen Gebäudes der *maḥalle*. Hierin drückt sich also keine Autonomie der Ḍimmīs, sondern von maḥalle-Bewohnern aus — gleich welcher Konfession (S. 203).

Des weiteren untersucht der Autor die Gerichtsbarkeit der Ḍimmīs und zeigt, daß der Rest der den Ḍimmīs verbleibenden „Gerichtsbarkeit" nur Belange der Zivilen und freiwilligen Gerichtsbarkeit betrifft. Da die gerichtliche Rechtskraft der Nichtmuslime keine ausschließliche war und deren Urteile nicht bindend waren, meint der Autor, daß man von einer Autonomie der Ḍimmīs auf kommunaler und juristischer Ebene nicht sprechen kann. Binswangers Exkurs über die Dorfrichter in Ungarn ist kein sehr geglückter Versuch seine Theorie über die Absenz der Gerichtsbarkeit auch durch ein Material von außerhalb des „Kerns" des Osmanischen Reiches zu untermauern, weil die Osmanen in Ungarn in weit ungünstigeren Bedingungen um die Durchsetzung ihrer Macht und der Administrative, nicht nur mit den Resten der Verwaltung des königlichen Ungarns, sondern auch mit den Institutionen der heimischen Bevölkerung ringen mußten, so daß es bereits zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts zu einem Kondominium kommt. Siehe Hegyi, K.: *Materialy dlja charakteristiki tureckoj sudebno-pravovoj sistemy v Vengriji (1569—1683)* (Materialien zur Charakteristik des türkischen gerichts-rechtlichen Systems in Ungarn (1569—1683)). In: Vostočnyje istočniki po istorii narodov Jugo-Vostočnoj i Centralnoj Jevropy III. Moskau 1974, S. 102—149.

Aus der sachlichen Auslegung des koranischen Ausspruchs „wobei sie gedemütig sind" (Sure, IX, 29) hervorgehend beweist der Autor, daß diskriminierende Maßnahmen legalisiert und gefordert waren durch eine „himmlische Verdammung" der Nichtmuslime. Während der Autor in den vorhergehenden Teilen über die geographische Integrität, Kirchenpolitik und gerichtliche Autonomie gezeigt hat,

daß diese die Geschlossenheit der Ḍimmī-Gemeinde eigentlich störten oder vernichteten, waren die diskriminierenden Maßnahmen eher eine integrierende Komponente und die Kleiderordnung war das einzige, was die Ḍimmīs als Einheit definiert.

Befaßte sich das erste Kapitel im Grunde mit der Einstellung des islamischen Staates zu seinen nichtmuslimischen Untertanen und mit den Anordnungen, die sich auf den Status der Nichtmuslime im Rahmen des politischen Systems bezogen, ist das zweite, „Die soziale Umwelt der Ḍimmīs" (S. 208—271) betitelte Kapitel jenen Anordnungen, die das alltägliche Leben der Nichtmuslime sowie deren gesellschaftliche Einordnung regulierten, gewidmet. Binswanger gelangt hier zur Ansicht, daß die Unterdrückung und Erniedrigung der Nichtmuslime Mittel sein sollten, die bei ihnen zur Konversion zum Islam führen sollten.

Einen weiteren, mit der Konversion der Nichtmuslime zum Islam zusammenhängenden Fragenkomplex behandelt der Autor im dritten Kapitel „Proselytenmacherei" (S. 272—317). Hier widmet er seine Aufmerksamkeit den verschiedenen Arten der freiwilligen Konversion, wobei er sowohl ökonomische als auch psychische Aspekte dieser Tat in Betracht zieht. Er versucht sogar eine Typologie von muslimischen Anregungen zur Konversion zu erarbeiten. Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet er den Methoden der Bildung von Proselyten unter den Sklaven und Kriegsgefangenen.

Mit dem zeitgenössischen Terminus „Invania" betitelte der Autor das vierte Kapitel (S. 318—325). *Invania* ist ein Wort arabischer Herkunft und die christliche Bevölkerung des Osmanischen Reiches sowie die Europäer bezeichneten damit Schikanen aller Art.

Das fünfte Kapitel „Neudefinition des Begriffes ‚Ḍimma' " (S. 326—365) faßt teilweise die Erkenntnisse des Autors aus den früheren Kapiteln zusammen, wobei er diesen Begriff wie folgt charakterisiert: „Ḍimma ist ein zwischen der islamischen Staatsmacht und den Nichtmuslimen, die im islamischen Staatsgebiet wohnen, herrschendes Verhältnis, das Vertragscharakter zu haben scheint. Sie ist ein Ausfluß der bipolaren Aufteilung der Welt in *Dār al-Islām* und *Dār al-Ḥarb*, sowie des bis zum Jüngsten Tage geltenden *Ǧihād*-Gebotes. Sie ist eine ‚Fortsetzung des *Ǧihād* mit anderen Mitteln'." (S. 351.) Der Autor zieht auch weitere Aspekte des Status in Betracht, wie dessen Zeitweiligkeit und dessen Beendung durch die Islamisierung der Nichtmuslime.

Im Teil, der der Devširme gewidmet ist, polemisiert Binswanger mit den Ansichten P. Witteks und V. L. Ménages.

Im Nachwort behandelt der Autor polemisch einige in Cahens Stichwort Ḏhimma geäußerten Ansichten, sowie islamofile und weitere gemäßigte Ansichten über das Leben auf dem von den Türken besetzten Gebiet in Ungarn.

Trotz ihres apodiktischen Stils und einer nicht allgemeinen Gültigkeit mancher ihrer Schlüße bringt das Buch eine Reihe von Anregungen zum Nachdenken. Es

wäre Schade, wenn das Buch in der fachmännischen Öffentlichkeit unbeachtet bliebe, da es eine Reihe von Fragen stellt, die unbedingt zu diskutieren, weiter präzisieren und akzeptieren sind.

Vojtech Kopčan

Der fromme Sultan Bayezid. Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft (1481—1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanivaldanus. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Richard F. Kreutel. Graz—Wien—Köln, Verlag Styria 1978. 311 S. Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, Hrsg. von Dr. R. F. Kreutel, Band 9.

Sultan Bayezid wurde oft für einen unwürdigen Nachfolger seines kämpferischen Vaters, Mehmed II. des Eroberers, gehalten und verhältnismäßig wenig Aufmerksamkeit widmete seiner Regierungszeit auch die moderne osmanistische Forschung. Erst die letzten Arbeiten über die Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches (İnalcık, Shaw) erkennen diesem Sultan seine Verdienste um die Konsolidation des Reiches nach den langen und finanziell erschöpfenden Kriegen seines Vaters zu.

In der bekannten und allgemein anerkannten Reihe deutscher Übersetzungen osmanischer Chroniken, *Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber*, die nun seit bereits über zwanzig Jahren von Dr. Richard F. Kreutel herausgegeben wird, erscheinen Übersetzungen zweier Chroniken, die eine detaillierte Übersicht der Geschehnisse der mehr als dreißigjährigen Regierungszeit Sultan Bayezids darbieten. Der Übersetzer wählte das Werk des osmanischen Geschichtsschreibers Oruç, über den die jüngste Forschung außerordentlich wertvolle Erkenntnisse brachte, und den sog. Codex Hanivaldanus, die lateinische Übersetzung einer anonymen osmanischen Chronik, die der deutsche Humanist J. Leuenclavius gegen das Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts in seinem Werk *Historia Musulmana Turcorum* benützte.

Im Vorwort (S. 9—22) stellt der Herausgeber den Lesern die Regierungszeit Sultans Bayezid II. und dessen Persönlichkeit vor. Für den Höhepunkt von Bayezids Herrschaft hält er traditionsmäßig die Zeit nach dem Tode des Prinzen Cem (1495), obwohl die zweite Hälfte seiner Herrschaft bis auf den siegreichen Krieg mit Venedig keinerlei außerordentliche Erfolge aufweisen kann. Eine größere Aufmerksamkeit hätte der Herausgeber vielleicht der Innenpolitik — neue Steuern — widmen können, diese hat für ihre Ziele auch die schiitische Propaganda und das nicht nur in Anatolien, sondern auch am Balkan ausgenutzt. Im Zusammenhang damit steht auch die erzwungene Abdikation Bayezids, da der durch die schiitische Propaganda hervorgerufene innere Zerfall nur durch einen energischen Eingriff aufgehalten werden konnte.

Was die Übersetzung betrifft, sagt der Herausgeber selbst, „daß es im gegebenen Rahmen nur darauf ankommt, sie in einer philologisch zuverlässigen Übersetzung zugänglich zu machen, ohne daß daran gedacht werden konnte, auch die ganze Fülle der in ihnen überlieferten Nachrichten und Angaben kritisch zu erschließen" (S. 20). Aus diesem Grunde beschränken sich auch die Anmerkungen im Buch bloß auf das „unmittelbare Verständnis der Texte, etwa durch Erläuterung eines für den unbefangenen Leser vorerst unverständlichen oder befremdlichen Ausdrucks oder durch Hinweis auf Eigenheiten des islamischen Kulturkreises, nur gelegentlich ist versucht worden, eine besonders wichtig erscheinende Textstelle kritisch zu prüfen oder in einen erkennbaren interessanten Zusammenhang zu stellen".

Über den osmanischen Chronist Oruç bin ᶜAdil wissen wir lediglich soviel, daß er zur Zeit Bayezids II. lebte und als Sekretär (kâtib) in Edirne tätig war. Sein Werk wurde von F. Babinger *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch* (Hannover 1925), auf Grund der Oxforder und Cambridger Handschrift herausgegeben. Ende der sechziger Jahre schrieb der Londoner Osmanist V. L. Ménage Oruç drei weitere Handschriften zu — zwei in der Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, und eine in der Öffentlichen Bibliothek in Manisa, welche von den Forschern bis dahin für selbständige anonyme Werke gehalten wurden. Bei der Übersetzung ging der Herausgeber von der aus dem Jahre 1584 stammenden Handschrift Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. turc. 1047, fol. 92v—149v hervor, die den vollständigsten Text bietet und der verlorenen Urschrift offenbar am nächsten kommt.

Ein charakteristisches Merkmal von Oruçs Werk ist die Bemühung um eine genaue Zeitfolge der einzelnen Begebenheiten, wodurch es zu einer außerordentlich wichtigen Quelle für die Regierungszeit dieses Sultans (bis zum Jahre 1502) wird. Es umfaßt jedoch auch eine große Anzahl von Randereignissen, wie Überschwemmungen, Feuersbrünste, Sonnen- oder Mondfinsternisse usw.

Die deutsche Übersetzung von Oruçs Chronik (S. 33—153) ist fließend und weist auf eine große übersetzerische Erfahrung Richard F. Kreutels hin.

Der zweite Text zur Regierungszeit Sultans Bayezid II. ist die lateinische Übersetzung einer unbekannten türkischen Chronik, stilistisch und gedanklich von Johann Leuenclavius umgearbeitet. Die Chronik erschien zusammen mit einer weiteren Übersetzung einer altosmanischen Chronik unter dem Titel *Historia Musulmana Turcorum e monumentis ipsorum excripta* im Jahre 1591 in Frankfurt am Main.

Die Übersetzung des Codex Hanivaldanus (S. 187—278) ergänzt in vielem die vorhergehende Chronik Oruçs und berichtet ausführlich über bedeutendere Begebenheiten, z.B. über die Beseitigung von Gedik Ahmed Pascha oder über die Abdikation Bayezids, und führt Ereignisse bis zum Ende von Bayezids Herrschaft (1512) an.

Die Anmerkungen zu beiden Chroniken sind sorgfältig ausgearbeitet, wenngleich

sich der Übersetzer mit einem verhältnismäßig geringen Raum zufriedengeben mußte.

Die das Buch abschließenden Register (Personennamen, Ortsnamen, Fachausdrücke, Titel und Fremdwörter, S. 287—311) sind auf eine, für diese Edition übliche Weise ausgearbeitet.

Das Buch *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid* empfehlen wir nicht nur den Osmanisten und Historikern, sondern auch einem weiteren Leserkreis als eine sachkundige Einführung in die osmanische Geschichte des ausklingenden 15. und beginnenden 16. Jahrhunderts.

Vojtech Kopčan

M a j e r , H. G.: *Vorstudien zur Geschichte der İlmiye im Osmanischen Reich. I. Zu Uşakîzade, seiner Familie und seinem Zeyl-i Şakayık.* München, Dr. Dr. R. Trofenik 1978. IV + 347 S. Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients, Band XXXII.

Diese bescheiden betitelte Arbeit löst mindestens drei Problemkreise: die Frage der osmanischen biographischen Sammelwerke, sie analysiert das biographische Werk von Uşakîzade İbrahim Efendi *Zeyl-i Şakayık* und bringt eine umfangreiche genealogische und biographische Analyse der Familie Uşakîzade sowie weiterer verwandter Familien.

Daß die Wahl auf Uşakîzade, dessen Werk und Familie als Beispiel eines Darstellers der osmanischen İlmiye fiel, ging aus einer reifen Überlegung hervor, da man in der Person von Uşakîzade eine repräsentative Figur der osmanischen İlmiye sehen kann, und es ist, was genau so wichtig erscheint, gerade zu seiner Person, Familie und Werk eine genügende Anzahl von Quellen erhalten geblieben.

Der einleitende Teil des Buches befaßt sich mit Grundfragen, wie es die Terminologie und die Übersicht der bisherigen Forschungen über die İlmiye sind. Der Autor erklärt den Terminus „İlmiye", der von der modernen türkischen Geschichtsschreibung zur Bezeichnung der „türkischen Kirche" oder islamischen Geistlichkeit im weitesten Sinne des Wortes verwendet wird und bringt eine Übersicht der bisherigen Nachforschungen dieses Standes. Die Übersicht der Forschungsarbeit ist gründlich und mit wertvollen Anmerkungen des Autors versehen, so daß sie auch selbständig als eine gute Einleitung zur Kenntnis der Institution der İlmiye im Osmanischen Reich dienen kann. Wir möchten insbesondere darauf hinweisen, daß Majer auch die Frage der Quellen zur Geschichte der İlmiye nicht außer Acht läßt.

Das zweite Kapitel Die osmanischen biographischen Sammelwerke (S. 29—60)

ist eine Übersicht einer eigenständigen literarischen Gattung im islamischen Kultur-
bereich: des biographischen Sammelwerkes, das im europäischen Kulturbereich
keine Parallele findet. Der Autor sagt selbst: „Es ist eine erste Absicht dieser Arbeit
einen Überblick zu geben über Wesen und Umfang der osmanischen biographischen
Sammelwerke, als einer vor allem für die Geschichte der İlmiye wichtigen Quellen-
gattung". Majer befaßt sich mit den osmanischen biographischen Sammelwerken
genetisch. Er beachtet ebenfalls die Entwicklung und die Formen arabischer und
persischer biographischer Sammelwerke, die auch die osmanischen Werke dieser
Gattung in bedeutendem Maße beeinflußt hatten. Das Entstehen der osmanischen
biographischen Literatur, die bis zum 16. Jahrhundert eigentlich nicht existierte,
verbindet der Autor mit der Emanzipationsbestrebung der osmanischen Literatur
im Rahmen der islamischen Kultur. Interessant und wertvoll ist Majers Versuch
einer Zusammenstellung, welche Gruppen im Osmanischen Reich durch biogra-
phische Sammelwerke hervorgehoben worden sind (S. 43—47), die uns einen
Eindruck von den Themenkreisen der osmanischen biographischen Sammelwerke
bietet. Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet der Autor den Formen der
Biographien, die *Zeyl* (der Anhang, die Fortsetzung, die Weiterführung) benannt
wurden und zeigt, daß es sich hierbei so um eine wenige Seiten umfassende
Erweiterung, wie auch um eine umfangreiche und echte Fortsetzung des ursprüng-
lichen Werkes handeln kann. Diese Bezeichnung bekamen manchmal auch
selbständige Werke, die weder Fortsetzung noch Ergänzung waren.

Nach Majer stehen die osmanischen biographischen Sammelwerke ihren Aus-
wahlprinzipien nach den persischen Sammlungen näher als den arabischen. An der
Spitze liegen die Werke über Dichter, Ulema und Sufis, weniger zahlreich sind
jedoch die Biographien von bedeutsamen Amts- und Würdenträgern.

Auch von der inhaltlichen Seite her knüpfen die osmanischen biographischen
Sammelwerke an die islamische Tradition an und führen die Angaben in folgender
Reihenfolge an: Name, Herkunft, Familie, Ausbildung, Ämter, Werke, Tod und
Grab. Es ist interessant, daß die osmanischen biographischen Sammelwerke nicht
imstande waren sich von der islamischen Tradition loszulösen und eigene nationale
Züge durchzusetzen, zumindest in dem Maße, wie dies in der Poesie oder in der
Historiographie gelungen war. Majer erklärt dies einerseits durch die starke
Neigung der osmanischen Gesellschaft zum Formalismus, andererseits dadurch, daß
die Autoren fast ausschließlich an schriftliche Quellen angewiesen waren, und
demzufolge eine jedwede Form von persönlicher Bekanntschaft wegfiel.

Eine weitere Erkenntnis des Autors ist die Tatsache, daß sich im 16. Jahrhundert
als erste die biographischen Sammlungen von Dichtern, den Ulema, den Derwischen
und den Kalligraphen durchgesetzt hatten. Im folgenden Jahrhundert erschienen
lokale Sammlungen und es wurden Angaben zu neuen Gruppen von Menschen
gesammelt — von Menschen außerhalb der İlmiye, die Staatsämter und -würden

bekleideten — denen dann im 18. Jahrhundert selbständige Sammelwerke gewidmet wurden.

Majer weist auf die außerordentliche Rolle der Ulema bei der Schaffung der osmanischen biographischen Literatur hin, was natürlich darin seine Widerspiegelung fand, daß neben den Dichterlexika die Ulema- und Schejchsammlungen in diesem Literaturbereich eine führende Stelle einnehmen.

Der einleitende Teil und die Analyse der osmanischen biographischen Sammelwerke können nur als eine Einführung zu Majers konkreter Forschung des Werkes und der Persönlichkeit Seyyid İbrahim Uşakîzades betrachtet werden. Den Inhalt des dritten Teiles des Buches stellt die Analyse des Werkes *Zeyl-i Şakayık* (S. 61—100) dar. Nach und nach befaßt sich Majer mit dem Aufbau des Werkes, mit dessen Handschriften und Quellen, sowie ihrer Bearbeitung im Werk *Zeyl-i Şakayık*. Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit ist der Beziehung zwischen Uşakîzade und einem weiteren osmanischen Biographen Şeyhî gewidmet.

Zehn Handschriften des *Zeyl-i Şakayık* sind erhalten geblieben; siebene davon befinden sich in Istanbul, je eine in Sarajevo, Wien und Kairo. Nach der Form und Inhalt stellen die Handschriften drei Fassungen des Werkes *Zeyl-i Şakayık* dar, die in einer Zeitspanne von mehr als einem Jahrzehnt entstanden sind. Die letzte und umfangreichste Fassung von *Zeyl-i Şakayık* hat zwei Handschriften, von denen die Handschrift Hafid Efendi 242 der Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi das Autograph von Uşakîzades Werk, die Wiener Handschrift eine Reinschrift davon ist.

Majer teilt die Quellen des *Zeyl-i Şakayık* in drei Gruppen ein: mündliche, amtliche und erzählende. Zu den letzteren zählt der Autor historische Werke von Abdî Halife, Abdî Pascha, Kâtib Çelebi, Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz und weiteren Autoren, sowie biographische Lexika von Attayî, Selisî, Muhibbî, Nazmî Efendi, Riyazî und Mehmed Riza. Unter den amtlichen Quellen können offizielle Dokumente gefunden werden, vor allem jedoch amtliche Register, darunter Kadi-Sicillen, Rüus Defterleri und weitere.

Die Bearbeitung der Quellen ist in Uşakîzades Werk ähnlich wie in anderen osmanischen biographischen Sammlungen oder Chroniken: die Quellen der Informationen werden gewöhnlich nicht zitiert oder nur selten erwähnt, wobei nicht nur einzelne Angaben, sondern oft ganze Sätze, ja Abschnitte wörtlich übernommen werden. Majer stellt fest, daß Uşakîzade seine Quellen verläßlich wiedergibt und deren Angaben oft auch nachprüft.

Im letzten Teil des Kapitels untersucht Majer die Beziehung Uşakîzade — Şeyhî. Şeyhî war ein osmanischer Biograph, der ebenso wie Uşakîzade chronologisch an Atayîs Werk anknüpfte, wobei Şeyhî ohne das offen zu bekennen in einem bedeutenden Maße Uşakîzades Arbeit ausnützte. Majer untersuchte diese Beziehung sehr genau und im Abschluß des Buches führt er die verdienstvolle Konkordanz der Biographien in Uşakîzade und Şeyhî (S. 307—322) an.

Das umfangreichste Kapitel des Buches ist das vierte „Uşakîzade und seine

Familie" (S. 101—276), das einen Fragenkomplex behandelt, ob es nun um den eigentlichen Autor des *Zeyl-i Şakayık* oder seine Familie und Verwandtschaft geht. Nach einer kurzen Abhandlung über osmanische Familiennamen zeigt Majer, daß wir trotz einer Absenz von Familiennamen im Osmanischen Reich auch in der osmanischen Gesellschaft Familiennamen auffinden können, insbesondere in gehobeneren Gesellschaftsschichten, ob es nun Würdenträger der staatlichen, provinziellen oder lokalen Verwaltung oder aber Ulema waren. Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet der Autor gerade dieser letzten Gruppe. Er sagt selbst: „Ihre Bedeutung liegt weniger in der Tatsache, daß einige von ihnen eine tragende Rolle im politischen Leben gespielt haben, als darin, daß sie eine einheitliche Gruppe bildeten, die durch Bildung, Laufbahn, Steuerfreiheit, gesichertes Einkommen, vererbbares, dem Zugriff des Staates weitgehend entzogenes Vermögen verbunden und geeint war" (S. 108). Und fährt fort: „In den vielerlei Gruppenbildungen auch innerhalb der İlmiye selbst kam dem familiären Bande große Bedeutung zu. Die Erfassung dieser familiären Zusammenhänge, die oft erst das System hinter allzu vordergründigen Fakten erkennen lassen, muß deshalb als eine wesentliche Vorarbeit für eine vertiefte innenpolitische und sozialgeschichtliche Schau des Osmanischen Reiches angesehen werden" (S. 109).

Aus diesen Gründen studiert Majer auf Grund von biographischen Sammelwerken nicht nur den Stammbaum der Familie Uşakîzade, sondern auch weiterer verwandter Familien. Außerdem wollte er mit dieser Arbeit feststellen, welches genealogische Material den biographischen Sammelwerken abzugewinnen ist, wie verläßlich die gewonnenen Daten sind, welche zusätzlichen Quellen erschlossen werden können und welche Probleme sich für die Genealogie osmanischer Ulema-Familien ergeben.

Den zweiten Teil des Kapitels bildet die ausführliche Lebensbeschreibung von Seyyid Uşakîzade İbrahim Hasib von seiner Jugend an bis zum Tode mit besonderem Nachdruck auf sein Wirken in den Institutionen der İlmiye und auf seine Freunde aus diesen Kreisen.

Die Abbildungen bringen Reproduktionen von Handschriften Uşakîzade İbrahim Efendis, seinem Grabstein und seiner Verwandten, von, die Familie Uşakîzade betreffenden Eintragungen in den Istanbuler Sicilli Defterleri.

Majers Arbeit kann man als einen wertvollen und bahnbrecherischen Beitrag zur Kenntnis osmanischer biographischer Sammelwerke, der Person Uşakîzade İbrahim Efendis und dessen Familie in einem tieferen gesellschaftlichen Kontext betrachten. Der erwartete zweite Band wird Kadi-Listen, Umschriften der Sicill-Einträge und einen Gesamtregister beinhalten.

Vojtech Kopčan

Tietze, Andreas.: *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's Counsel for Sultans of 1581. Edition, Translation, Notes I.* Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1979. 188 pp. LXXII plates. Forschungen zur islamischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte, VI.

After relatively short interval following the publication of *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's Description of Cairo of 1599* (1975), Andreas Tietze a professor at the Vienna University published a further work by the 16th-century Ottoman author Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed of Gallipoli (1541—1600), better known under the penname of ʿĀlī, *Counsel for Sultans (Nuṣḥatü's-selāṭın)*. This fertile writer has written not only a multi-volume World History (*Künhü'l-akhbār*), but also several historical works from his times, numerous treatises and poetry.

Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's work under review was completed for the first time in 1581 while serving as Registrar of Fiefs (*tīmār defterdārı*) in Syrian Haleb/Aleppo. One small chapter and various minor paragraphs were added to it later, demonstrably until 1586.

In any case, those were not the happiest years of the author's clerical career, for he did not consider the office of a Haleb Registrar of Fiefs to be commensurate either as regards his merits or the emoluments. Evidently, his personal embitterment and disappointment led him to express criticism of the last expedition against Persia and to uncover the deficiencies in the Ottoman system of administration in which as an experienced bureaucrat, he did have some counsel to offer. Hence, this is not the work of a "well-informed" person on the highest level of politics where "history" is being "made", nor of a thinker meditating over the philosophy of government, the theory of law, the ethical implication of religion (p. 7). Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī thus ranks among numerous authors of commemorative writings and political tracts who, by practical counsels to sultans or to high State dignitaries endeavoured to draw attention to, or deal with certain pressing problems of the Ottoman empire in the second half of the 16th, or the beginning of the 17th centuries. This thus involves, in modern parlance, the so-called constructive criticism that was meant to help the State, the system and the author himself through and appreciation of his advice. It cannot be established how far the Counsel for Sultans aided their author, the fact is that in the following years he appears in more important functions (Defterdar of Erzurum, Bagdad, Rumeli, secretary to the Janissaries); what is of more significance is that his ideas expressed in Counsel for Sultans appear also in his subsequent works, as the known World History, and others.

ʿĀlī's work, similarly as his other political tracts, shows a solid logical structure, beginning with appeals to the ruler, not to let the government of the State out of his hands and not to confide it to the viziers as was the case with Sulliman's followers. This introductory part is followed by three chapters on General Principles of

Government, on Evil Innovations, and on the Bad Consequences of These Innovations. The fourth chapter is really meant to illustrate, on the basis of the author's own experiences, this evil development. Various recommendations conclude the logical chain of thinking and the book ends by protestations and assurances of the author's good faith, "sincerity and disinterested objectivity".

This edition of the transliterated text is based on the manuscript of Hüsrev Paşa No. 311 — the oldest copy from the pen of the author himself from the year 1581, and the manuscript Revan, No. 406. It also takes into account five further manuscripts from the Istanbul collections and from Cairo. As the interrelationship of the manuscripts is not very complex, the editor gives a brief characterization of their content and their divergences and outlines their stemma.

The transliterated text (pp. 89—188) has been so printed as to make visible the use of Rhymed Prose, with footnotes that set off the differences of the two basis manuscripts. Arab passages, whether they be quotations from the Quran, traditions or adages, are printed in the text in italics. The first part brings the lists H 1v—71v, R 1v—76r of the transliterated text.

As Plates, the book brings the Ms. Hüsrev Paşa No. 311, fols. 1r—72r as very good quality photocopies on art-printing paper.

The translation of the text (pp. 15—86) represents the second most extensive part of the book. Here, Prof. Tietze could give full scope to his extensive knowledge of Ottoman Turkish. His translation of the Preface and of the first two chapters may be rated as outstanding. He often gives the original Ottoman expression, a literal translation, or other supplementary data in brackets in the text, and accompanies his translations with short succinct remarks. One occasionally gets the impression that the book would not have lost in value had these remarks been more extensive.

A Bibliography (pp. 13—14) is appended and serves primarily to notes to the translation.

The publication of *Counsel for Sultans* is an important editorial achievement, as it makes accessible a work that occupies a special place among Ottoman treatises. It is one of the first tracts pointing to the degenerative traits in the Ottoman social system, without as yet idealizing the period of sultan Suleiman's rule as do those from the early 17th century.

In addition, transliterated text is a contribution also to the history of the Ottoman language.

Vojtech Kopčan

Studies in Turkish Folklore. In Honor of Pertev N. Boratav. Edited by Ilhan Başgöz and Mark Glazer. Indiana University Turkish Studies No. 1. Bloomington, Maccallum Publishing House 1978. vi + 232 pp.

In 1977 a foremost Turkish folklorist Professor Pertev Nailî Boratav celebrated his seventieth birthday. By his pioneering research of many years standing, as well as his meritorious pedagogical activity, he has contributed in a considerable measure to a knowledge of the values of Turkish folk literature, to a deepening of interest in this precious cultural heritage of the Turks not only within his own country, but also beyond its frontiers.

P. N. Boratav's merits in the field of research into Turkish folklore are underscored in the Foreword (pp. v—vi) by his former pupil Ilhan Başgöz, who is attached at the present time to the Indiana University. He also has words of praise for the personality of Prof. Boratav as a teacher. The collection is concluded by a list of Pertev N. Boratav's publications (pp. 223—232).

Among the authors of the fifteen studies included in this Festschrift published by the Indiana University in honour of the outstanding life jubilee of P. N. Boratav, we find his colleagues, students and friends from several nationalities. The title of the collection does not fully correspond to its contents. As a matter of fact, the studies included in it relate also to other domains of folkloric research than purely Turkish folklore ; e.g. Louis Basin's study (pp. 46—60) deals with an anthroponymic topic, while that by Michèle Nicolas (pp. 157—165) involves even a botanical problem. Of a purely theoretical character is the study with the Aesopian title *The Legend and the Sparrow* (pp. 78—88) in which the authoress Linda Dégh reflects over concepts currently used, though not as yet satisfactorily determined, such as "folklore", "tradition", "legend", etc., and in this connection raises a number of stimulative questions concerning the need to make these more precise in their meaning and connotations.

Another innovative study is that by Isidor Levin (pp. 135—156) on a practical application of a computer in story classification.

The popular figure of folk humour of countries of the Middle and the Near East is treated of in broader historico-socio-cultural relationships by Velitchko Valtchev in his study *Nasreddin Hodja et certain problèmes de l'humour chez les peuples d'Orient* (pp. 210—221). He also makes a point here of the Nasreddinist tradition in Bulgaria which confronts Nasreddin with the Bulgarian national comic hero Hitar Petar.

H. W. Brands's study (pp. 61—77) relates to the folklore of central Asian Turkic nations. It deals with an interesting genre of folk poetry, of contests among Kazakh, Kirghiz and Kara-Kalpak folk poets reciting their own poetic compositions.

The author of several monographs on Turkish dramatic folklore Metin And in his

study (pp. 1—24) characterizes and classifies folk plays of Anatolian Turkey associated with fertility rituals. In determining the origin of these plays, M. And adheres to the so-called "Cambridge School" of Classical Anthropology which advocates the view that these mummers' plays are survivals of seasonal fertility rites. At the same time, however, this author does not exclude the standpoint held by Prof. E. T. Kirby of the United States who sees these plays as deriving from shamanism. Such a possible shamanist origin seems to be pointed out by a folk play from Kars in which the author has attempted to describe these relics of shamanism.

A rather interesting view on the problems of Mediaeval Turkish epic cycle, The Book of My Grandfather Korkut, is expressed in I. Başgöz's study (pp. 25—45) in which the author presents an analysis of the character and the function of the epithet in this unique document of its time. I. Başgöz relates epithets associated with the names and personalities of various heroes to social conditions in the tribal society of the Oguz Turks.

Of interest is also the study by the second editor of the collection Mark Glazer on the role of women as advisers to the male heroes of Turkish folktales (pp. 98—109). Here, the author presents an analysis of a total of thirty-one fairy tales pointing out that the role of the woman-adviser as figuring in the topics of the stories, in reality reflected a great deal of influence of which a woman in Turkish social relationships disposed through her counsels to her husband. M. Glazer notes that in all the seventy-three cases of feminine assistance in the analysed Turkish tales, the intervention of a woman as an adviser is positive, leads to success.

It would serve no useful purpose to mention individually all the studies in this informative review, included in the first of a planned series of collections of Turkish Studies published by the Indiana University. Although, as noted earlier, only part of the studies deal with the topic implied in the title, yet we may state that this volume brings interesting and stimulative contributions to a broader knowledge of folklore of the Turks and of some other Turkic nations.

Xénia Celnarová

Nutku, Özdemir: *Meddahlık ve meddah hikayeleri* (Quality and Occupation of a Public Story-Teller and Stories of such a Story-Teller). Ankara, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları 1977. VIII + 422 pp.

When there is question of the successes of Turkish realist prose, it is also pointed out that its origin and development were affected not only by the action of realist works of world literature, but that a significant role was here played by the rich tradition of the specific genre of Turkish folk literature, the realist short story, the authors of which were the so-called *meddahs*, or public story-tellers.

On the other hand, however, the *meddahs* were instrumental also for the development of Turkish dramatic art as the performers of original or taken-over episodes and simultaneously as their interpreters.

The monograph by Prof. Özdemir Nutku is the first scientific treatise attempting a thorough analysis of this epic-dramatic genre in Turkish folk art. The work brings new notions on the origin of this genre, on the stages of its development, together with newly discovered and as yet unpublished episodes of the *meddahs* dating from the eighteenth century.

In the Introduction (pp. 1—12) the author refers to the traditions of the narrative and imitative art of nations of Asia, Africa, America and mediaeval Europe. In his overview, he specifically sets apart the Islamic countries in which the narrator of events from the life of the prophet and his relations, the *meddah* (literally meaning in Arabic Who praises) as the propagator of the ideas of the prophet Mohammad and a panegyrist of Islam's religious ideology, occupied a prominent place.

The first chapter of the monograph (pp. 13—50) is devoted to the history of *meddahs'* art. Its introductory section deals with the sources that gave birth to the art of Turkish *meddahs*. It was, on the one hand, the influence of Islamic culture from which, besides the Arab name for the story-teller, also episodes of heroes of Islamic history penetrated into his repertory. *Meddahs'* art was strongly affected also by classical Persian literature, primarily the *Shah-name* of Firdausi. However, a significant contribution to the origin of this art in Turkish *meddahs* was also made by the epic tradition of their own nation, the propagators of which had been folk poet — *ozans*, from the fifteenth century called *ashyk* by the Azerbaijanis and the Turks, and *bakshy* by the Turkomans.

The first reports on performances by *meddahs* in the sultan's palace date from the fourteenth century and they become more and more frequent beginning with the sixteenth century. The famous Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611—1697) in the first volume of his travelogue *Seyahat-name* states that eighty *meddahs* were active during his time. He gives a detailed account of *meddahs* from Istanbul and Bursa, as well as of cafés in which they exhibited their art.

Thanks to newly discovered sources, Ö. Nutku has been able to add several as yet unknown names of *meddahs* from the eighteenth century, when their art reached a peak. But a favourable period for the promotion of this art was also that of the first half of the nineteenth century when it enjoyed an extraordinary favour and support of sultan Mahmud II. At that time, contests were organized in the sultan's palace for *meddahs* and the most successful remained in the sultan's service for a regular monthly pay.

The last of the *meddahs* were active at the beginning of the twentieth century. Over the past two decades, several young artists have attempted to revive their tradition, but without any success. The play by the playwright and dramatist Erol Toy *Meddah* (1971) resembles closely the style of the famous meddah Aşkî (end of the

nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth cent.). The principal and simultaneously the only role in it was played with success by Erdoğan Akduman.

The second chapter of the monograph (pp. 51—86) gives a characteristic of the *meddah* and the environment in which he used to perform. The opening section speaks of the requisites that symbolized a *meddah*'s profession, beginning with the early era of Islam down to the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, when these requisites had been reduced to a stick (*değnek*) and a scarf (*makreme*).

Turkish *meddahs* were past masters in humour. O. Nutku emphasizes that the art of great *meddahs* resided in a thorough knowledge of the society in which they lived and were active, of their milieu and the people generally. They succeeded in actualizing also classical events and put into them a criticism of contemporary social ailments.

The scenes where *meddahs* performed were the coffee-houses in the political, commercial and cultural centres of the country. The performances used to take place there principally at the times of great Islamic feasts. The audiences were very motley, with all the social strata being represented in them. It was no rare occurrence that as a result of criticism of social conditions and its broad impact on the masses, the Sheikhulislam would give out the fatwa prohibiting the *meddah* to perform, or eliminating certain stories from his repertory. In the nineteenth century, the State censorship restricted the repertory of *meddah* İsmet Efendi from 65 to 33 stories.

In the first part of Chapter III (pp. 87—164) the author returns to the sources from which the *meddahs'* art sprang, quoting the views of G. Jacob, F. Giese, I. Kunos, F. Köprülü, P. N. Boratav. According to Ö. Nutku, there are nine basic sources, including also the *meddah*'s own experiences, historical events, folk episodes and legends, adapted works from Persian literature.

The author then goes on to analyse the *meddah*'s story from the contents and the formal aspect. A remarkable feature is that if the episode takes place in Istanbul, it is moulded in a realistic manner, but when it is localized outside the boundaries of the capital of the empire, elements of the story penetrate into it. The plot of the episode is most frequently represented by the death of a rich old man, the father of a frivolous son who soon dissipates the inherited wealth. Another frequent motif is the murder of a husband by an unfaithful wife. But episodes from the eighteenth century, in particular, reflect the social decline and the disintegration of moral norms in the society of that time. Quite often the corrupt judiciary and the State bureaucracy were the object of the *meddah*'s pillory.

The story is always made up of four parts: the initial formula, the introduction into the episode, in which the *meddah* acquaints the audience with the characters of the story and its socio-historical setting, the episode proper, the conclusion.

In contrast to the *ashyks*, the *meddahs* recited their episodes in prose form and

their recital lasted substantially shorter than that of the *ashyks*. The narration of one episode usually lasted one to two hours.

The theme of the closing chapter of the monograph (pp. 165—168) is the shift that took place in the *meddahs'* art towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, when anecdotes, comic scenes and imitations of social types are gradually pushed out of their repertory by epic events with dramatized passages.

In the Conclusion (pp. 169—173), the author briefly summarizes the ideas expounded in the various chapters and points to the necessity of differentiating between the art of an actor and that of a *meddah*. The latter performed his art without the aid of masking, make-up, costumes, decorations, etc.

Ö. Nutku subjects to his criticism the young artists who attempted to revive the *meddahs'* art without having penetrated its aesthetics. They failed to grasp the fundamental trait of this art, i.e. that a *meddah*'s art always carried the seal of the times in which he lived. Present-day imitators of the *meddahs* only reproduce anecdotes and scenes a hundred years old without noticing the contradictions and conflicts of our epoch. He also reproaches them with having reached out for the easier component of the *meddahs'* art, viz. imitation (*taklit*). However, imitation represents an artistic value solely when incorporated into the framework of the episode.

Twenty-two stories of *meddahs* from the eighteenth to the twentieth century which Ö. Nutku has included in the supplement, and published for the first time in Latin transcription, might in his view, serve to the young adepts of this art better to grasp and penetrate into its aesthetics.

The supplement comprises in addition nine scenes from everyday life, whose authors were *meddahs* from the early twentieth century, and a list of names of *meddahs* from the fourteenth to the twentieth century.

In the research of scholars in the domain of Turkish folk literature, the art of public story-tellers remained at the periphery of their interest. Özdemir Nutku's monograph shows that this popular genre of Turkish urban folklore decidedly deserves more attention now, when the so-called single-actor play is gaining more and more admirers.

Xénia Celnarová

Djavalidze, Elizbar Dmitrievich: *U istokov turetskoi literatury. I. Djelal-ed-din Rumi* (At the Sources of Turkish Literature. I. Jelaluddin-i-Rumi). Tbilisi, Metsni-yereba 1979. 300 pp.

The outstanding figure of mediaeval Islamic mysticism, founder of the order of the "Whirling Dervishes", Mevlana Jelaluddin-i-Rumi (1207—1273) belongs by his

origin and his poetic work in the Persian language to Persian literature; nevertheless, thanks to the immense influence of his work on the development of Turkish mystic poetry, as well as on that of lay poetry of the Divan, he is generally considered to be also the founder of classical Turkish literature.

E. D. Djavalidze's monograph takes as its aim an analysis of the basic theses in Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's world outlook, without which it is impossible to elucidate many key issues in the development of classical Turkish literature.

In the Introduction to Chapter I (pp. 8—24) dealing with Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's life and his times, the author presents a brief outline of the literature devoted to the work of this eminent thinker and poet.

Djavalidze characterizes Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's literary work as the culminating point of the "golden era" of Islamic mysticism — Sufism. When making an analysis of the sources on the basis on which Rumi's world outlook was moulded, the author of the monograph puts the Koran in the first place; and Rumi not only refers to it often in his work, but also interprets it in a creative manner, being especially interested in the hidden meaning (*bātyn*) of the Koran. Rumi had a deep-seated relationship to Persian and Arab poets and to treatises by theoreticians of Sufism. Two men had a considerable share in the moulding of Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's world outlook: his father Muhammad Beha-eddin Veled and a youth friend, the roaming dervish and passionate preacher of Sufistic ideas Shams-eddin-i-Tabrizi.

In a certain measure, Rumi was affected also by the peripatetic, but particularly the neoplatonic philosophical school. An interpretation of numerous issues in Rumi's work comes close to that of Plato's interpretation. The author of the publication is of the opinion that Rumi's relation to Plato should be subjected to a deeper scientific research.

Chapter II (pp. 25—65) is devoted to an elucidation of the problems of esoterism and of emanation in Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's work. Rumi judged that the essence of God cannot be elucidated as He is inapprehensible by reason. He was extremely moved by the question how God achieved to create a world so complex and yet so harmonious. The author scrutinizes in detail Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's cosmological views, stressing the fact that Rumi saw also the physiological process of conception and development of man as a cosmological element.

The ancient teaching on the four basic elements constituting the visually perceptible world also found its reflection in Rumi's work: fire, water, air and earth. The author notes that Rumi's cosmological theory is not original, but that he took it over from theoreticians of Sufism.

In Chapter III (pp. 66—118) the author investigates Rumi's views on the existence of the objective world. In Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's thinking, one may notice his dialectical approach to an apprehension of the perpetual transformation and development in the world. A precondition of development is the existence of antagonistic elements that wage a struggle between them. Djavalidze states that if,

on the one hand, such an approach to an apprehension of being in mediaeval conditions may be assessed as positive, the instability of the world and its lasting passing away as understood by Rumi, on the other hand, denies objective reality and prevents its being rationally understood.

Experts scrutinizing Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's work are not concordant in their views, whether Rumi should be considered a pantheist or not. According to Djavalidze, their lack of agreement on this point derives from an erroneous, inaccurate grasp of the term "pantheism". On the one hand, there are efforts here to lay emphasis on idealistic elements, on the other, one-sidedly to underscore the materialist element in pantheism. At the same time, as Djavalidze affirms, pantheism in contrast to idealism admits a material essence and an ontological existence of nature, but in contrast to materialism, recognizes also the existence of God. While in pantheists God and nature merge into one, Sufis admit only the existence of God and a real objectivity of nature is excluded by them, it is but an illusion.

One of the fundamental postulates of Sufistic teaching represents an overcoming of fear from death. On the whole, Rumi understands death as an escape from a close imprisonment of earthly being and often expounds the thesis of man-mystic's dying to this world even prior to his physical death as the highest degree of perfection. Mystical death, however, is not tantamount to suicide, it is but a temporary release from one's earthly remains and a merging with God. Occasionally, however, Rumi fills the image of death with the contents of universal misfortune, for after death there is nothing any more. He admits inactivity uniquely in mystics and condemns a blind abandonment to fate.

Chapter IV (pp. 119—168) analyses the problem of man in the work of Jelaluddin-i-Rumi. To Rumi, man appears as the cause of the materialization of the world, as the supreme object of absolute truth. He assigned people into four basic categories: people of this world, ascetics, representatives of religious and lay science, and Sufis. Djavalidze makes a detailed interpretation of this classification of mankind as a fundamental premise for an understanding of his world outlook.

In Chapter V (pp. 169—212), the author deals with the ethical aspect of Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's work. According to Rumi, man may become perfect solely thanks to the life-giving strength of love. Djavalidze does not agree with the method used up to now of differentiating mystical motifs in mediaeval erotic lyric from real-human motifs, as human love in the Sufistic concept figures as a first step towards attaining divine love. True love to Rumi is a fountainhead of life, a prerequisite of the perpetual development of the world.

The author subjects to an analysis also Rumi's relation to women and the contradictions reflected in this relation. If a tributariness to Islamic traditions occasionally appears in Rumi's negative attitude to the female being as such, at other times Rumi speaks of a woman as of a divine ray of light. He was decidedly against inequality of women's position in society.

Rumi in his work pays great attention to man's inner and outer purification which is basic tenet of Sufistic morals.

Chapter VI (pp. 213—229) is devoted to Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's poetic work. The author underlines the humorist aspect of Rumi's poetry and stresses the significance of music, dance and song in his teaching.

In Chapter VII (pp. 230—271) the author of the monograph analyses the concept of mystical knowledge as reflected in Rumi's work. A mystic's cognition that is of a momentary and intuitive nature must be oriented to himself as the image of God. Before achieving knowledge, man must succeed in destroying within himself his biological empirical "ego". An absolute suppression of this "ego" leads to a merging of the mystic with God and then a state of silence sets in as the highest degree of man's perfection.

In the Conclusion (pp. 272—273), the author states that Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's thinking is of an eclectic character and does not constitute a rounded system. Rumi in his work interprets doctrines generally in force in oriental mystic teachings of the Middle Ages, yet at the same time expresses also his own original views and conclusions. Equally individual and original is also the manner of his artistic interpretation of these views, which ensured to Rumi a pre-eminent position in the history of literatures of the East. The influence exercised by Jelaluddin-i-Rumi on classical Turkish literature has been manifest both in the sphere of utilization of artistic means, and in the sphere of thinking.

E. D. Djavalidze's work is stimulating not only by its confrontation of mediaeval Islamic mysticism with European philosophical movements of the antiquity and the Middle Ages, but also by his bringing up certain problems, such as, for instance, Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's relation to Plato, or the question of interpretation of colours in Rumi's works, that deserve a deeper and more thorough survey.

Xénia Celnarová

Dino, Güzin: *Türk romanının doğuşu* (The Birth of the Turkish Novel). Istanbul, Cem Yayınevi 1978. 201 pp.

The first prosaic works which, with certain reservations, might be considered as novels, appeared in Turkish literature already in the second half of the nineteenth century. The authoress of the work under review published for the first time in French in 1975 by the Presse Orientaliste de France, took as the basis of her analysis of the specific signs characteristic of the beginnings of the novel genre in Turkish literature, the novel by Namık Kemal *İntibah* (Awakening) which has as subtitle *Sergüzeşt-i Ali Bey* (Adventure of Ali Bey).

In the introduction to the work (pp. 9—26), G. Dino relates the origin of the Turkish novel to the transformations that took place in the Ottoman society in the second half of the nineteenth century and designates it even as one of such marked transformations. The culminating decline of the Ottoman empire and the penetration of western culture into the consciousness of a certain milieu of the intelligentsia intervene into a new period of the history of Turkish literature. The authoress underlines the share of İbrahim Şinasi's personality (1826—1871) in the new orientation in the thinking of Turkish literati.

The most outstanding personality among men of letters whose names are connected with the birth of Turkish modern literature was Namık Kemal (1840—1888). His novel *İntibah* (1876) was given priority by Güzin Dino over the works of Şemsettin Sami (1850—1904) and Ahmet Mithat (1844—1912) who hold primacy as regards introduction of the novel genre into Turkish literature. As a matter of fact, all the traits characteristic of the novel genre on the one hand, and its connection with home traditions on the other, are far more explicitly manifest in Namık Kemal's novel than in those that appeared during the period 1973—1976.

In four parts of her book the authoress analyses the fable and the ideational plot of the novel of Namık Kemal, his characters, the thematic and formal aspect of the work.

A confrontation of the fable in the novel *İntibah* with that in the short story *Hançerli Hanım* (The Lady with a Dagger) which is connected with the name of the prominent *meddah* of the seventeenth century Tiflî, points to an analogy of motifs and situations in the two works. Hence, as G. Dino remarks, it is incorrect to deduce the fable in Namık Kemal's novel from the works of French literature with an amorous or adventurous plot, as has been until recently the rule with Turkish literary historians. Namık Kemal took over the adventurous topic, two centuries old, from the repertory of Turkish *meddahs* and endeavoured to remould it into a dramatic-psychological episode of his contemporary. The writer succeeded to penetrate strikingly into the psyche of his characters in the novel *İntibah*, particularly its protagonist Ali Bey, only in the first two-thirds of the work. In its last third, the reinforcement of the adventure aspect takes place at the expense of a portrayal of the characters' psychology.

G. Dino characterizes the novel *İntibah* as the first analytical novel in Turkey. In contrast to Şemsettin Sami and Ahmet Mithat, Namık Kemal did not create one-dimensional figures, but endeavoured to record their mental development and he thereby introduces a new dimension into Turkish literature. Another important fact is that Namık Kemal moulds the psychic states of his novel personages in relation to the milieu in which they are set.

In the character of Mehpeyker, the beloved of the hero of the novel Ali Bey, Namık Kemal is the first author to introduce a female type into Turkish literature. The authoress ponders over the fact why the writer chose precisely the type of

a morally depraved woman. She justifies it by the conditionedness of the times. At an epoch when a woman was still isolated from the outside world and the social life by the bars of a harem, it was just unthinkable that a virtuous woman should figure in a portrayal of erotic relations as the partner of a single man. Namık Kemal stressed the negative traits in the mistress not only because of the then strict censorship, but also because he himself was as yet a prisoner of the engrained moral norms.

When analysing the novel *Intibah* from the thematic aspect, G. Dino points out that this is primarily a love novel, nevertheless, the subjection of women in the Ottoman society, along with other social phenomena, also appeared in the novel. In contrast to the classical literature of the Divan, where love figures as a mystical elation torn from real life, Namık Kemal imparted a natural form to the amorous emotions and enjoyment and did not avoid portraying physical love. The authoress does not deny, however, that the interpretation of love in the spirit of the Divan poetry found some measure of reflection also in the novel *Intibah*.

Güzin Dino also makes a point of the new approach to a portrayal of nature in Namık Kemal's work, understanding nature as a rational entity. The authoress sees in this relation the influence of the writings of Lamartine, Châteaubriand and Hugo, on Namık Kemal.

In the conclusion of her work (pp. 177—185) the authoress muses on whether the "New Ottomans", who in the second half of the nineteenth century occupied the foremost positions in the economic, political and cultural life of the empire, can be spoken of as a class of bourgeois. She concludes her reflection by stating that just as the society in which Namık Kemal's work *Intibah* was born was a pre-bourgeois society, so also this work is only the first stage of the novel.

Xénia Celnarová

Bayrak, Mehmet: *Köy enstitülü yazarlar, ozanlar* (Die Schriftsteller, Dichter — Absolventen des Dorfinstitutes). Ankara, TÖB-DER Yayınları 1978. 630 S.

Die vorliegende Publikation stellt das Ergebnis einer mehrjährigen konzentrierten Forschungsarbeit des jungen türkischen Literaturhistorikers Mehmet Bayrak auf dem literarischen Gebiet dar, das die Problematik der türkischen Provinz behandelt.

Im Rahmen des Kampfes gegen das Analphabetentum entstanden und wirkten in den Jahren 1940—1952 in verschiedenen Gegenden der Türkei einundzwanzig Institute, in denen vor allem die aus mittellosen Bauernfamilien stammende Jugend ihre Bildung erreichen konnte. Diese Institute unterschieden sich von den herkömmlichen pädagogischen Schulen dadurch, daß ihre Schüler neben der

Vorbereitung auf die pädagogische Laufbahn auch praktische Kenntnisse bei der Anwendung moderner Methoden auf verschiedenen Gebieten der Landwirtschaft erlangten. Eine große Aufmerksamkeit wurde in diesen Einrichtungen der Literatur gewidmet, die Jugend wurde zum selbständigen literarischen Schaffen ermuntert. Es war natürlich, daß die jungen Autoren die Themen für ihre Gedichte, Reportageskizzen, Erzählungen, die zuerst in der Schülerzeitung, später auch in der Tagespresse und in literarischen Zeitschriften veröffentlicht wurden, jenem Milieu entnahmen, mit dem sie vertraut waren, und daß sich darin das Dorf und dessen Probleme widerspiegelten. Die Schüler und Absolventen der Dorfinstitute hatten ihren nicht geringen Anteil an der Explosion von Romanen und Erzählungen mit der Dorfthematik in den fünfziger Jahren, sowie an der Tatsache, daß diese Thematik auch heutzutage noch ihre Anhänger nicht verloren hat, und das trotz der geringschätzigen und ablehnenden Haltung einiger Literaten, vor allem aus den Reihen der Darsteller der introvert orientierten Literatur.

M. Bayraks Arbeit, die die erste, in der Türkei herausgegebene Monographie über die sog. Dorfliteratur (*Köy edebiyatı*) darstellt (von den Arbeiten über die türkische Literatur, die im Ausland erschienen sind, behandelt diese Problematik C. Rathbuns Monographie: *The Village in the Turkish Novel and Short Story 1920 to 1955*. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1972), besteht aus zwei Teilen. Der erste Teil wird von einer Studie des Dichters Kemal Burkay, eines Absolventen des Dorfinstituts in Dicla eingeleitet, die das Experiment, welches die Gründung der Dorfinstitute bedeutete, sowie den Beitrag dieses Experiments bewertet. Den Entschluß der Regierung spezielle pädagogische Mittelschulen zu gründen, klassifiziert K. Burkay als eine Bemühung der gegen Überreste der feudalen Macht im Staat kämpfenden Bourgeoisie, mit Hilfe der Intelligenz ihren Einfluß auch am Lande durchzusetzen.

Bevor M. Bayrak zur eigentlichen Analyse der Problematik der sog. Dorfliteratur herantrat, führt er die positiven aber auch die negativen Ansichten türkischer Schriftsteller und Kritiker über diese Problematik, sowie eine bibliographische Übersicht der Literatur hierzu an (letztere ist nicht vollständig, er erwähnt obige Monographie von C. Rathbun und auch einige sowjetische Arbeiten nicht).

Indem er die Anfänge der künstlerischen Gestaltung der Problematik des Dorfmenschen in der türkischen Literatur erforscht, bringt M. Bayrak Beispiele aus dem Schaffen der Volksdichter, bei denen das entbehrungs- und leidenvolle Leben des Bauern oder des Hirten seine Widerspiegelung fand. Die klassische osmanische Literatur dagegen behandelte das Dorf und dessen Einwohner mit Verachtung, der Provinzler war für die höfischen Dichter lediglich ein primitives Wesen mit den Angewohnheiten eines Zugtieres.

Den ersten großen Schritt zur künstlerischen Gestaltung der Problematik des Dorfmenschen machte im Jahre 1890 Nâbizade Nâzım mit seiner Erzählung *Karabibik*. M. Bayrak bewertet das Entstehen dieser Erzählung zu einer Zeit, da die Unterdrückung und Unfreiheit unter dem absolutistischen Regime Sultan Abdülha-

mids gipfelte, als eine bahnbrecherische Tat. In seiner Erzählung bemüht sich Nâbizade Nâzım bewußt um eine realistische Darstellung des Dorfmenschen mit dessen Unwissenheit und Armut, um eine Erfassung der sozialen Beziehungen am Lande. Die Position Ebubekir Hâzım Tepeyrans, des Autors des zweiten prosaischen Werkes mit Dorfthematik in der türkischen Literatur, bewertet M. Bayrak mit Recht als eine günstigere. Sein Roman *Küçük Paşa* (Der kleine Pascha) erschien im Jahre 1910, als es nach dem Sturz Sultan Abdülhamids zu einer Lockerung im politischen und kulturellen Leben des Landes kommt. Außerdem hat zu dieser Zeit auch jene Bewegung ihren Anfang, an derer Spitze Ziya Gökalp stand, und die sich unter der Losung „Zum Volk!" (*Halka doğru!*) den Volksschichten Anatoliens nähern und sich deren Probleme annehmen möchte.

Als einen bedeutsamen Schritt vorwärts in der Gestaltung der Dorfproblematik bewerter M. Bayrak den Roman von Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu *Yaban* (Der Fremde, 1932). Betrachteten bis dahin die Schriftsteller, die an den Fronten des nationalen Befreiungskrieges in den Jahren 1919—1922 zum ersten Mal mit der Provinz der Mitteltürkei in Berührung kamen, diese Problematik aus einem romatischen Blickwinkel aus (Bayrak bezeichnet deren Schaffen als „anatolischen Romantismus"), entstehen nach dem Roman *Yaban* realistische, die türkische Provinz aus einem ausgeprägt kritischen Blickwinkel darstellende Werke.

Das Roman- und erzählerische Schaffen mit der Dorfproblematik wurde zu einer „Strömung" erst nach 1945, das bedeutet erst einige Jahre nach dem Entstehen der Dorfinstitute, da gerade die Generation der Künstler — der Absolventen der Dorfinstitute, wie es Bayrak betont, daran ihren großen Anteil hatte.

Der zweite Teil des Buches von Mehmet Bayrak hat den Charakter einer Antologie. Er informiert den Leser über das Leben und Schaffen von fünfzig türkischen Prosaisten, Dichtern und Literaturkritikern — Absolventen der Dorfinstitute. Bei zwölf weniger bekannten Persönlichkeiten führt der Autor nebst deren wichtigsten Lebensdaten lediglich kurze Charakteristiken ihrer Werke an. In den übrigen Fällen sprechen die einzelnen Schriftsteller selbst über ihr Leben und ihre Kunstauffassung, wobei fast in einem jeden Fall die Betonung auf die im Dorfinstitut verbrachten Jahre gelegt wird. Bei jedem dieser bedeutenderen Namen ist eine bibliographische Übersicht der Werke des Autors, ferner Rezensionen, Kritiken und das hervorgerufene Echo, sowie eine kurze Probe aus dem Schaffen des Autors angeführt. Bei solchen Persönlichkeiten, die eine feste Stellung in der türkischen Literatur erreicht haben, wie etwa Fakir Baykurt, Dursun Akçam, Talip Apaydın, Mehmet Başaran, Ümit Kaftancıoğlu und anderen, analysiert Mehmet Bayrak entweder das gesamte Schaffen des Autors oder manche seiner bedeutendsten Werke. Bemerkenswert ist Bayraks Analyse des Romans von T. Apaydın *Yozdavar* (Die wilde Herde, 1972), die auch die Analyse der Gestalt des Hirten und deren Stellung in der türkischen Literatur beinhaltet.

Mehmet Bayraks Buch kann als ein gewichtiger und anregender Beitrag zur

Diskussion um die Literatur, die die Dorfproblematik gestaltet, betrachtet werden, eine Problematik, die wie der Autor mit Recht behauptet, auch in der Zukunft nichts an ihrer Aktualität einbüßen wird, hinsichtlich der Tatsache, daß die Türkei ein landwirtschaftliches Land ist.

Xénia Celnarová

A b u - H a i d a r, Farida: *A Study of the Spoken Arabic of Baskinta*. James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XXVIII. Leiden — London, Published for the Royal Asiatic Society by E. J. Brill 1979. XVI + 190 pp.

After M. Jiha's description of Bišmizzīni Arabic[1] and D. H. Obrecht's study of the emphatic consonants in Lebanese Arabic,[2] the present monograph is another up-to-date contribution to Arabic dialectology in this linguistic area. Written by a native speaker of Arabic, the book is a result of the author's field-work in the area. The material collected has subsequently been re-examined and collated with the help of several Baskintāwī informants in London.

Baskinta is a township in Northern Lebanon, situated at a distance of fifty kilometers to the north-east of Beirut. Owing to the remoteness of Baskinta and a relatively low rate of the population movement, its dialect is almost ideal for purposes of dialect study.

The book is divided into three main parts as follows: Phonology (pp. 9—31), Morphology (pp. 32—81) and Syntax (pp. 82—134). The book further contains a collection of texts, transcribed from spontaneous speech, as well as samples of folk-poetry and circumstantial language (pp. 135—162). In the three appendices which follow (pp. 164—183), the author has given verbal paradigms (App. A: Table of Conjugations), a short survey of a number of phonemic correspondences between the dialect of Baskinta and Classical Arabic (App. B), as well as some data concerning lexical borrowings (App. C: Non-Arabic Loan Words). The Bibliography which follows lists items covering Arabic and Lebanese dialectology. The book is concluded by a selective index of lexical units which are characteristic of Baskinta Arabic.

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[1] J i h a, M.: *Der arabische Dialekt von Bišmizzīn. Volkstümliche Texte aus einem libanesischen Dorf mit Grundzügen der Laut- und Formenlehre.* Beiruter Texte und Studien hrsg. vom Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1. Beirut (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden) 1964. XVIII + 185 pp.

[2] O b r e c h t, D. H.: *Effects of the Second Formant on the Perception of Velarization Consonants in Arabic.* Janua Linguarum Series Practica, 39. The Hague, Mouton 1968. 104 pp.

The phonological section provides a good and fully adequate picture of the sound system of the dialect described. Emphasis is treated as a prosodic feature and so is noted.

The treatment of elision in parallel contrastive lines relatively to (*i*) and (*u*), on the one hand, and to (*a*), on the other, warrants a high degree of economy and clarity of exposition. Nevertheless, a number of statements associated with the description of this phenomenon do not always seem to be in tune with the linguistic data adduced. Thus, for instance, as far as one may guess without a direct knowledge of Baskinta Arabic, it does not appear possible to relate the free occurrence of the consonant clusters to the mere occurrence of elision in this dialect (p. 27, § 1.3.1.1). It is true that elision is closely related to the occurrence of consonant clusters in any linguistic variety of Arabic, but nevertheless, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon need not necessarily lead to the free occurrence of consonant clusters, notably to the type of the word-initial CC and CCC clusters, as those stated for Baskinta Arabic. Such clusters, as is quite obvious, do not exist in Cairo Arabic, for instance, despite the occurrence of elision in this dialect. Further, the very definition of elision as 'a relationship between comparable forms' (p. 26), despite the fact that it rightly covers the linguistic domain of the phenomenon, says nothing of the procedure itself.

Paragraphs covering verbal morphology, despite their extreme succinctness, contain all necessary information. The description of what the author calls 'derived themes' (viz. the German 'abgeleitete Stämme') does not include any functional characteristics of the respective forms which are rather untraditionally symbolized by the nine letters of the alphabet from A to I. The examples quoted are the only orientation points to guide the student. Such a lack of explicitness has, as one may easily conceive, apart its obvious advantages, also drawbacks of its own.

The considerably condensed nominal morphology is highly informative and clearly traces the main word-formational and inflectional features of the Baskinta Arabic nominals. Nevertheless, there are omissions that are felt as somewhat disturbing. In describing the dual number, for instance, there is no mention of the possible numeric restatement of the dual, although the latter phenomenon seemingly occurs in all colloquial varieties of Arabic and, moreover, affects practically the whole semantic class of the paired parts of the body as well as some other natural pairs. In the latter case, the dual displays both the numeric value of the dual (viz. 'two') and that of the plural (viz. 'more than two'), and that irrespective of whether a separate plural form occurs or not, as in the Egyptian Arabic *riglēn* "(two) feet", *ᶜinēn* "(two) eyes" (despite the occurrence of culturally differentiated plurals *ᶜiyūn*, *ᶜuyūn*), etc. Whether the phenomenon occurs in Baskinta Arabic or not, its occurrence or nonoccurrence should have been explicitly stated for purposes of comparative dialectology.

The neatly presented syntactic description, as well as a collection of excellent and really true-to-life texts leave nothing to be desired. Some minor flaws and inconsis-

tencies, as e.g. the treatment of annexation in terms of a 'genitival relation' (p. 122), in an analytical linguistic system deprived of case inflections, is due more to the impact of the traditional linguistic jargon than to a misinterpretation of facts.

Abu Haidar's monograph is a reliable description of Baskinta Arabic and an important contribution to Arabic dialectology.

Ladislav Drozdík

Cadora, F. J.: *Interdialectal Lexical Compatibility in Arabic. An Analytical Study of the Lexical Relationships among the Major Syro-Lebanese Varieties.* Leiden, E. J. Brill 1979. X + 115 pp.

Cadora's interesting monograph is a methodologically innovative attempt to analyse lexical relationships that exist among the major urban varieties of Arabic in the Syro-Lebanese dialectal area. The quantitative analysis is based on the concept of 'lexical compatiblity'. The criterial feature of 'lexical compatibility', in Cadora's presentation, should be identified with semantic equivalence, as statable between several lexical units of the same extra-linguistic reference which occur in eighteen varieties of Arabic under examination. It should be noted, however, that the Syro-Lebanese linguistic area is here represented by a selected set of thirteeen varieties only: Tyre (Ty), Sidon (Sd), Beirut (Br — Ras Beirut, Bm — Mousaytbeh, Ba — Ashrafiyyeh), Zahle (Z), Tripoli (Tp), Latakia (L), Damascus (D), Homs (Ho), Hama (Ha), Aleppo (A), and Deir ez-Zor (Dz). The remaining five varieties, out of a total of eighteen, shows the following distribution: four for extra-areal varieties: Casablanca (Cb), Cairo (C), Jidda (J), and Baghdad (Bg), and the remaining one for Classical Arabic (Cl).

Compatiblity, in this presentation, may be interpreted as a sort of inter-varietal synonymy, since only such lexical items are compatible wich have the same meaning (cf. p. 4). The basic concept of compatibility, as defined above, contrasts with (the negative counterpart of) this term, as it has already been used in Semitic linguistics, viz. 'incompatibility', in a phonological application, used in the sense of inability of a phoneme to co-occur with some types of phonemes (e.g., Petráček, K.: *Die Inkompatibilität in der semitischen Wurzel in Sicht der Informationstheorie.* Rocznik Orientalistyczny, *27*, 1964, pp. 133—138; see also Greenberg, J. H.: *The Patterning of Root Morphemes in Semitic.* Word, 6, 1950, pp. 162—181, etc.).

The analysis of lexical relationships in terms of compatibility involves two sets of compatible items: non-contrastive and contrastive compatible sets. The analysis of the former is used to establish the degree of homogeneity in the Syro-Lebanese varieties, the analysis of the latter determines, on the other hand, the degree of their heterogeneity within the group.

As for the formal presentation of the dialectal data quoted, the Cairo Arabic material will briefly be examined:

"and" *wa*, instead of the expected *wi*, *'u* (p. 74);

"bark (of a tree)" *'išre*, instead of the expected *'išra* (p. 75);

"child" *Tifil* with an undue epenthesis, instead of the expected *Tifl* (or *tifl*, in our way of writing) (p. 77);

"day (opp. of night)" *nhar*, with an inadmissible word-initial CC-cluster, instead of *naha:r* (*nahār*, in our way of writing) (p. 79);

"ear" *wadin* (presumably a misprint), instead of the correct *widn*, plur. *widān* (Mitchell, *Intr.*, 218, 244; Mitchell, *Colloq. Ar.*, 175, 179; Willmore, 59, no dual *widnēn* as against the opinion of Spitta, p. 60, note 1; Jomier p. 74, *wedn*, no dual, as against N. Tomiche, p. 170: *wednēn*).

"eat" *'akal*, culturally overstated, instead of the typical *kal* (p. 81);

"father" *'abu*, instead of the expected *'abb* (p. 82);

"few" *šwayya* (undue word-initial CC-cluster), instead of the correctly presented *šuwayya* (p. 82);

"fight (v.)" *'itxani:'*, misprint, instead of the correct *'itxa:ni'* (p. 82);

"five" *xamse* (undue *'imāla*) (p. 83);

"flower" *warda*, instead of the expected *zahra* (cf. e.g. Mitch., *Intr.*, 246);

"good" *kwayyis* (undue word-initial CC-cluster), instead of the expected *kuwayyis* (p. 84);

"hunt" *Sta:d/Sa:d*, as above, the first alternant should have been written with a prothetic vowel, viz. *'iSta:d* (p. 87);

"in" *fi:* (no word-final vowel quantity may occur in this variety of Arabic at the cultural level which is compatible with the rest of material quoted) (p. 88);

"laugh (v.)" *DiHik*, admitted for Jiddan Arabic only, despite its being the most regular Cairo Arabic equivalent of the English "laugh" as well. The item quoted for Cairo Arabic, viz. *DDaHHak*, is presented in a morphonologically non-existent form (p. 89);

"lie" *tmaddad* (instead of *'itmaddad* "to be stretched, extended, e.g. on a sofa), instead of the expected *ra'ad* (p. 89, 90);

"liver", no specification is given for a distinction between an 'anatomical' liver *kibd*, and a liver as a food stuff, viz. *kibda* (p. 90);

"near" *ganb* (having to be written *gamb*), as a preposition "beside, at, near"; as an adjective, the only Cairo Arabic equivalent of the English "near" is *'urayyib* (p. 92);

"right (correct)" *SHi:H*, instead of the expected *maZbu:T* or *SaHi:H* (p. 94);

"round" *mitDawwar* (p. 95). The item quoted does not seem to reflect the morphonological features of Cairo Arabic. The form *mitdawwar* (or *middawwar*) should have been used instead;

"short" *'Sayyar*, instead of *'usayyar* (*'uSayyar*, in the author's way of writing) (p. 97);

"small" *zġayyar*, instead of *ṣuġayyar* (p. 98);

"stand", the Cairo Arabic *wa'af* (instead of the expected *wi'if*), curiously contrasting with the Baghdadi Arabic *qa:m* (p. 100). As is quite obvious, the Classical Arabic *qām* (*qa:m*), given as an equivalent to the English verb "to stand", does not make possible to establish a relation of "compatibility" between the Cairo Arabic *wa'af* (correctly *wi'if*) "to stop" (intr.) and a Baghdadi Arabic *gām* "to get up, stand up, rise" (Woodhead, D. R. and Beene, W.: *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic-English*. Washington, DC, Georgetown University Press 1967 /*Dict.*, in what follows/, p. 396). The culturally higher *qām*, as quoted in the Swadesh list p. 100, corresponds to the Classical Arabic *qām* (bi), as in *yqūm ib-'a'māl muxziya* "he does shameful things" (*Dict.*, 381). As evident, Cairene Arabic has both *wi'if* "to stop, come to a standstill" and *'ām* "to get up, stand up". The same holds true of the Baghdadi Arabic *wugaf* and *gām* (but not *qām*) respectively.

"straight (ahead)" *Ṭawwa:li* (p. 101), as preferred to *duġri* and/or *'alaTu:l*, seems to be rather unexpected, either.

For "tie (v.)", no item whatsoever, is related to Cairo Arabic (p. 103) (viz. *rabaT*);

"tongue" *lsa:n*, undue word-initial CC-cluster, viz. *lisa:n*.

Further, it is rather difficult to understand why the Form II *ġassal* (instead of the Form I *ġasal*) has been considered to be compatible with the Classical Arabic *ġasal* "to wash" (p. 105) etc.

As far as some other dialectal varieties are concerned, the Baghdadi Arabic *uffad* "heart", alternating with *galub*, seems to be misrepresented, instead of the correct *ffād* "heart, chest" (*Dict.*, 342). The word-initial *u-* has apparently to be identified with a prothetic vowel that occurs after a preceding consonant, as in *ḥčāyta ba'adha tungur b-uffādi* "his remark is still gnawing at my heart" (*Dict.*, 342) or in *haš-šuġul da-yišla' uffadi* "this work is wearing me out" (ibid.), as against e.g. *ffāda yilzama* "his chest hurts him" (ibid.).

Most of these inconsistencies, observable in the formal presentation of the material quoted, are apparently due to the selection of an unsuitable informant and/or to some flaws in the technique of elicitation of linguistic data. Despite this, the present reviewer is greatly enthusiastic about the author's working method and his splendid idea to investigate lexical relationships in present terms. The author's method did lead to significant results and its application to the dialectological (and, more generally, linguistic) investigation may further be expanded and refined.

Ladislav Drozdík

(1) *Muṣṭalaḥāt al-juġrāfiyā wa-l-falak fī-t-ta'līm al-'āmm* (Terminology of Geography and Astronomy in Public Education). 56 pp.

(2) *Muṣṭalaḥāt at-ta'rīx fī-t-ta'līm al-'āmm* (Terminology of History in Public Education). 31 pp.

(3) *Muṣṭalaḥāt al-falsafa fī-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜāmm* (Terminology of Philosophy in Public Education). 46 pp.

(4) *Muṣṭalaḥāt ar-riyāḍiyyāt fī-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜāmm* (Terminology of Mathematics in Public Education). 54 pp.

(5) *Muṣṭalaḥāt ᶜilm aṣ-ṣiḥḥa wa jism al-'insān fī-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜāmm* (Terminology of Health and the Human Body in Public Education). 71 pp.

(6) *Muṣṭalaḥāt ar-riyāḍiyyāt fī-t-taᶜlīm al-'ālī* (Terminology of Mathematics in Higher Education). 70 pp.

(7) *Muṣṭalaḥāt al-'iḥṣā', fī-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜālī* (Terminology of Statistics in Higher Education). 24 pp.

(8) *Muṣṭalaḥāt al-falak fīt-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜālī* (Terminology of Astronomy in Higher Education). 22 pp.

League of Arab States. Education, Culture, and Sciences Organization (Coordination Bureau of Arabization, Rabat). Casablanca, Dar El Kitab 1977.

The urging need to expand and modernize the Arabic lexicon, especially in the domain of science and technology, generates considerable problems which cannot be solved without a systematic and highly qualified contribution of several generations of innovators, scientists, lexicographers and sophisticated language users themselves. Nevertheless, in view of the immense cultural area in which Arabic is used as a medium of communication, even the joint effort of all these qualified individuals and competent regional institutions might appear insufficient to cope with this challenging task and to secure a truly coordinated normative work aiming at a pan-Arab validity of the terms proposed. The relatively low degree of terminological codification which is characteristic of the lexicographical and terminological activities over the last decades, further complicates the general situation in this domain. As it appears, a substantial contribution to an inter-Arab unification of the new coinages cannot be warranted without a top-level normative and codificative work based on a systematic acquisition and evaluation of the best and most promising terminological units coming from various parts of the Arab cultural area.

The present trilingual (English-French-Arabic) terminological series is a fruitful and truly way-marking attempt to meet this challenge and to create an entirely new generation of terminological dictionaries resulting from a wide inter-Arab scientific cooperation in the domain of Arabization which is supported by the codificative autority and normative power of the Arab League.

In accordance with Article Six of the Internal Statute of the Coordination Bureau of Arabization (Education, Culture, and Sciences Organization, League of Arab States) a congress of Arabization should be held in one of the Arab countries once in three years. The congress is expected to study reports and proposals related to the on-going process of Arabization and the scientific and cultural development of the Arabic lexicon. The Second Congress of Arabization (Algiers, 1973) issued six terminological lexicons covering the following fields: chemistry, geology, mathema-

tics, botany, zoology and physics. The Third Congress of Arabization (Libya, 1977) approved and put into circulation the present series of word-lists.

Owing to a number of specific traits of the present stage of the linguistic evolution of Arabic, any type of lexicographical work, dealing with Arabic, is to a considerable extent impeded by both linguistic and extralinguistic factors which are no longer relevant to the lexicographical treatment of modern European languages.

Some problems, standing in the way of the rapidly progressing Arabization, are associated with various aspects of what is mostly designed as Arabic diglossia (*'izdiwāj luġawī*) as well as with the lack of really workable criteria for distinguishing lexical units belonging to the 'living usage' from the bulk of literary archaisms, classicisms and all varieties of lexical *nawādir*.

It must be said at the very beginning that the present collection of scientific terms, even when disregarding its unprecedented top-level coordinative background and norm-giving autority, is based upon sound lexicographic principles and innovative working methods. First of all, it displays an almost ideal rate of terminological innovation in relation to what might be called a sound and quite unavoidable lexical conservatism by which the identity of a rapidly modernized lexicon can only be warranted.

The bulk of the new terminological items proposed exhibit a reasonable degree of self-evidence. Such are the highly self-explicative one-word coinages, formed on a denominative basis by way of derivation (*'ištiqāq*), which successfully supplant longer terms, e.g. *musarṭin* "cancerogenic" (instead of currently used descriptive terms like *mukawwin, muwallid li-s-saraṭān, mu'addin 'ilā-s-saraṭān*, or the like); *musarṭan* "cancerated" (instead of *muṣāb bi-s-saraṭān*); *sarṭana* "canceration" (5, 15), etc.

The part played by denominative derivation in the Arabic word-formation is steadily increasing. The creative application of this word-formational procedure may frequently be found in the present terminological collection as well. It should be noted that, at the present stage of the linguistic evolution of Arabic, there are virtually no limits set to denominative derivation which may involve even various types of root variation, as in:

(1) underlying root: *' — w — l*, e.g.: *'āla* "instrument, machine", hence *'ālī* "mechanical, mechanized; automatic" (for "automatic" see also Vol. 5, p. 11 of the present series); *'ālīya* "mechanics; automatism" (for "automatism" see also 5, 11);

(2) resulting root: *' — l — y*, e.g.: *ta'liya* "automatization" (1, 7). The root restatement is based, in all probability, on the apparent consonantal sequence of *'ālī* (viz. *'ālīyun*) or *'ālīya* the last consonantal element of which properly coincides with a derivational suffix.

In treating terms displaying an opposition between transitivity (resp. causativity) and intransitivity (resp. various shades of reflexivity), the Arab lexicographers and terminologists have to face several important problems, notably:

(1) the problem of whether to quote all members of a transitive-intransitive opposition with a given verbal or nominal (*maṣdars*, participles) unit, or only one of them, in cases like *ḥawwal, taḥawwal* "to transform (tr., intr.)", *taḥwīl, taḥawwul* "transformation"; *xammar, taxammar, 'ixtamar* "to ferment (tr., for the first, intr. for the last two items quoted)", *taxmīr, taxammur, 'ixtimār* "fermentation", etc. From a lexicographical point of view a full-length quotation of longer sets of these derivatives may appear sometimes burdensome. On the other hand, the Arabic way of marking the distinction between a spontaneous (viz. *taḥawwal, taxammar, 'ixtamar*) and a conditioned (viz. *ḥawwal, xammar*) action is quite explicit and unambiguous. Moreover, for most scientific contexts the latter distinction is highly relevant and its formal featuring is far from being predictable;

(2) the problem whether to follow the real state of affairs in accordance with which the transitive-intransitive opposition is frequently neutralized at the nominal level (especially with *maṣdars*) and the transitively featured variants are intermixed with their intransitive counterparts (as against the verbal level where the latter distinction is consistently observed) — or rather to record the ideal state.

Some examples of a transitive-intransitive intermingling:

(in journalistic Arabic:)

at-taṭwīrāt / at-taṭawwurāt al-hāmma (al-'axīra) "the important (last) developments"; *at-taġyīrāt / at-taġayyurāt al-hāmma* "the important changes", etc.

(in scientific Arabic:)

'ammā wajbat al-ġiḏā' fa- mutanawwiᶜ a tanwīᶜan kaṯīran (instead of the expected *tanawwuᶜan*); *tataḥallal 'alyāfuhā* (i.e. *'alyāf al-luḥūm) taḥlīlan ġayra ḍārrin bi-ṣ-ṣiḥḥa* (instead of the expected *taḥallulan*); *taḥwīl (tamṯīl) / taḥawwul (tamaṯṯul) ġiḏā'ī* "assimilation, metabolism"; *taskīr / tasakkur* in terms like *as-sukkariyyāt waḥīdat (ṯunā'iyyat, ᶜadīdat) at-taskīr / at-tasakkur* "mono- (di-, poly-) saccharides"; *takwīn / takawwun al-ᶜiẓām* "osteogenesis" (as a spontaneous process without a terminologically relevant reference to external factors; accordingly, only the last alternant should have been used in tune with the ideal norm), etc.

When viewed from this point of view, the terminological series under review tends to give the full quotation of these derivatives, either in regular entries, as in "dilatation" *tamdīd, tamaddud* (5, 23), "transformation" *taḥwīl, taḥawwul* (5, 65), "melting" *ḏawabān, 'iḏāba* (1, 24), or at least in notes, as in "characterization" *tamayyuz* (5, 16), *tamayyuz* or *tamyīz* (ibid., note 47), etc.

When only one variant is selected out of two or more really existing members of a transitive-intransitive opposition, the variant selected displays, as a rule, a higher degree of terminological relevance (with regard to the respective terminological domain) than that (those) which has (have) been omitted, as in "accommodation" *takayyuf* (Vol. 5, p. 6), where only the intransitively featured variant is quoted. The latter, coinciding with a spontaneous process of self-adaptation, is, for the terminological domain of biology and somatology, of prime importance. Nevertheless, even in

the latter domain a full-scale quotation of all available constituents of the transitive-intransitive opposition would have been preferable, viz. *takayyuf*, for a spontaneous process, *takyīf*, for an externally stimulated process.

The same holds true of e.g. *talawwut* (*jartūmī*) "contamination" (5, 19), since besides a spontaneous process referred to in *talawwut*, a parallel one, stimulated by external factors, is equally well thinkable in this terminological domain (viz. *talwīt*). The derivational redundance of Arabic which is, as a rule, successfully exploited for purposes of terminological inovation, frequently coincides with what it would be possible to call multiple motivation. The latter feature may be observed in a number of terminological alternants, identical in their extralinguistic reference but differing from each other in their motivation (here understood as a relation between the lexical or derivational featuring and particular aspects of what is referred to), as in:

ᶜilm (fann) al-wilāda/at-tawlīd "obstetrics" (5, 45), where the first alternant (viz. *al-wilāda*) reflects the part played by the parturient woman, while the second alternant (viz. *at-tawlīd*) reflects that of the obstetrician.

The feature of what we call multiple motivation may particularly well be observed in multicomponental terms which do include components referring to the external stimuli of a given process. When an actor—undergoer relationship is established between the respective constituents of such terms, the transitive representation of a *masdar* is usually met with, as in:

harakāt takwīn al-jibāl "orogenic movement" (1, 45); the derivational featuring of *takwīn* "formation" implies that the process is externally stimulated (viz. *harakāt*).

With other terminologists, however, the process may prevailingly be perceived as, in itself, a spontaneous one (viz. *takawwun, nušū*), despite the simultaneous quotation of the external stimulus thereof (viz. *haraka, harakāt*) within the same terminological unit, e.g.:

harakat nušū' al-jibāl "orogenic movement" (A. Al-Khatib, *A New Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Terms*, Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1971). The very process of orogenesis is mostly featured as a spontaneous one, viz. *nušū' al-jibāl* (Al-Khatib, 419; *Majmūᶜat al-mustalahāt al-ᶜilmiyya wa-l-fanniyya allatī 'aqarrahā al-majmaᶜ*, Vol. 3, p. 84: *nušū' al-jibāl = ᶜamaliyyat takawwun al-jibāl min taharrukāt al-'ard al-jānibiyya*).

Cases of a rather unnecessary terminological variation may be found with a number of terms expressing potentiality, as in:

"irritable" *qābil li-t-ta'attur* (5, 37), explicit rendering of potentiality, the verbal noun *ta'attur*, being intransitively featured, refers to the bearer of this quality; *mustatār*, implicit rendering, intransitive featuring, the same type of reference as above (ibid., note 128);

"irritability" *qābiliyyat al-'istitāra* (ibid.), explicit potentiality, the same type of

reference as with *mustaṭār*; the same holds true of the implicitly marked potentiality in terms of an abstract noun in *-iyya*: *al-'istiṭāriyya* (ibid., note 127);

as against:

qābiliyyat al-'iṯāra (ibid., note 127), explicit potentiality; the verbal noun *'iṯāra*, as against the whole set so far quoted, is of a transitive verbal background and rather inadequately contrasts with the intransitively featured units quoted.

In quoting terms, displaying a potential membership in the derivational system of collective nouns (*'asmā' al-jins*, CN in what follows) and unit nouns (*'asmā' al-waḥda*, UN henceforth), a rather undue variation of CN, UN, singular and plural forms may be observed, as in:

(UN) *ḏubāba tsē tsē* "tse-tse fly" (1, 38);

(UN) *aṣ-ṣaxra al-'umm* "basic rock" (1, 7);

(UN) *zahra* "flower" (1, 17);

(CN) *ʿušb* "herb" (1, 19);

(CN) *laymūn* "citron (lemon)" (1, 9);

(CN) *sardīn* "sardines" (1, 32);

(CN) *naxīl az-zayt* "oil palm" (1, 27);

(CN) *ṣaxr ramalī* "sandstone" (1, 32);

(singular, noncollective) *māʿiz* (as against the CN *maʿiz, maʿaz*) "goat" (1, 18);

(plural) *'asmāk* "fish" (1, 16), etc.

A uniform adoption of either of these forms would have been terminologically more advantageous.

In some other cases, the quotation of terminological alternants seems to presuppose a higher degree of linguistic awareness than might safely be expected from an average lexicon user. Thus, for instance, the alternants quoted under the entry 'projection' (6, 52), viz. *masqaṭ, 'isqāṭ*, cannot freely be substituted for each other in all contexts in which they may occur. When the process of 'projecting' is referred to, exclusively the term *'isqāṭ* can be used. With reference to the result of this process, both alternants may be substituted for each other: *masqaṭ* can be used only in this application, while *'isqāṭ*, as, after all, any Arabic verbal noun, may function as a verbal abstract (see above) and, at the same time, as a concrete noun, may refer to the result of the process of projection. This state of affairs is not quite unambiguously reflected in the following quotations: "conic projection" *masqaṭ maxrūṭī* (1, 11), "cylindrical projection" *'isqāṭ 'ustuwānī* (4, 16), "orthogonal projection" *'isqāṭ ʿamūdī* (4, 38), "projection of figure" *masqaṭ šakl* (4, 41), "projection of a point" *masqaṭ nuqṭa* (4, 41). To avoid this ambiguity, either one and the same alternant should have been used in all these cases, or both of them.

For purposes of public education, it would have been useful to vocalize those of the borrowed units that admit of several ways of reading, as (the French-modelled) *biyūlūjiyā* or (the English-modelled) *bayūlūjiyā* "biology" (3, 7), in order to reduce the number of terminological alternants.

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Furthermore, for purposes of public education it would have been perhaps profitable to relate the name of Alexander the Great to what is known in the Arab cultural tradition as *ḏū-l-qarnayn* (2, 27; instead of/besides *al-'iskandar al-kabīr*).

The number of misprints is extraordinarily high. Despite the fact that most of them are corrected, in a number of cases the misleading effect of the misprint continues to be felt, especially in cases where the alphabetical order of the quoted item is thereby affected, e.g. anemployment (quoted under "a") instead of unemployment (3, 5).

Of course, these few remarks are not intended as a rebuke. They rather aim at discussing open questions and alternative solutions. The staff of editors of the present series have, in fact, largely succeeded in minimizing the retardative impact of a relatively prolonged period of a spontaneous and uncontrolled lexical development of Arabic, judiciously drawing on the immense lexical heritage of this language as well as on lexical innovations simultaneously emerging in various regional centers of the Arab cultural area.

It is to be hoped that the series will be continued and steadily improved.

Ladislav Drozdík

Piamenta, M.: *Islam in Everyday Arabic Speech.* Leiden, E. J. Brill 1979. X + 279 pp.

Piamenta's monograph examines the impact of the Islam-moulded traditional way of thinking on the language. The author presents an impressive collection of various Arabic linguistic formulae, stimulated by religious tradition, which have passed into everyday usage. These formulae, mostly various invocations, good wishes, congratulations, greetings, welcome and farewell expressions, condolences, etc., containing either explicitly or implicitly the name of Allah, constitute a not negligible part of the stock of Arabic idioms.

It should be stressed, however, that the bulk of formulae, classified in Piamenta's monograph, reflect feelings and attitudes common to all speakers of Arabic, irrespective of their cultural background and religious affiliation.

For the present collection of linguistic data, the author has evaluated very various sources, as well as his own linguistic experience (having been, since childhood, exposed to Syrian, Yemenite and Moroccan Arabic, as spoken in Jerusalem by the descendants of the eighteenth and nineteenth century immigrants).

The most important sources, used by the author, are the following: individual informants from various parts of the Arab World; Syrian films screened on TV and Syrian plays broadcast by radio; the Hashemite Broadcasting Station; Egyptian films screened on TV, and plays broadcast by radio; published texts in studies of various Arabic dialects, as well as some unpublished material of this type.

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The book consists of an Introduction (pp. 1—15); two main parts reflecting the basic thematic division of the material collected, viz. Part One: Anxiety of Man and Security in God (pp. 17—144), and Part Two: Man's Attitude Toward Divine Decree and Divine Will (pp. 145—220). The book further contains some indications concerning transliteration and transcription (viz. Transliteration and Transcription, p. X), bibliography (References Quoted and Consulted, pp. 223—230), and a cumulative index (viz. Index, pp. 231—279) including alphabetically arranged themes, key-words of the Arabic formulaic expressions quoted, the names of the authors quoted, possibly still other matters. Despite this overload, the Index seems to work quite satisfactorily. A separate presentation of thematic matters, possibly still with a further distinction between thematic headings (in English) and the actual Arabic material, would have been nevertheless preferable.

Since it is virtually impossible to evaluate everything of relevance to the matter, it would be unfair towards the author to point to some gaps in the really impressive collection of the sources evaluated. Nevertheless, there is at least one item the omission of which should greatly be regretted, notably Marçais, W. — Guīga, A.: *Textes arabes de Takroūna*, II. *Glossaire*. Vols 1—8. Paris 1958—1961. The Takrūna Arabic material included in this lexicon, would be of quite particular relevance to the aim of Piamenta's monograph, owing to an exceptionally high rate of idiomatic expressions included therein.

The word (*al-*) *mawlā* "God, Lord, Sir", occurs, according to the Index, on p. 122: *b-ḥifẓ-il-mawlā* "(go) under the Lord's care", as a reply to *istawdaʿnāk* "farewell!" (lit. we commend you to God's protection) (Frayḥa, 350: Lebanese Arabic), and in p. 142: *il-ʿafw ya mawlāna* "not at all, Sir!" as a possible reply to *yimkin 'akūn ġalṭān* "I may be mistaken" (Taymūr, 128: Egyptian Arabic).

From a number of Takrūna Arabic idioms, quoted by Marçais—Guīga (under *mōla* and its alternants):

wakkəlt-əʿlīk-əlmōla "je m'en remets au Seigneur pour te traiter comme tu le mérites" ("I rely upon the Lord that He will treat you according to your merits") (8, 4392);

əški-lmulāk izīdək "plains-toi à ton Seigneur et il t'ajoutera encore" ("/do not/ complain before God since He will still add to you /i.e. increase your difficulties/") (8, 4392; cf. also 4, 1723: "plains-toi à Dieu, il ajoutera à tes maux"); or:

yā-fərḥti uya-ḥnāya bəlli-ʿtāni-mulāya "ô la joie, le contentement que me donne celle dont Dieu m'a gratifiée!" ("o my joy and comfort /coming to me/ through that /i.e. my daughter-in-law/ bestowed on me by my Lord!" (a welcoming formula said by a woman to her daughter-in-law at her entering the house for the first time)) (6, 2914), etc.

The present reviewer did not succeed to find in the book some very familiar formulae, such as:

'alla-yxallihumlak "may God preserve them (i.e. your children) to you", as an introduction to begging, with a possible reply:

ᶜala-lla "may God (give you)" (in the case of refusal) (Cairo).

Of course, some of these and similar formulae may be regarded as a sort of situational restatements of idioms normally used in other contexts, viz.:

(initiator formula:) *'alla-yxallihumlak* "may God preserve them (i.e. your children) to you", aiming at nothing other than expressing good wishes, usually followed by

(response formula:) *'alla yihfazak* "may God preserve you". In the latter application, the latter politeness formula does occur in the book (in a three-step representation, p. 116).

Piamenta's book is a valuable contribution to the study of one of the most important thematic classes of the Arabic idioms. It will be of help to all students of Arabic, translators, linguists as well as all those interested in Islam and its linguistic reflexes.

Ladislav Drozdík

Khoury, Raif Georges: *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam depuis le Ier jusqu'au IIIe siècle de l'Hégire. Avec édition critique du texte: Kitāb bad' al-ḥalq waqiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' d'après le ms. d'Abū Rifāᶜa ᶜUmāra b. Watīma b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt al-Fārisī.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1978. 200 S. + 389 S. (arab. Text). — Codices arabici antiqui, Band III.

Durch seine verdienstvolle herausgeberische Tätigkeit und literarisch-historische Studien über die Anfänge der arabischen erzählerischen Prosa weckte R. G. Khoury in den Fachkreisen schon vor längerer Zeit verdiente Bewunderung. Das Werk, das wir hiermit rezensieren, bedeutet in einem gewissen Sinn den Höhepunkt von Khourys bisheriger herausgeberischer Tätigkeit. Als Grundlage für diese Ausgabe benützte Khoury das vatikanische Unikat (Vat. Borg. 165), das Levi della Vida in seinem Katalog genauestens beschrieben hat.[1] Diese Handschrift, datiert 512 A.H./1118 A.D. (s. fol. 153r), ist leider nicht vollständig. Erhalten blieb lediglich deren zweiter Teil, beginnend mit der Legende über al-Ḥaḍir. Auch so ist jedoch der veröffentlichte arabische Text überraschend umfangreich (347 S.), woraus zu schließen ist, daß die vollständige handschriftliche Vorlage groß sein mußte.

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[1] Levi della Vida, G.: *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana.* Roma 1935; I, S. 264, Nr. 165.

Wie bekannt, existiert bislang keine kritische Ausgabe des Werkes Qiṣaṣ al-anbi-
yā', wenn wir die veraltete und ungenaue Ausgabe der populären Prophetenlegen-
den von al-Kisā'ī, die Isaac Eisenberg[2] bereitete, oder verschiedene orientalische
Drucke vom Werke al-Ṭaʿlabīs, dessen Gesamttitel *ʿArā'is al-maǧālis fī qiṣaṣ
al-anbiyā*[3] lautet. Von diesen Gesichtspunkten gesehen, hat Khourys, allen moder-
nen Anforderungen entsprechende Ausgabe eine große Bedeutung. Sie unterrichtet
über eine wenig bekannte, oder wollen wir es so, verkannte Gattung der arabischen
Literatur.

In der einleitenden Studie zur Edition faßte Khoury seine langjährigen Forschun-
gen über die älteste arabische Prosa zusammen. Seiner Ansicht nach ist die zentrale
Gestalt der arabischen erzählerischen Prosa des 1. Jahrhunderts der Hiǧra Wahb ibn
Munabbih gewesen. Für diese Behauptung zeuge nach Khoury nicht nur die
Tatsache, daß Wahb eine ganze Reihe von Werken zugeschrieben wird (die meisten
sind leider nicht erhalten geblieben), sondern vor allem daß die Mehrzahl der
Autoren, der Prosaisten aus dem 2. und 3. Jahrhundert der Hiǧra an Wahb
anknüpft, bzw. dessen literarisches Vermächtnis übernimmt. Khoury durchforschte
sehr gründlich die Isnāde in dem Abū Rifāʿa ʿUmāra ibn Waṭīma zugeschriebenen
Werk und kam zum Schluß, daß auch für diese Sammlung Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' Wahbs
Werk eine prinzipielle Quellenbedeutung hat.

Eine bedeutende Stelle nimmt in der Studie die Analyse der Beziehung zwischen
Abū Rifāʿa ʿUmāra und dessen Vater Waṭīmā ein. Khoury stellt fest, daß das
herausgegebene Werk in einem gewissen Sinne ein Familienwerk ist, es ging vom
gelehrten Vater auf den gelehrten Sohn über: *Quoiqu'il en soit, nous avons le droit
de parler d'un livre de famille, dont le premier auteur n'est nullement ʿUmāra, mais
plutôt Waṭīma, son père* (S. 152). In seiner Studie berührte Khoury auch einige
allgemeine Fragen, z.B. das Problem der Ursprünglichkeit arabischer literarischer
Werke im klassischen Zeitalter, machte auf ihre gegenseitige Beziehung (interdé-
pendance des auteurs) aufmerksam und hob das Studium der Isnāde hervor, als der
oft einzigen Quelle, die den Ursprung des Werkes zu bestimmen helfen.

Khourys Edition ist ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Erforschung der früharabischen
Prosa. Die Unermüdlichkeit, mit der Khoury an die Herausgabe recht schwieriger
und zumal vergessener Texte greift, verdient Anerkennung.

Ján Pauliny

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[2] *Vita prophetarum* auctore Moḥammed ben ʿAbdallāh al-Kisa'i ex codicibus qui in Monaco, Bonna,
Lugd. Batav., Lipsia et Gothana asservantur edidit Dr. Isaac Eisenberg. 2 Bände. Leiden, E. J. Brill
1922—1923.

[3] Ed. Būlāq 1286; Ed. Kairo, Muḥammad Musṭafa 1301 usw.

Mährdel, Christian: *Afrikanische Parteien im revolutionären Befreiungskampf* (Les partis africains dans la lutte révolutionnaire pour la libération). Berlin, Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1977. 272 pp.

L'africaniste éminent de la République Démocratique Allemande Prof. Christian Mährdel, DrSc. (Université de Karl Marx à Leipzig) a pleinement raison, constatant dans sa monographie importante pour les partis politiques africains les phrases suivantes : «Un des phénomènes les plus remarquables, créés par le mouvement de libération nationale des peuples africains, est la formation de partis politiques. Ils ont été un facteur important de la lutte anti-coloniale, ils jouaient et jouent un rôle essentiel à l'intérieur des systèmes politiques de l'Afrique indépendante. Procéder à l'analyse scientifique de partis politiques est une exigence théorique, politique et idéologique urgente» (p. 233). Et toute la monographie du savant allemand est consacrée à ce problème actuel.

L'auteur, qui est le chef de la Chaire des problèmes généraux des pays sous-développés dans la Section pour les sciences de l'Afrique et du Proche-Orient à l'Université de Leipzig, a proposé de faire une élaboration scientifique très exigeante de l'histoire politique la plus récente du continent noir. Et c'est avec l'exploitation solide de la méthodologie scientifique de classiques du marxisme-léninisme, aussi bien qu'avec l'exploitation des documents du Parti Communiste de l'Union Soviétique et du Parti Socialiste Uni de l'Allemagne que l'auteur a accomplie en substance cette tâche difficile.

Les points de départ pour le professeur Mährdel sont les suivants : d'une part l'interprétation marxiste critique des monographies de l'africanisme bourgeois, d'autre part des résultats dans les travaux scientifiques des africanistes marxistes dans les pays du socialisme et en Occident.

La monographie de l'auteur est-allemand comporte aussi une riche bibliographie des travaux politiques des hommes d'Etat africains (Ahmed Sékou Touré, Amilcar Cabral et Julius Nyerere) et des documents programmatiques de partis politiques africains. Auprès de la bibliographie compréhensive, c'est l'index matériel clair (pp. 258—272) qui est la partie composante du livre. Cet index permet au lecteur d'obtenir des informations promptes sur beaucoup de partis politiques et de pays africains. Le livre est complété par l'index alphabétique d'organisations politiques africaines avec leurs dislocations géographiques (pp. 237—240).

La monographie qui est l'objet du compte-rendu constitue un apport important pour l'analyse et pour la théorie des révolutions de la libération nationale contemporaines. Elle consiste de l'introduction, de sept chapitres et de résumés en langue anglaise et en langue française.

L'introduction du livre est consacrée à la caractéristique scientifico-méthodologique générale des problèmes étudiés. Dans le premier chapitre le professeur Mährdel

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commence avec la classification des facteurs du développement des partis politiques en Afrique. Les organisations politiques des peuples coloniaux africains étaient formées dans la lutte contre le colonialisme et l'impérialisme. La force de la lutte anti-coloniale augmentait particulièrement après la victoire de l'alliance antifasciste des nations démocratiques avec l'Union Soviétique en tête dans la deuxième guerre mondiale. En même temps, cette lutte était favorablement influencée par la formation du système socialiste mondial en Europe Centrale et Orientale et en Asie, par le renforcement expressif du mouvement ouvrier et communiste en Europe Occidentale capitaliste (avant tout en France et en Italie) et aussi par l'essor du développement de la libération nationale des peuples coloniaux et opprimés dans les pays asiatiques et arabes.

L'auteur consacre son attention aux fondements d'organisations politiques en Afrique Noire, montre leur caractère fréquemment tribal sans le contenu de classes. Il souligne ici le colonialisme comme le principe unifié des organisations politiques africaines. En même temps, l'auteur caractérise quelques principes de la stratégie et de la tactique de la lutte anti-coloniale, ainsi que les phases du développement d'organisations politiques nationales de l'opposition anti-coloniale. Professeur Mährdel utilise le terme nouvel «organisations politiques nationales de l'opposition anti-coloniale» (dans le texte original allemand «national-politische Organisationen der antikolonialen Opposition», voir p. 20) pour les organisations qui sont marquées dans la littérature scientifique marxiste-léniniste comme les organisations des masses, les organisations du front national ou les rassemblements (dans le texte original allemand: «Massenparteien», «Organisationen der nationalen Front», «Sammlungsbewegungen»). De cette façon l'auteur souligne l'anti-colonialisme de partis et mouvements politiques africains cités ci-avant.

Ce sont le rôle et l'activité des partis politiques africains sur la transition dans la deuxième étape de la révolution de la libération nationale que fournirent le contenu du deuxième chapitre de la monographie. L'attention de l'auteur est ici fixée sur les facteurs sociaux de développement de partis politiques (1. le facteur universellement historique, 2. le facteur nationalement entier-social et 3. le facteur nationalement ethnique). Dans la conclusion prof. Mährdel traite des transformations des facteurs sociaux de la société africaine au cours du développement historique.

Le troisième chapitre a pour objet les tendances principales du développement des partis politiques dans les Etats africains indépendants. Tout d'abord l'auteur analyse critiquement les essais bourgeois sur la typologie des partis politiques africains et puis il passe à la classification scientifique marxiste-léniniste de partis politiques en Afrique.

Les relations entre l'orientation socialiste du pays et le parti révolutionnaire régnant font le sujet du quatrième chapitre. Ici Mährdel souligne la naissance d'organisations révolutionnaires d'avant-garde, comme la demande objectivement

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nécessaire du temps. Ensuite il cite quelques expériences historiques du développement non-capitaliste vers le socialisme, donnant la Mongolie, le Khoresme et la Boukhara en exemples. Mährdel utilise aussi les expériences politiques des partis communistes d'Asie Centrale soviétique.

Les trois derniers chapitres finals (le cinquième, le sixième et le septième) sont consacrés aux problèmes des partis révolutionnaires démocratiques. Tout d'abord, l'auteur s'occupe de la structure et de la dynamique des principes des partis révolutionnaires démocratiques dans leur marche vers leur réalisation comme organisations politiques dirigeantes. Les bases sociales dans les pays africains déterminent le contenu et la direction principale du développement des partis révolutionnaires démocratiques. On ne saurait pas oublier ce fait. C'est la seule possibilité d'éliminer les erreurs politiques qui découlent d'une acceptation des slogans et des thèses idéologiques de démocrates révolutionnaires comme la réalité existante, sans une confrontation de cette idéologie avec la réalité sociale africaine.

Professeur Mährdel montre que les tendances de développement des principes d'idéologie politique sur le continent noir se dirigent du nationalisme anti-impérialiste vers le démocratisme révolutionnaire et vers les conceptions non-marxistes du socialisme. Le centralisme et l'activité démocratique des masses sont les tendances principales vers le renforcement organisateur des partis politiques africains de la démocratie révolutionnaire.

Ensuite l'auteur fait connaître aux lecteurs les problèmes principaux de la stratégie et de la tactique des partis révolutionnaires démocratiques (d'après l'auteur c'est la déclaration pour le socialisme qui est le but stratégique de la politique révolutionnaire démocratique). L'auteur analyse les tendances dans la stratégie sociale de démocrates révolutionnaires, le caractère stratégique de la position des partis révolutionnaires démocratiques dans l'organisation politique de la société africaine et aussi les problèmes des relations mutuelles entre les partis politiques dirigeants et le pouvoir d'Etat dans les pays africains.

Dans le chapitre final le professeur Mährdel accentue les tâches actuelles et les perspectives du parti révolutionnaire d'avant-garde. Son esquisse des conditions et des variantes du chemin vers la formation du parti d'avant-garde comme le propriétaire du pouvoir politique est très intéressante. Le chapitre est conclu par un aperçu des facteurs du développement progressif de partis révolutionnaires.

L'auteur dans sa monographie a les mérites d'analyse de la problématique donnée sur les exemples des deux partis politiques africains qui tous les deux ont une longue tradition historique: le Parti Démocratique de Guinée (PDG) dans l'ancienne partie francophone d'Afrique Occidentale et l'Union Africaine Nationale de Tanganika (Tanganyika African National Union — TANU) dans l'ancienne partie anglophone d'Afrique Orientale. Il est possible d'accueillir avec de bonne grâce la monographie du professeur Mährdel sur les partis politiques africains dans le procès du mouve-

ment de la libération nationale du continent noir. C'est encore un pas en avant dans les recherches marxistes-léninistes de cette problématiques scientifiquement et politiquement très actuelle et très importante.

Josef Poláček

Istoriya natsionalno-osvoboditelnoi borby narodov Afriki v noveishee vremya (History of the National Liberation Struggle of African Peoples in Contemporary Times). Moscow, Nauka Publishing House 1978. 615 pp., bibliographies, two indexes.

The bulky work under review is the second of the two volumes of a major collective study on African anti-colonial and national liberation struggle prepared by the leading Soviet historians of Africa from the three Institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences — Oriental, of the General History and Africa Institute, in collaboration with two Polish Africanists and one from the GDR. It sets out to examine the history of the national liberation struggle of African peoples after 1917, the Great October Revolution, when the national liberation movement entered a qualitatively new stage.

The massive work is organized into two parts, covering North Africa and Tropical and South Africa respectively. Within these two parts the approach has been regional, the basic line of description proceeding according to different territories of North and sub-Saharan Africa, though within the greater part of the work covering tropical Africa topical arrangement again supplements geographical approach. The first part dealing with North Africa contains five country-by-country studies, Part II eight studies discussing the struggle of peoples of Tropical and South Africa against British, French, Portuguese and Belgian colonialism.

As in Volume 1, the eighteen page long introduction is of special interest to any student of the subject, since it summarizes the main principles of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the study and interpretation of this theme in African conditions and theoretical problems connected with it. As in the first volume, covering the early period of the anti-colonial struggle between the years 1640 and 1918, the book is dense enough with information and analysis, analysing pre-conditions, laws and different stages of the struggle for independence. While examining both the general and specific problems of the national liberation movement in African conditions, it pays attention to the specificities of African anti-imperialist revolutions, to the influence of world socialism on the pace and forms of the anti-colonial struggle in African colonies and to mutual interactions of the three basic currents of the world

revolutionary process. An attempt is made to formulate a typology of anti-colonial movement in Africa and examine the variety of forms of anti-colonial protest, the unevenness of their geographical distribution and some hitherto neglected subjects such as the class structure of the anti-colonial front and its evolution, the social basis of the movement and its driving forces, the social-class composition of its leadership, the role of African proletariat in the struggle for independence, or the early stage in the forming of revolutionary democracy in Africa.

The treatment of the theme in all the contributions is consistently well balanced, of equal competence, capable of standing for a long time. The twenty-five contributors and the editorial board have managed to avoid the disadvantages of a many-handed effort, since the Marxist-Leninist theory of national liberation movement provided them with a solid theoretical framework. Each chapter, indeed a regional study, has a separate bibliography, and there are two indexes at the very end, of proper names and geographical names.

The publication of both volumes of the history of national liberation movement of African peoples, written from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, is a very welcome addition to the evergrowing body of literature on African anti-colonial and national liberation struggle, which displays different and sometimes even contradictory, methodological and ideological standpoints and theoretical approaches to the study of this theme. One little complaint from this reviewer. It is a very great pity that such an important work of synthesis, bringing a Marxist-Leninist view of the subject, formulating a particular definition of the concept of national liberation movement and its typology in African conditions, should be published only in Russian, without even a French or English summary, which would introduce it to the Africanist scholarship in the West as well as in Africa itself.

Viera Pawlíková

An Atlas of African History. Second Edition. Devised by J. D. Fage. Maps drawn by Maureen Verity. London, Edward Arnold 1978. 71 maps, Appendix, Index.

First published in 1958, this historical Atlas for Africa has been for exactly twenty years an indispensable tool to all students of African history. Conceived and devised by a seminal figure in African Studies, Professor Fage, whose scholarly and editorial expertise has been fully proved in the planning and direction of two major enterprises — *The Journal of African History* and the *Cambridge History of Africa* in eight volumes, this volume has seen seven reprints and some revisions. Despite its undisputed qualities and continuing usefulness, the rapid development of African historical studies in the last quarter of a century and the copious results of African

historical and archaeological scholarship, occasioned a completely new, revised and expanded edition of the Atlas.

Compared with the 1958 edition, this new Atlas has seventy-one maps as against sixty-two, there are twenty-one completely new maps and eleven old ones have been deleted. Which maps are new and to what extent the old ones have been revised, the present reviewer is, unfortunately, ill-equipped to judge as the original edition has been unavailable to her. This reviewer therefore can hardly do more than to comment on what is and what, in her opinion, should have been offered in this edition.

Maps for the period up to the early nineteenth century, masterly drawn by Maureen Verity, whose cartographic skills and contribution to the achievement of this Atlas have been acknowledged this time by adding her name to the title page, take account of two decades of research in history, archaeology and also linguistics, such as No. 2 Language Families of Africa which is based on material in Greenberg's *The Languages of Africa.* Similarly maps Nos 3 and 4, incorporating data established by Malcolm Guthrie in his *Comparative Bantu: An Introduction to the Comparative Linguistics and Pre-History*, which betray the scholarly interest in migrations of peoples, in Bantu expansion and settlement of much of eastern, central and southern Africa accompanied with the spread of iron-using and iron-smelting techniques. Evidently, themes were built around concerns, interests and research priorities of the 1960s and early 1970s. The maps conceived for this "formative period of African history" reflect some of the main trends, approaches and biases of the African historical research and writing of that period with its interest in developments in state formation and state systems, the spread of iron-working or pre-colonial African trade and long-distance trade routes.

Not so, however, the maps on the period from the early nineteenth century onwards. Strangely enough, despite considerable research in this field and copious results, none of them mentions what since the mid-1960s have become a research priority No. 1, namely African anti-colonial resistance and national liberation movement, or sees colonialism in Africa from a fresh perspective taking account of African initiative during the colonial period as revealed in African millenarian movements and independent churches, of African political activities, of working class and trade union movement, of migrant labour, of Africa during the two World Wars or of some themes favoured in the historical research of the 1970s, namely intellectual history or the impact of ecology on history. No mention whatsoever is made of post-independence socio-political developments in Africa, there is no map that would show military coups and military rules in Africa or the polarization of class and political forces in independent Africa and forms of social and political order with African policies of noncapitalist development, such as the Tanzanian concept of "cooperative socialism" Ujamaa.

And yet, it is and it will remain a standard work of its kind, a most useful aid to all

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students of African history, which will certainly see more reprints and perhaps also a revision bringing a new perspective to recent African history.

Viera Pawliková

Gann, L. H. — Duignan, Peter: *The Rulers of Belgian Africa 1884—1914.* Prepared under the auspices of the Hoover Institution. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1979. 265 pp., 23 tables, 3 figures.

The joint productive output of the two authors from the Hoover Institute of Stanford University in California is quite remarkable. They have managed to publish jointly a number of books on colonialism such as e.g. *Burden of Empire: An Appraisal of Western Colonialism in Africa South of the Sahara* (first published 1967, reprinted in paperback 1971) or *White Settlers in Tropical Africa* (published in 1962) and edit a five-volume collaborative series *Colonialism in Africa 1870—1960* published between 1969 and 1975 and designed to survey the history and politics of Europe's imperial record in Africa.

The book under review also forms part of a multi-volume series conceived to cover "the sociology of the empire-builders" and "to elucidate the social background, preconceptions, and work of the white military officers and bureaucrats who conquered and administered the European colonies in Africa during the age of the "New Imperialism". It is actually the third volume published in the series and written jointly by Dr. Gann and Dr. Duignan after *The Rulers of German Africa, 1884—1914* (published by Stanford University in 1977) and *The Rulers of British Africa, 1870—1914* (published in 1978). Further volumes on French and Portuguese colonial officials are to follow.

As all those acquainted with Dr. Gann and Dr. Duignan's earlier work know only too well, their books are given a distinctive ideological slant by their view of colonialism as a means of cultural transformation, an engine of cultural transfusion as well as of political dominance which, despite atrocities and brutalities committed during the colonial era, became a source of a host of benefits and advantages to African peoples caused by the influx of new educational, medical, economic and technical skills and thus made the European era most decisive for the future of Africa. Their familiar refusal to share the widely-held assumption that equates colonialism with exploitation (see Colonialism in Africa, Vol. I) and defence of colonialism as the "white man's burden" stand at odds with the interpretation of colonialism advanced not only by Marxist historians of Africa but also by a fair number of non-Marxist Africanists, African as well as non-African nationals.

The Rulers of Belgian Africa fits into such an ideological frame. Though its

authors admit to the brutality of Leopoldian rule, to the worst outrages and atrocities brought about by the red-rubber economy and the Belgian policy of Raubwirtschaft, and concede that the Congo Free State, the personal creation of King Leopold II, came to be accounted as one of the worst in Africa, that "by and large, the economics of coercion brought a disaster" and "Leopold's experiment turned out to be a disaster in economic as well as humanitarian terms" (p. 217), still they maintain that this early period of repression was followed by an era of reform, a wiser and more humane governance under Belgian administration. Despite innumerable hardships presented by the landscape, climate, diseases and resisting African peoples, the Belgians managed to introduce far-reaching changes in the Congo, including the basic infrastructure of modern transport, new forms of economic enterprise and some preliminary provisions for modern social services. They built a Western-type army and administration and unified a huge area of more than eighty times the size of Belgium and inhabited by a great variety of peoples differing enormously as to the level of their socio-economic development, under one flag. They actually laid the foundations of modern Zaire and thus played on the whole a progressive role rather than a regressive one. In the authors' own words, Belgian colonization was "part of a wider movement of cultural diffusion whose manifold evils were outweighed in the long run by its benefits" (p. 222). Brutalities and miseries inflicted by Belgian (or any other) colonial régime on the African masses were, in their interpretation, more than offset by the educational, medical, social, technological and other advances brought by the Belgians into their colony. The joint authors skilfully balance abuses of the Free State system, Bula Matadi as it was called, human and social costs against benefits, bringing in opposing standpoints when necessary and repeating many of their arguments discussed at greater length in Burden of Empire or Colonialism in Africa, including Marx's India example (apparently his treatise on the future results of British rule in India), alongside with Livingstone and Kipling, to lend credence to their assertions of the basic progressiveness of colonialism.

Within such an ideological framework, *The Rulers of Belgian Africa* offers a brief survey of nineteenth century Belgian society, of the Congo and local African societies on the eve of Belgian colonization and then gives an account of the structure of the Belgian colonial service, military and civilian, based on case studies, and of the development of the administrative power structure comparing it with other colonial administrations. The work is based on Belgian archival and secondary sources which enabled the authors to describe in detail the structure of Belgian colonial administration and the careers of leading colonial officials.

Compared with the first two volumes of the Hoover Institution's "Builders of Empire" project, on the German and British rulers of Africa, the present volume is somewhat shorter. Despite its ideological limitations, it offers a useful discussion of the structure of Belgian colonial administration, of how the Belgian colonial edifice

was built, and interesting comparisons with other colonial administrations in a distinctive ideological frame.

Viera Pawliková

Höftmann, Hildegard unter Mitarbeit von Irmtraud Herms: *Wörterbuch Swahili-Deutsch* (Swahili-German Dictionary). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1979. 402 pp., 3 tables.

The language situation in East Africa which is dominated by Swahili as the most widespread language is characterized by the continuous spreading and promotion of Swahili in all spheres of social life, particularly in Tanzania and to a lesser degree in Kenya. Swahili is spoken throughout Tanzania by almost 95 % of the Tanzanian citizens and since 1967 is Tanzanian national language; in Kenya, where Swahili was declared in 1974 to be the official language, it is estimated to be spoken by 60 % or 70 % of the population; the worst situation is in Uganda, though even here under Idi Amin Dada political actions were undertaken to promote Swahili and the former president, who himself attempted to promote this language on various occasions by speaking it, in 1973 declared Swahili to be the official language.

Swahili is at present one of the most important languages of Africa. A Swahili dialect is used throughout the Eastern parts of Zaire and Swahili is one of the four languages of national importance in this republic. It is also widely used in the northern parts of Mozambique, in some parts of Malawi and a Swahili dialect is spoken in the southern parts of the Somali Republic, in the Comoro Islands and even in Zambia, where some 10,000 Swahili-speakers are said to be concentrated near Ndola and in the northeast of the country. Altogether the number of Swahili-speakers is estimated to reach some 40 millions.

A characteristic feature of the conceptual adaptability of the Swahili language have always been semantic shifts and changes which in the modern times often go beyond the explicative framework of most existing dictionaries. Even the biggest Swahili-English dictionary available at present, the classical Frederick Johnson's *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, first published in 1939 and still advertised by the Oxford University Press as the best Swahili dictionary, which gives careful lexicographical treatment to the polysemy of Swahili words, naturally does not reflect the enormously advanced conceptual wealth of Swahili.

Considering the contemporary flourishment of Swahili, the first question to ask about any new dictionary of the Swahili language is, how good a general coverage will it provide. As stated in the Preface, the German work, compiled by Hildegard Höftmann with the help of Irmtraud Herms, reflects the promotion of Swahili on the

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East African language scene and the impact of the changing social and cultural conditions in East Africa on the making of modern standard Swahili. As the Tanzanian national language and an appropriate instrument for international communication in Eastern and Central Africa, Swahili is being systematically adapted to the expansion of its social functions, its vocabulary has been enriched and developed and newly-coined words and expressions are being introduced. The orientation towards Swahili, its implementation in the education system and the overall planned expansion of its social functions make Swahili an important integrating factor and an aid to nation-building especially in Tanzania, where Swahili has become Tanzanian's basic instrument of national identification and culture.

From perusing the dictionary under review, it appears that it presents the lexicon of the contemporary socio-political language as well as the general vocabulary of science, technology, agriculture, medicine, arts and sports. Naturally, it is inadequate for reading Swahili poetry, but so is the more substantial Johnson's *Dictionary*. The basic material, apart from what was originally included in the first *Suaheli-Deutsch Wörterbuch* in 1963, was gathered from printed materials, newspapers, journals, schoolbooks and literary works of Tanzanian provenance.

The dictionary proper is preceded by hints on how to use it, with three tables of concords at the very end. The arrangement of the dictionary is clear, derivatives as a rule appear in alphabetical order or can be found under the appropriate verb as the reference is given with the word. Its vocabulary reflects a familiarity with daily language, glosses are sufficiently detailed and informative, proverbs and idiomatic sayings are included. It is difficult to judge a dictionary other than by using it over a long period, but it would appear that this comprehensive and up-to-date dictionary provides a good coverage of the contemporary language and would be a really useful aid to all German speakers studying the Swahili language.

Viera Pawliková

Knappert, Jan: *Four Centuries of Swahili Verse. A Literary History and Anthology.* London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 1979. 323 pp., index, maps.

Professor Knappert no doubt belongs to the best specialists in the field of Swahili literature and his expertise has been revealed in many scholarly contributions, including *Traditional Swahili Poetry* (Leiden, Brill 1967) discussing Swahili didactic verse, *Swahili Islamic Poetry* in three volumes (Leiden, Brill 1971) examining the liturgical use of Swahili verse, numerous learned articles scattered in various periodicals, and in books intended to make the beauties of Swahili literature and culture better known to a wider readership, such as *Myths and Legends of the Swahili*

(Heinemann, AWS, 75, 1970) or *A Choice of Flowers: An Anthology of Swahili Love Poetry* (AWS, 93, 1972). Further books from his pen on the Swahili epic — *Swahili Sagas and Epic Poetry* and *A Survey of Swahili Songs* are promised. As one of the leading authorities on the subject, he ranks among the few scholars competent to try their pen at writing a history of Swahili verse from its birth in the seventeenth century to the great twentieth century poets such as Shaaban Robert, Matiasi Mnyampala, Amri Abedi and Ahmad Nassir Juma, the first three being men of transition, mediators between the traditional period of the Islamic culture and the modern world of Ahmad Nassir Juma and other contemporary poets, such as Abdilatif Abdalla, Mugyabuso Mulokozi, Kulikoyela Kahigi or Euphrase Kezilahabi, who are, however, not included here.

As the author himself admits, since our knowledge of Swahili literary history is so fragmentary and it is very doubtful that the missing fragments will ever be found, "a real literary history of the Swahili cannot yet — and perhaps never will — be written". What is offered here is therefore an historical anthology incorporating a large number of original Swahili texts with parallel English translations in a historical frame suggesting how this great African verse tradition developed. The English versions mostly read pleasantly enough, though the approach to the translation has in general been literal, and a direct comparison of English version with the original is possible. These translations from a writer endowed with a long experience and fine mastery of Swahili, are most welcome. As any student of the Swahili language knows only too well, Swahili, considered to be the easiest African language, is yet the richest too and the Swahili poetry is extremely difficult to read and penetrate. Since "the language of the Swahili poets is easily twice as extensive as that which is contained in the so-called Standard Swahili Dictionary" (p. xiii), the absence of a good Swahili dictionary reflecting the enormous conceptual wealth of Swahili debars many students of Swahili from reading the Swahili poetry for pleasure.

The great merit of this work is its valient endeavour and success in examining the development of Swahili verse in its political and intellectual context and in indicating the immense potentialities of Swahili literary studies, the numerous facets and openings waiting anxiously to be explored. The author did not only manage to establish a historical framework from which any further study of the subject can take on, he has also brought his wide fieldwork experience and qualifications to introduce to the reader a great amount of hitherto unknown and unpublished poems. The majority of the poems included have never been published and come from the manuscripts and typescripts put at the author's disposal by some Swahili writers, such as Ahmad Nassir Juma or Matias Mnyampala, or are chosen from collections of Swahili manuscripts mostly in the Arabic script, collected by the author during his fieldwork on the Swahili coast between Siu and Dar es Salaam in 1959, 1961—1964, 1969 and 1973 and numbering some three hundred, most of which are now

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deposited in the University Library at Dar es Salaam. Other manuscripts used are kept in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, the British Library and the Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen in Hamburg.

The book under review is divided into ten chapters, with some ten-page long introduction to the subject, suggesting something of its dimensions, setting out the aims of this volume and pointing out the difficulties of writing the literary history of Swahili, a Preface, Envoi, Bibliography, Index and three maps. After the first two chapters characteristically named A View of the History of the Swahili and The Swahili Language: The Perfect Tool for Poetry and giving the author's distinctive view of the historical background to the development of Swahili verse and its formal characteristics, the author examines the different stages of the development of Swahili poetry. Starting with the oldest specimens of songs attributed to Liongo Fumo and belonging to the pre-Islamic tradition in Chapter 3, which contains the hitherto fullest edition of Liongo's songs, he goes on in Chapter 4 to discuss the creation of the Swahili Islamic poetry and the oldest specimen of Islamic poetry, the Hamziya, the only poem of Aidarusi, another Swahili poet assumed to have lived in the seventeenth century. Chapter 5, covering the eighteenth century and the creation of the great epic tradition in the then flourishing city of Pate, which became the first centre of Swahili poetry, contains a description of Bwana Mwengo's great epic poem Utendi wa Tambuka or Herekali, that launched Swahili narrative poetry, his son Abu Bakari's two epic poems-the Katirifu, also known as the Wadi Sesebani and the Fatuma, and Sayidi Abudallah's Al Inkishafi, the last great epic poem written in Pate, which closed the first period of Swahili literary history.

After the decline of Pate, the literary tradition created there was taken up successively by different Swahili towns along the Swahili coast — Mombasa, Lamu, Tanga and so on. In the following four chapters the author examines their individual literary traditions in the nineteenth century and competently describes and analyses the poetry of one of the greatest of all Swahili poets, Muyaka Bin Hajji Al-Ghassaniy and of a number of other poets who lived and composed different types of verse, secular and religious-amorous, satirical and political songs, narrative verse, didactic poetry, hymns and songs of praise and epic poetry, in Mombasa, Lamu and Tanga. The last chapter is devoted to the poetry of the four twentieth century poets already mentioned.

There are few complaints about this book, apart from a couple of misprints and wrong dating of Jan Knappert's own works on the back cover. One thing, however, struck this reviewer as very odd. The bibliography, which seems to contain the full bibliography of the author's own works and which pays tribute to all those who pioneered scholarship in Swahili literature, makes no mention of Professor Lyndon Harries' *Swahili Poetry* published by Oxford University Press in 1962.

With this introduction to the history of Swahili poetry, Jan Knappert has

confirmed his place among the best connoisseurs of Swahili literature. He has produced an excellent working synthesis and a general introduction to the field.

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ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES XVII