# ASIAN AND AFRICAN

# STUDIES

# CONTENTS

# ARTICLES

# TRANSLATION AND WORD ORDER

VIKTOR KRUPA, Bratislava

The author discusses chiefly syntactic problems in translation. Linear arrangement of the sentence components is utilized for constructing a quantitative measure of typological diversity.

The aim of translation is a faithful and natural reproduction in language B of the sense of message produced in language A. No hundred per cent reproduction is attainable and thus the translated text is just an approximation of the original message. The transfer of information makes some losses of information inevitable and, on the other hand, a piece of information may appear in the translated message which was not explicitly present in the original text.

If we compare various languages from the viewpoint of their translatability, we soon find out that the degree of translatability is not constant. We feel intuitively that translating from Czech into Slovak is easier than translating from Russian into Slovak while translating from Japanese into Slovak is much more difficult.

The degree of translatability depends upon two groups of factors — linguistic and extralinguistic. The extralinguistic factors may be defined as differences in the physical and cultural environments and manifest themselves chiefly upon the lexical level that is closely linked to objective reality. The grammatical level is influenced by the external factors to a lesser degree (cf. the existence of courtesy levels in various languages of Southeast Asia). The extralinguistic factors represent the greatest obstacle in complying with the requirement of the so-called dynamic equivalence (Nida 1964, pp. 166—171).

The structural variability is much less of a problem than the extralinguistic differences. Perhaps we could even compile a list of equivalence rules holding between the two language structures concerned. In fact, there would be two sets of rules, one for each direction (A→B and B→A). Context-free rules of transfer would give ambiguous results. They would be of the type

$$x(A) \rightarrow x, y \ldots w(B)$$

and they would be of little help for the practice of translation although they could be utilized for typological purposes.

The practice of translation requires rules that take into account the context as a precondition of a correct choice from a set of alternatives, i. e.,

$$x(A) \rightarrow x_{(M)}, y_{(N)}, \dots w_{(Q)}(B) \,,$$

where M, N, and Q represent various contexts. The alternatives could be supplied with data about the probability of their occurrence.

Each language has its distinctive structure and the absence of a total isomorphism between any two languages implies that the functional equivalents need not occupy the same hierarchical rank. Thus, an affix in language B may correspond to a word in language A, a word in language A may correspond to a syntagm in language B, etc. This means that the same meaning may be expressed by markers that have a radically different grammatical (structural) status.

Now we have returned to the question of meaning and its relation to sense. Both sense and meaning may be characterized as semantic contents of language units. Sense is the semantic content of communicative units that refer to a particular situation. On the other hand, meaning is the semantic content of language units that refer to whole classes of phenomena.

The identity of sense between utterances expressed in two different languages is functional, not structural. Sense is built up from elements and these elements are meanings. Languages may differ considerably upon the level of meanings, which is a manifestation of our cognitive capacity as well as of the inexhaustible nature of reality. The linguistic sign (as far as its content is concerned) is based only upon some features of reality which are selected and fixed specifically in each language and may seem casual from the viewpoint of any other language or even of the same language at a later historical phase. These features represent only the primitive motivation which, however, gradually becomes obsolete. Polikarpov (1979, p. 14) is right when maintaining, together with other linguists, that communication is based upon the principle of allusion.

The translator, like any native speaker, assembles sense from meanings. At the same time he is looking for semantic equivalents between two languages. As mentioned before, the semantic equivalence is only partial, which manifests itself in the process of translation also as a difference of the linear organization of sentence.

First, the semantic correlates differ as to their length measured in morphemes; we can reasonably suppose that this divergence will be greater with typologically distant languages than with typologically close ones. There are only two types of the hierarchical nonequivalence: 1. reduction, i. e. transition to a lower level (e. g., if a word in language A has as its semantic correlate an affix in language B); 2. extension, i. e. transition to a higher hierarchical level (e. g., if a word in language A has as its correlate a syntagm in language B). We may assume that when translating from a typologically synthetic language into an analytic one, it is the extensions that prevail, while the reductions predominate when translating in the opposite direction.

Second, the semantic correlates may differ as to their linear arrangement in the sentence. The changes that take place in the linear organization of a sentence during

the process of translation are of a considerable interest to typology and their sum, no doubt, influences the degree of translatability.

The linear arrangement of a sentence conforms to several general principles; we shall survey some of them. Mutually interrelated elements tend to occur as closely to each other as possible. This is especially true for those languages where the word order serves as the main indicator of syntactic relations. A discontinuous occurrence of interrelated constituents is common in those languages which use segmental markers to indicate syntactic relations. The determiner either precedes or follows the determined constituent. Both alternatives compete in those languages which employ explicit segmental markers of agreement. In other languages that rely upon the word order as the main indicator of syntactic relations the determinative syntagm is fixed in one or the other way to the exclusion of the free variation. Finally, an emphatic position is either the beginning or the end of the linear sequence. Again, the situation may be complicated by the presence of segmental markers of emphasis.

When the segmental markers prevail in indicating syntactic relations, the word order permutations are frequently employed for the emphasis of particular constituents, for distinguishing theme from theme and old information from new. The utilization of linear arrangement for syntactic purposes implies that other means have to be used for marking emphasis and functional sentence perspective. The so-called free word order is thus largely a fiction, being free only from the referential point of view.

What has been said above confirms that comparing various languages as to their linear arrangement is a useful complement of the typological research. A special place is occupied by the investigation of translation, to be more specific, of pairs of sentences that preserve the invariant of sense but express it with different formal means.

In this paper we suggest a procedure that enables us to compare pairs of languages as to their linear arrangement and to express numerically the amount of deviations. We have compared corpora of 50 sentences based upon translations a) from Maori into English (*Maori Folktales in Maori and English.* Introduced and translated by Margaret Orbell. Auckland, Blackwood and Janet Paul Ltd. 1968), b) from Japanese into English (Momoko I sh ii : *Nonchan Kumo ni Noru.* Tokyo, Fukuinkan Shoten 1967; the English translation by Yone Mizuta: Momoko I s h ii, *Non-Chan Ride on a Cloud.* Mimeo), c) from Japanese into Slovak (Ryunosuke A k u t a g a w a : *Tokuhon.* Tokyo, Showa 31-nen, pp. 153—158; the Slovak translation by Viktor Krupa: *Rjúnosuke Akutagawa, V húštine.* Revue svetovej literatúry, 1967, No. 4, pp. 45—51), and d) from English into Slovak (Jonathan S w i f t : *Gulliver's Travels.* London, Charles Bathurst 1784; the Slovak translation by Viktor Krupa: Jonathan Swift, *Gulliverove cesty.* Bratislava, Tatran 1979).

We have evaluated word-order deviations for all these pairs of languages. Each source language sentence and its target language correlate have been segmented into

minimum semantic equivalents and these segments have been numbered from 1 to N in the source language sentence (N = the number of all segments in the sentence). Subsequently we have numbered their correlates in the target language sentence. To be sure, the order of constituents is different here and coincides with the arrangement of the source language sentence only partially. The sum of the deviations furnishes a basis for evaluating the difference in the linear arrangement by means of Kendall's correlation coefficient tau (Blalock 1960, pp. 319—324) which ranges within the interval between −1.00 and +1.00, where +1.00 means a perfect agreement of the linear arrangement and −1.00 a completely opposite organization of the word order. The significance of the obtained values of tau has not been tested, for our aim was only to find a measure of agreement and not to check whether the agreement is or is not due to chance. The values of tau calculated for all pairs of sentences in our corpora are given in Table 1. The Kendall's tau has two shortcomings as far as our purpose is concerned. First, all deviations have the same weight; it does not matter whether we have to do with a construction attribute — noun or subject — predicate. Second, it does not take into account those instances in which a constituent is either deleted or added during the process of translation.

Table 1. Values of tau for all pairs of sentences

|    | MAO—ENG | ENG—SLO | JAP—ENG | JAP—SLO |
|----|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1  | +1.00   | +0.97   | +0.38   | +1.00   |
| 2  | +0.60   | +0.95   | +0.07   | −0.80   |
| 3  | +0.07   | +1.00   | +0.13   | +0.36   |
| 4  | +0.87   | +1.00   | +0.74   | +0.17   |
| 5  | +0.71   | +0.85   | −0.73   | −0.33   |
| 6  | +0.93   | +0.94   | +1.00   | −0.60   |
| 7  | +1.00   | +0.88   | +1.00   | +0.71   |
| 8  | +0.90   | +0.90   | +0.78   | +0.73   |
| 9  | +0.78   | +0.98   | −1.00   | +0.47   |
| 10 | +0.64   | +0.98   | +0.28   | +1.00   |
| 11 | +0.47   | +0.87   | +0.71   | 0.00    |
| 12 | +1.00   | +1.00   | +1.00   | +0.20   |
| 13 | +0.83   | +1.00   | −0.62   | −0.40   |
| 14 | +0.87   | +0.43   | −0.06   | +1.00   |
| 15 | +0.96   | +0.84   | +0.52   | +0.61   |
| 16 | +0.88   | +0.85   | +0.81   | +0.72   |
| 17 | +1.00   | +0.94   | +0.60   | +0.05   |
| 18 | +0.85   | +0.93   | +0.73   | +0.82   |
| 19 | +0.95   | +0.94   | +0.36   | 0.00    |
| 20 | +0.73   | +0.97   | +0.29   | +0.81   |
| 21 | +0.87   | +0.02   | +0.67   | +0.64   |
| 22 | +0.67   | +0.99   | +0.94   | +0.87   |

|    | MAO—ENG | ENG—SLO | JAP—ENG | JAP—SLO |
|----|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 23 | +0.14   | +0.97   | +0.70   | +0.07   |
| 24 | +0.95   | +0.90   | +0.67   | +0.05   |
| 25 | +0.91   | +0.95   | +0.36   | −0.24   |
| 26 | +0.96   | +1.00   | +0.43   | +0.62   |
| 27 | +1.00   | +1.00   | +0.90   | +0.67   |
| 28 | +0.86   | +0.90   | +0.53   | +0.52   |
| 29 | +0.99   | +0.88   | +0.33   | −1.00   |
| 30 | +0.90   | +0.94   | −0.20   | −0.67   |
| 31 | +0.79   | +0.82   | 0.00    | +0.83   |
| 32 | +1.00   | +0.95   | +0.47   | +0.42   |
| 33 | +0.80   | +0.90   | +0.07   | −0.03   |
| 34 | +0.82   | +0.96   | +0.27   | +0.59   |
| 35 | +0.78   | +0.98   | +0.82   | +0.64   |
| 36 | +0.79   | +1.00   | +0.74   | −0.33   |
| 37 | +0.95   | +0.92   | +0.64   | +0.57   |
| 38 | +0.60   | +0.98   | +0.59   | +0.54   |
| 39 | +0.93   | +0.94   | +0.51   | +1.00   |
| 40 | +0.86   | +0.82   | −0.22   | +0.67   |
| 41 | +0.90   | +1.00   | +0.79   | +0.69   |
| 42 | +0.33   | +0.85   | +0.73   | +0.36   |
| 43 | +0.71   | +0.70   | +0.57   | +0.93   |
| 44 | +0.80   | +0.98   | +0.24   | +0.79   |
| 45 | +0.60   | +1.00   | +0.67   | +0.62   |
| 46 | +1.00   | +1.00   | +0.73   | −0.20   |
| 47 | +0.89   | +0.92   | +0.36   | −0.21   |
| 48 | +0.98   | +0.96   | +0.45   | −0.22   |
| 49 | +0.92   | +0.82   | +0.33   | −0.18   |
| 50 | +0.96   | +0.92   | −0.50   | −0.29   |

Even more condensed characteristics of the total difference in the linear arrangement of sentences are obtained through calculating the average values of tau. The highest average value of tau has been obtained for the pairs English → Slovak (+0.90) and Maori → English (+0.81). Next comes Japanese → English (+0.41) and then Japanese → Slovak (+0.31). Interestingly enough, these values agree with the intuitive estimate of the similarity of sentence structure of these languages.

Let us check another hypothesis concerning the relation between the length of sentence and the amount of difference in linear organization. At a glance, it would seem that a greater complexity (and length) of sentence implies more deviations in the linear organization during the process of translation. This, however, turns out not to be true because a smaller amount of changes has a greater weight with shorter sentences. This is confirmed by our test. The sentences have been ordered according to the number of their constituents N from the shortest to the longest ones for all four pairs of languages. These N's have been assigned the corresponding values of tau.

15

Subsequently we have calculated the correlation coefficient according to the formula (Blalock 1960, p. 289). In all four instances we have obtained low, insignificant values of r, i. e., 0.02 for English → Slovak, 0.06 for Japanese → English and Japanese → Slovak, and 0.29 for Maori → English. This proves that the difference in the linear arrangement between any two languages compared does not increase together with the sentence length.

Table 2. The values of tau in the particular subintervals

|  | ENG—SLO | MAO—ENG | JAP—ENG | JAP—SLO |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| −1.00; −0.01 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 14 |
| 0.00; +0.25 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| +0.26; +0.50 | 1 | 2 | 12 | 4 |
| +0.51; +0.75 | 1 | 8 | 17 | 15 |
| +0.76; +1.00 | 47 | 38 | 9 | 10 |

REFERENCES

Blalock, H. M.: *Social Statistics.* New York—Toronto—London, McGraw-Hill 1960.
Nida, E. A.: *Toward a Science of Translating.* Leiden, E. J. Brill 1964.
Polikarpov, A. A.: *Elementy teoreticheskoi sotsiolingvistiki.* Moscow, Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1979.

# GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES OF THE SUBSTANTIVE IN BENGALI

ANNA RÁCOVÁ, Bratislava

Substantives or nouns are words that separately and independently of other words designate concrete and abstract phenomena of reality. Such designations are always formulated together with several grammatical categories. Bengali knows grammatical categories of case and number, and categories of definiteness and personality. The aim of the present study has been to describe the formal means and functioning as also the interrelations of the categories of the substantive in Bengali.

1. The case expresses relations between a substantive and certain phenomena of reality reflected in a statement. In Bengali, this involves primarily an expression of a relation between a substantive and the action (expressing the agent of the action, the object of the action, etc.) and also the relation of one substantive to another (attribute, possession, etc.).

As this often involves a cumulation of functions (none of the forms has just one single function) and vice versa, one and the same function is often expressed by various forms of the substantive and even with aid of some forms together with postpositions, it is deemed fitting when describing the case in Bengali, to diferentiate morphological cases with respect to form, and semantic cases with respect to content. These two types of case are, as the form and content generally, in a dialectical relationship.

As morphological case we consider the bare base of a substantive with a case suffix (not with a postposition), hence a form currently designed as nominative, genitive, etc.

By semantic case is meant the signification, the function of a substantive in a sentence, e. g. expressing the agent of an action, the object of an action, hence "the roles" of morphological cases.

1.1 Bengali knows four morphological cases, viz. nominative — N, genitive — G, accusative(dative) — A(D) and locative — L.

The accusative and dative are considered to be one case, for they do not differ formally and have essentially fused also as regards meaning. In our view, such a designation of this morphological case is more suitable than that of "objective case" generally advocated by Soviet authors[1] who use it to designate a form of the

---

[1] E. g. B y k o v a, E. M.: *Bengalskii yazyk* (Bengali Language). Moscow, Nauka 1966. Z o g r a f, G. A.: *Morphologicheskii stroi novykh indoariiskikh yazykov* (Morphologic Structure of New Indo-Aryan
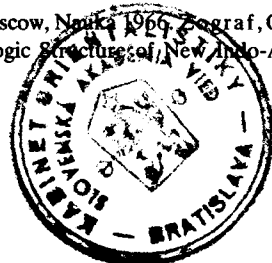
substantive (similarly they designate L as an instrumental-local case) while using the traditional designations nominative, genitive for the other two cases. Their designation of cases thus involves a mixture of the formal with the semantic aspect. We prefer the designation A(D) for the morphological case and reserve the term "objective case" to indicate the semantic case.

Each of the morphological cases in Bengali has a characteristic suffix attached to the base of the substantive.

The nominative singular has a zero case suffix (*chele*-0 boy, *ghar*-0 house).

The genitive has the suffix -*r* in the singular if the base ends in a vowel (*chele-r*); the suffix is extended by an -*e* if the substantive base ends in a consonant (*ghar-er*), and by -*ye*- if the base ends in -*ā* or a diphthong; in such cases, the genitive suffix may also take the simple form -*r* (*mā-yer* or *mā-r, bhāi-yer* or *bhāi-r*).

The accusative (dative) has the zero suffix in the singular (*ghar*-0) or the suffix -*ke* (*chele-ke*). The choice of the suffix is governed by the category of definiteness and personality.

The local singular has the suffix -*e* when the base of the substantive ends in a consonant (*ghar-e*), and -*te* when it ends in a vowel other than *ā* (*bāṛi-te*); if the base ends in -*ā*, the suffix takes the form -*y* which, however, is relatively freely replaced by -*te* (*jāygā-y* or *jāygā-te*).

Bengali case suffixes may be the same for the singular and plural, hence, the number category is not reflected in them, if this category is expressed by special agglutinative affixes (zero in the singular, -*dig*- or -*guli*-, -*gulā*-, -*gula*- in the plural) inserted before the case ending (*chele-dig-er, chele-guli-r, bāṛi-gula-r*).

An exception is found in the N plural in personal substantives that have the suffix -*(e)rā*, which reflects, besides the category of case, also that of personality: -*(e)rā* signalizes that a personal substantive is involved in the nominative plural (*chele-rā* boys, *mānuṣ-erā* men).

Similarly, the G and A(D) plural may have the same suffix -*der* in personal substantives, which reflects, alongside the category of case, also that of number, and personality (*chele-der*).

Bykova in her *Bengalskii yazyk* (1966, p. 33) mentions a whole series of further suffixes in connection with the various cases, viz. with N, also suffixes -*e, -y, -ete, -te;* with A(D), besides -0 and -*ke*, also -*re, -ere, -e, -y, -te, -ete;* with L, also -*ete*, but the use of these suffixes is not characteristic of either colloquial or literary Bengali. These are merely stylistic variants of case suffixes employed mainly in poetry where the needs of metre, poetic melody and a whole number of other causes prompt a deviation from the generally valid norms.

Languages). Moscow, Nauka 1976. Alekseeva, E. M.: *Uchebnik bengalskogo yazyka* (Bengali Textbook). Moscow, Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1977.

Each of the above four morphological cases has a certain general signification deriving from the substantive's relation to the action (i.e. the verb) eventaully, from its relation to another substantive.

If the substantive's basic relation is to an action, then we have the following scheme (in which we do not use the traditional designation of cases, but only the characteristic suffix).[2]

Table 1

```
                                                              active
                                                              -0
                                    participation
                                    in action
              related
              to action
case                                nonparticipation          nonactive
                                    in action                 -0, -ke
              unrelated             -e
              to action
              -r
```
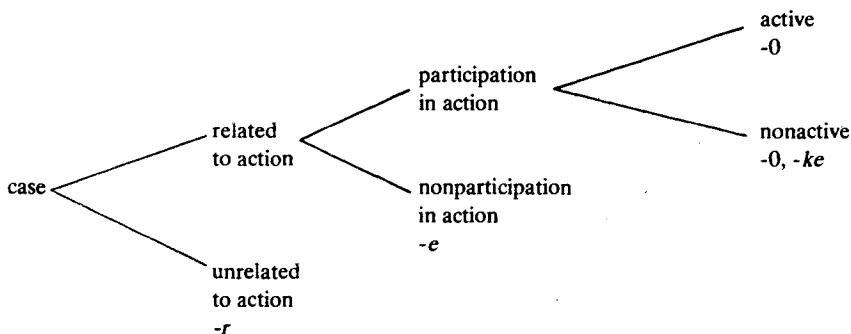
This scheme clearly shows that a morphological case ending in the suffix -r is the only one in Bengali that has no relation to action. It always occurs in a adnominal position and in its most general signification expresses the "attribute" of the determined substantive (*broñjer chele* boy of bronze, *māsīr bāṛi* house of aunt, *bhabisyater mānuṣ* man of future).

All the other morphological cases express a relation to action and this either participation (active and nonactive) or nonparticipation in the action.

The general signification of the morphological case in -e is an expression of nonparticipation in the action and this as a concrete expression of various circumstances (time, place, manner, cause). Here may be assigned also cases of the type *dā̃te chĩṛā* to tear with the teeth where one may also speak of a circumstantial utilization of the given form expressing manner. This thesis is supported by the fact that when the instrument but not the manner is to be expressed, Bengali uses the postposition *diye* with the N (*chuṛi diye* with a knife).

Participation in the action characterizes the remaining two cases — the morphological case with a zero suffix (N) expressing an agent's active participation in the

---

[2] On similar basis is constructed the system of cases in Slovak by J. Oravec in his book *Väzba slovies v slovenčine* (Rection of Verbs in Slovak). Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied 1967, pp. 37—46, or by E. Pauliny in his study *Poznámky k pomocným slovesám a k významu pádov* (Notes on Auxiliary Verbs and on Meaning of Cases) published in Slovenská reč, *45*, No. 3, Bratislava, Veda, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied 1980, pp. 165—174.

action, while the general signification of the morphological case with the suffix -0, -ke expresses a nonactive participation, hence, that of the object of action.

These relations could, of course, be analysed in greater depth within the frame of reference of the concrete general signification, e. g. the case A(D) can express an object completely affected by the action (1st object), and also the object in favour of which the action is taking place (2nd object), L can express a local, temporal circumstance, etc.

The general signification of the above morphological cases corresponds roughly to the basic (universal) relations (with the exception of the instrumental one) between substantives and the verb in Bengali, i. e. expressing of the agent of an action, the object of an action, the circumstances under which an action takes place.

However, not every substantive with a certain ending has necessarily a function corresponding to the general meaning of the given form (although the use in the general meaning predominates). For instance, the form in -0, -ke may also express a circumstance (that of measure, time) or the logical subject of the action (āmāke yete hay I have to go).

Certain relations between a substantive and the verb may also be expressed analytically in Bengali, i. e. with a postpostition in an obligatory combination with a certain morphological case, e. g. the circumstance of place may be expressed not only with the morphological case in -e, but also with a set of spatial postpositions in combination with N or G, where the postpositions are always connected with a different morphological case than the one whose general meaning would correspond to the given meaning[3] (bāṛir upar on a house, upon a house, bāṛir kāche near a house, towards a house, bāṛir nice under a house, bāṛir madhye in a house, bāṛi paryanta up to a house, bāṛi theke from a house, etc.).

1.2 If we lay stress not on the form, but on the meaning, the function, and we wish to grasp all the relations that can be expressed by the case and simultaneously eschew a numbering of functions of the various morphological cases, different from their general meaning, it will prove more convenient to take semantic cases as the starting point and to strive to find out by what means relations between substantives and the verb, forming their essence, are expressed on the surface level of the language.

A mere analysis of morphological cases shows that the following types of case meanings are used in Bengali: that of agent, of object, of circumstance and of attribute. To these we should also add the instrumental meaning, i. e. a possibility of expressing the instrument, the means, with the aid of which the action is performed (and which cannot be expressed in Bengali with a special morphological case).

---

[3] For more details see Rácová, A.: *The Conceptual Category of Space in the Surface Structure of Bengali.* In: *Asian and African Studies, XVII.* Bratislava, Veda, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied 1981, pp.179—186.

In concordance with the above, we speak of Agentive, Objective, Circumstantive, Instrumental and Attributive.

All these universal relations (with the exception of the instrumental one) may be expressed in Bengali primarily by a morphological case, some of them also by the morphological case in combination with a postposition, but others only with the aid of the morphological case with a postposition (instrumental relation).

In the next section of our study, note will be taken in more detail of the means by which various semantic cases may be expressed on the surface level of Bengali.

### 1.2.1 Agentive

This case helps to express an active relationship to the action, an active participation of the substantive in the action, of the executant of the action — the agent.

The Agentive is most commonly expressed by the morphological case N, which is identical with the syntactic subject of the sentence. As a rule, it is not omitted in Bengali, for it is usually made to express the category of number of Bengali verbs (*meyerā aphis theke beriye ela*. Women came out from the office. *manikā ekṭā śvās phella*. Manika sighed. *ṭā śune cheleṭā chuṭe giyechila chāde*. When the boy heard that, he ran on the roof).

In the construction of the verb *haoyā* (to be) with the imperfect participle which expresses modality (obligation), the agent is usually expressed by the morphological case A(D) (*āmāke yete hay* I must go).

The agent may also be expressed by the morphological case G (*tomāke āmār bhāla lāgche nā*. I don't care for you. *tār sekhāne thākte nei*. He mustn't stay there. *tā ki āmār karte āche?* Am I allowed to do that?)

Occasionally, the agent is also expressed by the morphological case L. According to Page[4] "this use is often found in cases where, apart from the termination, there might perhaps be some uncertainty as to which noun was the subject and which the object of the verb, and also in cases where a noun or and adjective denoting a whole class of animate beings is the subject of the sentence, e. g. *māche māchi khāy*. Fish eat flies. *loke bale*. People say, etc". Here there is an overlapping of case and category of definiteness.

### 1.2.2 Objective

The most universal meaning of the Objective is to express a nonactive participation in the action. The object is the target of the agent's activity and may be either wholly passive, totally affected by the action (*cheleke dekhā* to see a boy, *jinis upabhog karā* to use a thing, *meyeke niye ghare āsā* to bring a girl to the room), or nonpassive, not wholly affected by the action, rather an object in favour of whom the action is taking place (*āmi bābāke likhchi* I am writing to father).

---

[4] Page, W. S.: *An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali.* Cambridge 1934, pp. 129—130.

The Objective is made to include the case which is currently termed Object, Objective, but also one that some authors designate as Dative, others as Recipient (Wilks, 1973; Schank, Riesbeck, Rieger, Goldman, 1971—1973), or Experiencer (Skafto, 1973; Kintsch, 1972).[5] In Bengali, it expresses the 1st and also the 2nd object.

A passive object is most commonly expressed on the surface level in Bengali by the morphological case A(D).

The object of activity is a wholly passive participant of an action if it is made to express a material content of the activity (with verbs of sensory perception, speech), e. g. *bai dekhā* to see a book, *tāder kathā śonā* to hear their words, *gān gāoyā* to sing a song.

The object is further a wholly passive participant of an action with explicitly active verbs whose action passes on the object without limitation. Such cases involve for the most part an exclusive object that is either not determined in more detail (*mukh pherāna* to turn one's head, *didike āgale rākhā* to protect one's sister, *darjā bandha karā* to close the door, *cā khāoyā* to drink tea, etc.) or it is more precisely determined by some circumstance (*darjāy nām lekhā* to write a name on the door), an attribute (*e rakam mā pāoyā* to win such a mother), and more rarely also a substantive in the G (*bhikṭar hugor mūrti garā* to make a statue of Victor Hugo, *āṅuler gatibidhi lakṣya karā* to observe the movement of one's fingers).

Sometimes the passive object is expressed by the case with a postposition, principally with the verbs to wait (for), to be angry (with), to give orders (to), to speak (about), to work (for), etc. (*bābār janya apekṣā karchi* I am waiting for father. *rāg karo nā to āmār bābār opar.* Don't be angry with my father. *āmār opar ār ki hukum tomār?* What are your orders for me? *nijer opari birakta haye uṭhla.* He became annoyed with himself. *tā niye kathā balis nā.* Don't speak about that.)

Here a given function always involves a connection of a certain postposition with the morphological case other than that of A(D).

An object is not a totally passive object of activity if the activity does not affect him fully, if it is performed to his advantage (*bābāke likhchi* I am writing to father). On the syntactic plane, a second object is here at play. It occurs mostly in sentences in which also the first object is expressed (*ei jinis māke deba.* I'll give this thing to mother. *kāmrār lok dādāke jānlā khulte bāraṇ karla.* The people in the coupé prevented my brother from opening the window).

1.2.3 Circumstantive

The basic trait of the Circumstantive is its nonparticipation in the action, its expression of the circumstances under which the action takes place. This may involve a circumstance of place, time, manner, and measure.

[5] According to Petkova-Schick,I.: *Eine ebenenspezifische Darstellung des Kasusbegriffs* published in Linguistische Arbeitsberichte, *12,* Leipzig 1975, pp. 17—40.

This general meaning is expressed in Bengali primarily by the morphological case L.

Place: *āmāder sansāre* in our family, *kāśite bābār ek bandhu thākta.* A friend of father's lived at Kaśi.

Direction: *kāśite giyei*... going to Kaśi ...

Time: *āmāke chelebelāy, kare' balta.* In childhood, people used to call me Kare. *tār bayase* at his age, *māser ei dintite* this day every month, *barśāy phul phate* flowers bloom during the monsoon.

Manner: *sandeher galāy* in a suspicious voice, *tin cānse* in three attempts, *dhīr pāye* at a slow pace, *gārh cokhe* with a concentrated look, *dãte* with the teeth, *trṣta cokhe* with hungry eyes, *jale* with water, *rañīn āloy bharā* filled with colour lights.

The circumstance of time as well as that of measure may be expressed with the aid of the morphological case A(D), e. g. *āmi cha'mās ekhāne āchi.* I have been here six months. *āmi ek khāblā kādā tule niyechi.* I picked up a handful of clay.

Circumstantial relations are frequently expressed by a morphological case combined with a postposition, viz. the circumstance of place by a set of spatial postpositions in combination with the G or N, as noted above, the circumstance of time with a set of temporal postpositions in the same combination (*marbār āge* before death, *ek bachar āge* a year ago, *ek minit pare* after a minute, *bahu bachar dhare* during many years, etc.), the circumstance of measure with the aid of the postposition *chārā* with the N (*gārite orā du'jan chārā ār keu chila nā.* There was no one in the car except the two of them), etc.

1.2.4 Instrumental

The basic meaning of the semantic case Instrumental is to express the instrument, the means with which an action is carried out.

On the surface level of Bengali, the Instrumental is not expressed by a special morphological case, but uniquely by the morphological case N+postposition *diye* (*śābal diye* with the shovel, *hāt diye* with the hand, *spañj diye* with the sponge ; *puliś diye jor dhare ānte gele*... If they brought him by force with the aid of the police ...).

1.2.5 Attributive

The Attributive differs strikingly from the other semantic cases in that it does not express a relation of the substantive to the action (verb), but to another substantive, viz. a relation in which a subordinate substantive is made to determine more definitely a head substantive. This then involves an attributive relation in a broader sense of the word.

On the surface level it is expressed by the morphological case G. The substantive in the G is always in an adnominal position to the head noun which requires it as a facultative completion and semantic modifier.

The Attributive is abundantly used and, with respect to its general meaning, very differentiatedly in Bengali. The present study intends to mention only the most

characteristic types of the concrete functions of this semantic case and to indicate the direction which its more detailed analysis should follow.[6]

The Attributive is most commonly used to express the relation of appurtenance of the head substantive to the subordinate noun in the G. Several types of this relation exist, differing according to the meaningful groups of the head and the subordinate substantive, and also according to a concrete type of relationship between them.

The appurtenance of a part to a whole is very often expressed. Within the framework of a given type of attributive relation, we may distinguish several subtypes, the most characteristic being such as the following:

*bāṛir jānālā* window of a house: *nāker phuṭo* hole of a nose, *bāthrumer darjā* door of a bathroom, *jāmār botām* button of a shirt, *ghaṛir dolak* pendulum of a clock, *bāṛir bāgān* garden of a house, *siṛir talā* foot of a staircase, *gaṛer māṭh* land of a fort, etc. ; *meyer hāt* hand of a girl: *māyer kol* lap of mother, *cheler bhuru* eyebrow of a boy, *bābār gā* body of father, etc. ;

*mūrtir pichan dik* back side of a statue: *bichānār ekdhār* one side of a bed, *ektalār phlyāṭ* flat on the first floor, etc. ;

*bābār galā* voice of father: *cheler caritra* nature of a boy, *jiniser mūrti* shape of a thing, *sāheber kathā* words of a saheb, *āphrikār bhabisyat* future of Africa, *māṭir gandha* smell of earth, *mukher bhāb* expression of a face, *dādār jvar* temperature of brother, etc. ;

*kathār artha* meaning of words: *ahiṃsār pratimūrti* form of ahimsa, *sukher dhāraṇā* feeling of happiness, *śilper dām* price of art, *bhālabāsār dephineśān* definition of love, etc. ;

*bandhur strī* wife of friend: *svāmīr bandhu* friend of husband, *cheler mā* mother of a boy, etc.

Another type of attributive relationship is that expressing genre appurtenance, e. g. *mānuṣer śarīr* body of a man, *meyer cokher jal* tears of a woman, *bīrer buk* heart of a hero. In these examples there is no question of the body of a certain man, tears of a definite woman, or the heart of a specific hero, but of an appurtenance to the entire group of the persons named, hence, of a human body, of female tears, a heroic heart.

An important type of attributive relation of appurtenance is that of the action to its bearer, or patient:

expressing bearer of action: *bābār kāj* father's work, *dīnbandhur anumati* Dinbandhu's order, *maṇikār icche* Manika's wish, *aṅuler gatibidhi* movement of the fingers, *satyaner pachanda* Satjan's loving, etc. ;

expressing patient of action: *ṭākār prayojan* use of money, *didir kathā* talk about sister, etc.

---

[6] We stem out from the analysis of the Slovak adnominal genitive by F. Mi k o as introduced in his book *Rod, číslo a pád podstatných mien* (Gender, Number and Cases of Substantives). Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied 1962, pp. 142—167.

The Attributive is further used to express the relation of appurtenance to a place: *tin talār tapan* Tapan from the third floor, *rānnār jāygā* place for cooking, *pāyer diker jānālā* window at the foot, *dakṣiner darjā* door to the south, *ulṭo diker phlyāṭ* flat on the opposite side, etc.

Similarly, the Attributive expresses the relation of appurtenance to time, to a temporal period: *sakāler phlāiṭ* morning flight, *śīter melā* winter mela, *śīter bātās* winter wind, etc.

Another important group consists of substantives in such an attributive relation where the noun is defined by having its content, measure, quantity expressed:
*biskuṭer bāksa* box of biscuits: *dudher kāp* cup of milk, *jaler botal* bottle of water, *sigāreṭer pyākeṭ* packet of cigarettes;
*māṭir dalā* lump of clay: *pātharer ṭukro* a piece of stone, *māṭir stūp* heap of earth; *loker abhāb* lack of people: *deśer adhikaṃśa* the greater part of the country.

The Attributive is also used to express the possessor's relation, i.e. a certain thing indicated by a substantive is more closely defined by naming the possessor: *meyer bāṛi* girl's house, *māsīr phlyāṭ* aunt's flat, *pātharoyālār jinis* stone-mason's things, *dādār studio* brother's studio, *tapaner khāṭ* Tapan's bed; *bābār kukur* father's dog.

A very frequent attributive relation is one in which the adnominal morphological case G indicates the origin of the head substantive: *broñjer chele* a bronze boy, *nīl plāsṭārer pāyes* a cake of blue plasticine; *halud rañer belun* a baloon in yellow colour.

An analysis of a greater quantity of texts would certainly reveal further kinds, types and subtypes of attributive relations expressed by means of the Attributive.


2. Besides the case, the Bengali substantive is governed also by the category of number. As every language must possess a way to indicate whether there is question of one or of more objects, the category of number may be considered to be a universal deep category. The basic means for expressing it are the numerals, though further ways are often used to the same purpose, e. g. in inflected languages there are usually different morphemes for the singular and the plural; in agglutinative languages special affixes exist indicating number, etc.

In different languages, the grammatical category of number may have a different number of grammemes. Most frequently, there are only two — the singular and the plural — to which also the dual, for instance, has been added in some Indian languages.

Bengali has two grammemes for the grammatical category of number, viz. the singular and the plural.

The singular indicates that only one thing named by the substantive is intended, and the plural that more than one things are meant.

In the singular, a substantive is usually without any formal indicator of number, or the latter is expressed analytically with the aid of the numeral *ek* (one). Occasionally, the fact that the singular is involved is indicated by the presence of one of the

particles *-ṭā, -ṭi, -khānā, -khāni,* etc. which are affixed to the base before the case suffix, and which have a series of additional functions, e. g. they show that a more definite object is involved, express the speaker's relation to the object, point out its form, etc.

Expression of the plural in the N of personal substantives is embodied in the case suffix *-(e)rā,* and *-(e)rā* has thus three meanings — it signalizes the N, the plural and personality. Similarly, the category of case, number and personality is reflected in the suffix *-der* in the G and A(D) of the plural of personal substantives.

The plural of these substantives, however, may also be expressed by means of the agglutinative infix *-guli- (-gulā-, -gula-),* or *-dig-,* which is inserted between the base of the substantive and the case suffix (*chele-guli-r, chele-dig-er*).

The plural of impersonal substantives is likewise expressed with the aid of the agglutinative infix *-guli- (-gulā-, -gula-) (bai-guli* the books, *bai-guli-r* of the books, *bai-guli-te* on the books).

Therefore, in the grammatical category of number of the Bengali substantive, the grammeme of the singular with a zero morpheme stands in contradistinction to the plural grammeme expressed by the morphemes *-dig-, -guli- (-gulā-, -gula-),* or included in the case suffix *-(e)rā, -der.*

The number category does not appear with abstract substantives, with names of substances (that are not countable), as also with substantives indicating paired items where the fact of more than one object being involved is immanent in their semantics. Nevertheless, the number of objects that usually exist in pairs, may be expressed — and often is — by a numeral (*dui hāt* two hands; Indian mythology currently speaks of more than two hands, eyes...).

Similarly, the plural may be expressed by a numeral in the case of the other countable substantives which then have no further indicator of number (*tār cār meye āche* he has four daughters, *āmār anek bai āche* I have many books, etc.).

The plural in Bengali need not be expressed by means of the inflections and affixes mentioned above also in further cases. Occasionally, this may be done by means of "echo-words" (*tār chele pele nei* he has no children), or it is left to be inferred from the construction of the sentence or from the context.

W. S. Page[7] correctly pointed out that in a sentence, which has a plural subject and noun-complement, the complement is not put into the plural form to agree with number of the subject (*tomrā kār meye ?* Whose daughters are you?) as also that the plural inflection is often omitted when a whole class of things is referred to (*dhopā kāpar kāche* a washerman washes clothes). If in such cases the substantive is used in the plural, it means that not a class of things is involved, but certain members of this class. Hence the category of number here meets with that of definiteness (*dhopā kāparguli kāche* a washerman washes these clothes).

---

[7] Page, W. S., op. cit., p. 133.

3. The category of definiteness in Bengali has not been grammaticalized to the same extent as in typical "articled" languages. The logico-semantic opposition of definiteness and indefiniteness is expressed on the surface level by means of several linguistic aids, whether grammatical, lexical or such as stand in between (particles).[8]

As has been pointed out earlier, the fact that definite members of the same class of things are involved, may also be expressed with the aid of a plural indicator.

Other grammatical means to express the category of definiteness are case suffixes.

The case suffix *-e, -te* (L) indicates that indefinite animate substantives (persons, animals) are involved. A substantive with such an ending operates as an indefinite agent, executing the action of the verb in the plural (*loke āmār kāche lukāite ceṣṭā karita*. People strove to avoid me. *ajagare sukhuke khāiyā giyāche*. Sukha has been eaten by pythons. *chelete nānā upalakṣe jhagrā bibād haiyā thāke*. Boys always quarrel over trifles.).

Another case suffix also used to express definiteness in Bengali is that of the morphological case A(D). The suffix *-ke* is added only to a concretized, known object, while a nonconcretized one is expressed by the A(D) with a zero suffix (*se ḍāktārke ānte geche* he has gone for the doctor, *se ḍāktār ānte geche* he has gone for a doctor).

But this rule is of limited validity. It is applied in full measure only with personal substantives; explicitly defined impersonal nouns in the A(D) with the suffix *-ke* occur more rarely (*āmār beṛālke dekhecha?* Have you seen my cat? *baiṭāke ṭebiler opar dāo!* Put the book on the table!).

This, as well as the fact that simultaneously with these, also further indicators of definiteness may occur with the Bengali substantive (e. g. *-ṭā-* in *baiṭāke*) goes to show that the suffixes *-ke* and *-e* are primarily means to express case relations (*-ke* also personality) and only secondarily to express the category of definiteness.

4. An analysis of the category of case, number and definiteness has always revealed that the choice of a given means to express these categories on the surface level of the language depends at least in some measure (in some cases) on whether the substantive stands for a person or a nonperson. We do not speak of animate or inanimate substantives, for names of animals are treated in Bengali grammar as inanimates. Thus, for example, the N of a substantive may have the plural suffix *-(e)rā* only when the substantive stands for a person. Similarly in the A(D), the substantive takes the suffix *-ke* strictly with personal substantives only, otherwise the suffix is zero. If, nevertheless, the suffix *-ke* does occur with impersonal substantives

---

[8] Here we pay attention only to those means for expressing the category of definiteness in Bengali that are connected with the category of case. For more details see Rácová, A.: *On the Category of Definiteness in Bengali.* In: *Asian and African Studies, XVI.* Bratislava, Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied 1980, pp. 127—132.

and the zero suffix with personal ones, there is an overlapping of the category of definiteness and that of case and personality.

5. Thus we see that the various categories applied in Bengali substantive are closely related, although expressed by various means.

The case category may be expressed by a base inventory of grammatical means, case suffixes, that may serve secondarily as indicators of personality, definiteness and occasionally also of number.

Similarly, an inventory of grammatical means exists to express the category of number which, secondarily, reflects also the category of definiteness and personality.

These last two categories have no specific grammatical means at their disposal and are expressed with the aid of such, among others, as have other primary functions.

From what has been said it ensues that the categories of case and number are true grammatical categories, while those of definiteness and personality are less grammaticalized. Yet, there are reasons justifiably to consider them as separate categories of Bengali substantive and to devote due attention to them.

# GRAMMATICAL, DERIVATIONAL AND LEXICAL DIMENSIONS OF TRANSITIVITY IN ARABIC

LADISLAV DROZDÍK, Bratislava

The material presented here is intended to describe and illustrate a variety of phenomena associated with transitivity in (Classical) Arabic. Despite the fact that transitivity is primarily conceived as a property of the verb, minimally extending over an actor and an undergoer, some of its manifestations are found relevant even to smaller sub-clausal segments and units of lexicon, represented by verbs or some types of verb-related nominals.

1. The title of the present paper may somewhat misleadingly suggest that it aims at a one-pole description of transitivity, free from the restrictive impact of the bi-valued transitive-intransitive opposition. In spite of all possible advantages that a treatment of transitivity in terms of a continuum offers, especially the possibility of ranking, it does not meet the purpose of the present study. Speaking, then, prevailingly about transitivity, as a marked value of the opposition (although most carriers of intransitivity in Arabic do not lack overt indicators, either), is a mere matter of economy, relying, in a number of generalities, on zero statements.

1.1 Transitivity is primarily understood as a property of the verb minimally extending over two participants, an agent and a patient.[1] When considering a verb, interlinked with two participants (the term will be used technically throughout the present sudy), as a minimum domain of transitivity, identifiable with a clause, then any shift from two- to one-participant clauses would necessarily bring about a shift from transitivity (t) to intransitivity (i), on condition, however, that the verb (V) be here identified with a V(i, t). Such two-participant clauses which, semantically, are very close to intransitivity or, alternatively, very low in transitivity,[2] like both the Arabic and English *tuʿjibunī l-bintu* "I like the girl" (lit. : (she) amazes me (obj.) the girl (subj.)), will nevertheless be in accordance with their surface structure featuring, classified as transitive ones.

---

[1] For some terms and formulations cf. the inspiring study by Hopper, P. J. and Thompson, S. A.: *Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse.* Language, *56*, 1980, pp. 251—299.

[2] 'Ranking' terminology, derived from a treatment of transitivity as a continuum. In the study quoted above, the low degree of transitivity is, in this case, accounted for by the absence of a volitional activity on the part of the agent, by the non-affectedness of the object, and some other features. The only 'high' transitivity component, in the example quoted, is just its two-participant structure.

Classical Arabic, as a basically VSO[3] language, may display two-participant clauses of the following type:

(1) *yaḏkuru ṣāḥibunā s-siyāja wa-l-mazraᶜata* (*al-'Ayyām*, 14) "Our friend remembers the fence and the farm." (The O consists here of two terms linked together through the co-ordinator *wa*.)

Or:

(2) *taᶜmuruhu (al-ᶜālama) kā'inātun ġarībatun* (ibid., 11) "It (the world) is inhabited by strange creatures" (viz., "Strange creatures inhabit it"). The VSO arrangement, because of the postverbal suffix in the O position, is here represented by a VOS word-order variant.

As against the typical one-participant intransitive clauses, like:

(3) *ḥīna'iḏin taxfutu l-'aswātu wa tahda'u l-ḥarakatu* (ibid., 10) "At that time the voices die away and the motion calms down". (Two co-ordinated one-participant clauses in VS arrangement.) Etc.

1.2 Despite the fact that the minimum domain of transitivity is primarily identified with clauses, some of its aspects may manifest themselves even in smaller clausal segments or lexical units: in one- or no-participant segments, in the case of t-oriented items, as well as in no-participant segments, in the case of i-oriented items. Setting such subminimal domain of what we still venture to call transitivity partly relies on the explicative power of the context, as it is partly made possible by an extraordinarily high level of overt marking, observable in Arabic, both in verbal and verbo-nominal morphology and in morphosyntax. For reasons that will become obvious in what follows, a special attention will be given to verbal nouns as carriers of action (deactivized or, perhaps better, deprocessualized items will not be taken into consideration) which may or may not possess overt indicators of their i/t orientation:

(1) *qatlu l-xalīfati*, a one-participant head-modifier (genitive) construction with a verbal noun (Vn) in the head position which allows of an agential ("calif's killing (someone else)") and, alternatively, of a patiential interpretation ("killing of the calif", "calif's being killed"). The latter ambiguity may be removed by way of transforming the present one-participant unit into a two-participant one, as in:

(2) *qatlu l-xalīfati jaᶜfaran* "calif's killing Jaᶜfar", a two participant head-modifier construction with an agent-like term in the genitive (*al-xalīfati*) and a patient-like term in the accusative (*jaᶜfaran*).

While a one-participant construction can be made explicit through its expansion into a two-participant one (which may be identified with a minimum context for a contrast morphosyntactic marking), nearly the same result may be arrived at by way of morphological (derivational) indicators directly associated with the verbal abstract which is, in this case, the carrier of 'action':

---

[3] The list of symbols used is given at the end of the study.

(3) *takwīnu l-jibāli* "orogenesis, formation of mountains (geol.)" (Rabat, 1, 45; here occurring as a constitutive element of a longer term: *ḥarakātu takwīni l-jibāli* "orogenic movement"). A head-modifier (genitive) construction with a patient-like modifier in genitive (*al-jibāli*) and a Vn in the head position (*takwīnu*). The patiential function of the modifier is unambiguous since it is marked by the transitive (causative) Vn pattern *taCCīC* which normally[4] allows of no other interpretation. The other participant which is actually missing in the segment quoted should be, in this case, identified with any external factor which might be found relevant to the matter (orogenic movements, disturbances in the earth's crust, etc.). Such an action, irrespective of whether occurring with no-, one- or two-participant units, with verbs or verb-related nominals, will be called a 'conditioned'[5] action.

(4) *takawwunu l-jibāli* (idem), as above, a head-modifier (genitive) construction. Nevertheless, in contradistinction to the preceding one, its modifier has to be identified with the agent of a reflexive action (or, alternatively, with an agent-patient). The Vn pattern *taCaCCuC*, as one of the overt indicators of intransitivity (reflexivity), implies the lack of a lexically or terminologically relevant external factor and, accordingly, points to a 'spontaneous' action.

(For *takawwunu l-jibāli* see e. g. Cairo, 3, 84, the definition of *nušū'u l-jibāli* "orogenesis": *ᶜamaliyyatu takawwuni l-jibāli min taḥarrukāti l-'arḍi l-jānibiyyati* "the process of formation of mountains under the impact of lateral movements of the earth". Even with other terminologists, the process seems to be predominantly perceived as, in itself, a spontaneous one (viz. *takawwun, nušū*), despite the simultaneous quotation of what might be considered as an external stimulus of the latter, as in *ḥarakatu nušū'i l-jibāli* "orogenic movement" (Khatib, 419)).

2. Arabic (unless otherwise stated, by Arabic synthetic variants of this language will be understood, Classical and Modern Written) belongs to languages which exhibit a high level of transitivity marking, both morphological (derivational), immediately associated with the lexical carrier of action, and (morpho) syntactic, like case inflections and word-order. While English, for instance, apart from a rather limited number of lexically contrasting verbs like *to rise — to raise,* has to rely on a contrastive word-order, in clausal contexts, and on a metalinguistic indexing in lexicons (e. g. *to form,* v. t. and i.),[6] Arabic displays a spectacular affluence of overt indicators at both sides of the i/t opposition that cut across all main linguistic domains of this language. As will be attempted to show in the following sections of this study,

---

[4] For atypical cases, due to a process of neutralization of the distinction between causativity (here represented by the Vn pattern *taCCīC*) and reflexivity (here *taCaCCuC* in (4)), see §§ 4.1 and 5 in what follows.

[5] See § 5 in what follows.

[6] For an implicit presence of both i, t values in Arabic, see § 2.12 (3) and (4).

the high rate of redundance and overtness leads to a number of problems resulting from competitive coincidences of transitivizers, derived from various structural levels of the language (see e. g. the lexically imposed restrictions mirrored in the emergence of what we call 'dominant (lexical) pairs' (§ 6)). It may further lead to an unwanted but, nevertheless, unavoidable marking which necessarily implies lexical connotations (e. g. conditioning — dependence on the lexically relevant external factors, as against spontaneity — independence of such factors) — which may appear not only irrelevant to the matter but even distortingly restrictive.

2.1 Morphological marking is realized in the process of the verbal and verbo-nominal derivation which is restricted, in the present survey, to the statistically predominant triliteral verb and verb-related nominals. Here, two main domains of derivation have to be distinguished:

(1) basic form, or Class 1 derivation, and

(2) derived form, or Class 2—10 (in more classically-minded descriptions Class 2—15) derivation.

Besides this bipartition which is justified both historically and systematically another distinction must be set for the morphemic structure of markers involved therein:

(3) simple, or monomorphemic markers involving one single morpheme, that of pattern, defined here as the set of vowels occurring between the root-constituting consonants, such as (— a — i —) in a Class 1 verb ᶜalima "to know" (citational "infinitive" presentation, actually "he knew"), and

(4) complex, or multimorphemic markers consisting of a pattern, one or several affixes and, in some derivational classes, they futher involve root modifications, as in the Class 5 verb (reflexive) taᶜallama "to learn" (=to make oneself know) where we have:

a pattern: (— a — a —),

an affix: ta-, and

a feature of root modification: middle radical geminated;

or:

Class 2 Vn (causative) tarbiya "education, upbringing; breeding" which includes:

a pattern: (— ∅ — i —),

two affixes: -ta and -a, and

root modification: none.

2.1.1 The Class 1 derivation involves what has been defined above as simple marking which yields three types of Class 1 verbs:

CaCaCa — active (action-reference),

$\begin{matrix} CaCiCa \\ CaCuCa \end{matrix}$ — stative (state-reference).

The historically-coloured terms 'active' and 'stative' are borrowed from Semitology where they are used to denote an earlier linguistic stage.

32

The domain of verbo-nominals, in contradistinction to the Class 2—10 derivation is not directly affected by this type of derivation.

Distinctive features, produced by the Class 1 derivation, should be, with respect to transitivity, regarded as non-specific ones. The incorporation of values derived from the i/t opposition can only be done in terms of non-specific equivalences that cannot be taken for more than mere statistically stated preferences:

*CaCaCa* — predominantly transitive, as in *kataba* "to write" or *ḍaraba* "to strike, to hit", but also intransitive, as in *ḍahaba* " to go, go away", or both intransitive and transitive, as in Vi *ᶜamara* "to live long, be longevous" and Vt *ᶜamara* "to inhabit s. th."; atypically even stative, like *ṣabara* "to be patient";

*CaCiCa* — predominatly intransitive and, as intransitive, mostly stative, as in *ḥazina* "to be sad, grieved", *dahiša* "to be amazed, surprised; to wonder", *nāma* (*nawima*) "to sleep", but also transitive, e. g. *šariba* "to drink", etc.

*CaCuCa* — instransitive (stative), e. g. *ḥasuna* "to be pretty, handsome" or *xašuna* "to be rough, coarse", etc.

It looks tempting to consider these pattern modifications as inflectional ones at the same hierarchical level as that occupied by the introflectionally conveyed number, gender and verbal voice. A similar approach would permit to treat, say, the (— *a — i —*) — (— *a — a —*) pattern-marked distinction in e. g. *naqiḍa* "to be saved, be rescued, save oneself, to escape"[7] — *naqaḍ* "to save, rescue, salvage, recover" or *ḥazina* "to be sad, grieved" — *ḥazana* "to make sad, sadden, grieve" — as an inflectional phenomenon able to produce paradigmatical series just like those associated with:

the active-passive opposition, as in (— *a — a —*) active — (— *u — i —*) passive, in e. g. naqaḍa (see above) — *nuqiḍa* "to be saved, rescued, etc.", or in (— *a — i —*) intransitive, active ( (— *u — i —*) impersonal passive, as in *naqiḍa* (see above) — *nuqiḍa* "one saved one's life (non-citational, actual)";[8]

or with:

the introflectionally expressed singular-plural relationship, as in (— *i — ā —*) singular — (— *u — u —*) plural, e. g. *kitāb — kutub* "book(s)", etc.

---

[7] The English approximations in terms of passives and reflexives should not necessarily imply the presence of these values in the Arabic data. The Arabic examples quoted here are simply intransitive, viz. non-passive, non-reflexive.

[8] The i, t in relation to the active-passive distinction:

intransitive —active;

intransitive —passive (impersonal passive), e. g.: *ḍahaba* "to go, go away, leave" — *ḍuhiba* (impersonal passive), the English approximation: "one went away";

transitive —active;

transitive — passive: (1) personal, but nevertheless agentless passive, as in *qutila* "he (or it) was killed" (the English *by*-agent has no corresponding counterpart in Classical Arabic), and (2) impersonal passive: "one killed".

Despite all these eye-striking similarities the derivational interpretation is the only possible one. Besides non-specificity of the respective i/t indicators which will become still more evident with the Class 2—10 derivation, one of the most serious arguments against identifying the Class 1 procedure with an inflectional phenomenon is an exceedingly high degree of word autonomy associated with the respective items. The latter may be demonstrated on (unpredictably) different sets of derivatives (here verbal nouns) which reflect differences between any two or even three of the Class 1 pattern realizations, as in:

Vt *naqaḍa* (see above) — Vn *naqḍ*, as against:

Vi *naqiḍa* (see above) — Vn *naqaḍ*, etc.

2.1.2 The Class 2—10 derivation depends on what has been defined earlier as complex marking. In contrast to the Class 1 derivation, the present type incorporates both verbal and verbo-nominal forms into a unique system of derivation with a set of predictable interrelations between them. Nevertheless, the predictability of derivational links between verbal and verbo-nominal derivatives implies neither a predictability of any of their possible Class 2—10 realizations, nor that of their actual lexical colouring.

Thus, for instance, the Class 6 verb *taCāCaCa* (intransitive, reflexive), as far as it occurs at all among the derivatives of a given verb, may alternatively (partly also cumulatively) convey the following lexical connotations: reciprocity or mutual interaction, as in *taᶜārafa* "to become acquainted with each other"; gradualness and successivity, as in *tasāqaṭa* "to fall successively and gradually, to fall again and again", or the connotation of pretending, feigning, as in *tanāwama* "to pretend to be asleep", *tamāraḍa* "to feign illness, malinger", etc.

Non-specificity of the bulk of markers involved manifests itself in frequent i/t fluctuations within the same derivational class which are due to different results of the process of lexicalization. Some types of reflexive verbs, for instance, mostly associated with Classes 8 and 10, may involve:

(1) a reflexive action the actor of which is simultaneously an undergoer of the latter, as well as

(2) a reflexive action the actor of which is merely an experiencer of the latter (lexical reflexes of an actor-centred benefactiveness: viz. 'for one's own profit').

While the (1)-type of reflexivity coincides with intransitivity, the (2)-type does not. E. g.:

Re (1):

(The derivational class membership will be indexed with V and Vn symbols together with the respective i/t values; additional information, whenever necessary, will be enclosed in brackets; for the sake of convenience, the examples will be quoted in contrastive pairs.)

V2t (causative) *xammara* "to ferment, cause fermentation",

V8i (reflexive) *'ixtamara* "to ferment, be in a state of fermentation";

34

or:

V4t (causative) *'aᶜadda* "to prepare, make ready",

V10i (reflexive) *'istaᶜadda* "to prepare oneself", etc.

As against:

(Re (2):

V1t *maṣṣa* "to suck, absorb",

V8t (reflexive) *'imtaṣṣa* (refl.: 'to do for one's own profit') "to absorb", or:

V4t (causative) *'axraja* "to move out, expel, exile",

V10t (reflexive) *'istaxraja* (besides meanings quoted under V4t) "to mine, extract, recover (mineral resources); to win, gain", etc.

The boundaries between the actor-undergoer and actor-experiencer types of reflexivity have since long become blurred, but the distinction between the two seems to be the best way to account for the persistent i/t fluctuation with some types of the Arabic reflexives.

Another feature of non-specificity of the i/t indicators involved is sometimes an inherent presence of both i/t values within the same derivative, irrespective of whether it belongs to a class typically associated with transitive or with intransitive items, as in:

(3) classes typically associated with transitivity (causativity), e. g. V4i,t *'aṯrā* "to become rich, wealthy; to make rich, enrich someone", derivationally related to V1i *ṯariya* "to become wealthy", or V2 i, t *ᶜajjala* "to hurry, hasten, speed, rush, be in a hurry; to hurry, rush, urge, impel, drive", etc.;

as against:

(4) classes typically associated with intransitivity (reflexivity), as in V5i,t *taᶜajjala* (substantially the same meanings as those quoted with V2i,t *ᶜajjala* above). The atypical (transitive, causative) orientation of V5i,t *taᶜajjala* may also be seen in the following example:

*wa huwa (ᶜumdatu l-qaryati) min 'ajli ḏālika yataᶜajjalu l-xādima li-tuḥḍira lahu waḍū'ahu qabla 'an tafūtahu ṣ-ṣalātu* "That's why he (chief of the village) urges his maidservant to bring him his water for the ritual ablution before he misses the prayer" (M'AM, 184—5).

2.1.2.1 From the set of classes most immediately connected with the grammatical values of transitivity and intransitivity which further show a relatively uniform load of added connotations, special attention should be paid to those associated with causativity and, at the opposite pole of the i/t distinction, to those conveying reflexivity. Despite the fact that the actual derivational linkage between individual classes may involve very various relationships, the opposition between causativity and reflexivity is, at any rate, one of the most stable derivational reflexes of the i/t dichotomy. One of the ways in which this bipartition may actually be organized will be illustrated on the following series:

V1i,t *ᶜalima* "to know (i, t), have knowledge",

V2t (causative) *ʿallama* (to make know) "to teach",

V4t (causative) *'aʿlama* (to let know) "to inform",

V5i (reflexive) *taʿallama* (to make oneself know) "to learn",

V10i (reflexive) *'istaʿlama* (to make oneself know) "to inform oneself, to ask", etc.

As evident, the i, t ambivalence of the V1 i, t *ʿalima* is merely made irrelevant (not removed) by this new superposed transitivity through causativization which ranks, together with the i-oriented reflexivity, among the most firmly established carriers of the i/t opposition within the 2—10 (in the case of derivational extensions to Class 1 items, also within the whole 1—10) system of derivation.

Another carrier of transitivity that displays a high value of stability may be identified with Class 3 derivatives. These make the transfer of action from the agent to patient more effective by way of transforming the oblique (genitive) of the underlying phrase to the direct object accusative) with a simultaneous exclusion of any other indirect object out of the scope, as in:

V1t *kataba 'ilayhi kitāban* "he sent (lit. wrote) him a message", as against:

V3t *kātabahu* (here, the direct object represented by the postverbal suffix *-hu*) "he contacted him (by sending a message), he corresponded with him",

V6i (reflexive, mutual interaction) *takātabā* (dual) "they (two of them) maintained a correspondence", etc.

The procedure may be applied even to stative (state-reference) verbs:

V1i *xašuna* "to be rough, coarse, rude",

V3t *xāšanahu*, non-citational: "he treated him with rudeness, he was uncivil to him". Etc.

2.1.2.2 With the restrictions stated for subminimal domains of transitivity in § 1.2, the Class 2—10 derivation of verbo-nominals (verbal nouns and participles) closely parallels that of verbs both in form and related syntactic and lexical values.

For examples see e. g.:

Vn 2t (causative) *takwīnu (l-jibāli)*, derivationally related to:

V2t (causative) *kawwana* "to make, create, bring into being, form (t)" which is, in turn, related to V1i *kāna (*kawana)* "to be, to exist";

as against:

Vn 5i (reflexive) *takawwunu (l-jibāli)*, related to V5i (reflexive) *takawwana* "to come into existence, form (i), arise", as quoted in § 1.1.

Nevertheless, in view of the impossibility to expand the one-participant segments into two-participant ones, except in special and communicatively rather marginal syntactic contexts as those quoted in 1.1(2), a certain decrease in stability will be observed with verbal nouns, as against verbs, as far as the i/t distinction is concerned. In this connection a number of salient instances of neutralization, affecting the i/t distinction in verbal nouns, will be examined in the following sections of the present study.

36

2.2 Morphological indicators which in Arabic display an uncommonly high rate of overtness, formal and semantic correspondence, as well as a high degree of regularity and redundance, cannot be specifically related to the i/t distinction. Morphosyntactic markers therefore play a decisive role in this respect. Classical Arabic, as an 'accusative' (non-ergative) language with a predominant VSO arrangement (cf. § 1.1), relies, in this domain of marking, on case inflections which normally show the following distribution: S (nominative) — O (accusative):

Type:  *kataba*  *r-rajulu*  *kitāban*
       wrote    the man    a letter

V: perfective 3rd pers.  S: def., nominative  O: indef., accusative
   sing. masc.

"The man wrote a letter".

In Classical Arabic, the O may still occur in a pre-S position without resorting to cross-referential indexing in the verb which is normally required in topical (thematic) reconstructions of word-order (see below). The following Koranic examples show the object in pre-subject position:

*'innamā yaxšā llāha min ʿibādihi l-ʿulamā'u* (35:28)
       V        O — acc.   S — nom.

"Siehe Allah (acc.) liebt von seinen Dienern nur die Gelehrtenwelt (nom.)."[9]
A regular, even if not quite identical (thematized O) construction with a cross-referenced verb would be: *'inna llāha yaxšāhu (min ʿibādihi) l-ʿulamā'u* "It is God who is really feared by scholars (from among His worshippers)". The OVS structure involves a thematized O (acc.), a S (nom.) and a V with an object-referring pronominal suffix *-hu*. It should be noted, however, that the accusative of the thematized O does not operate here as a morphosyntactic marker, because it is uniquely due to the emphatic particle *'inna* (cf. the English Biblical 'behold'), viz. *'allāhu* (nom.) *yaxšāhu l-ʿulamā'u* (nom.) (*min ʿibādihi*). Of course, a thematic SVO arrangement would equally be possible: *'inna l-ʿulamā'a* (S: *'inna* — acc.) *yaxšā llāha* (O: acc.) (*min ʿibādihi*). Or:

*wa 'id 'ibtalā 'ibrāhīma rabbuhu* (2:124) "Als (den) Abraham sein Herr auf die Probe stellte" (viz., V, O:acc., S:nom.).

On the other hand, analytic Arabic (colloquial variants), devoid of case and verbal mood markers, does not tolerate a pre-S location of the O. As a typical SVO structure (as against the Classical Arabic VSO), it does not accept thematic rearrangements in terms of OSV unless being cross-referenced on the verb, as in (Egyptian Arabic):

---

[9] Both Koranic examples, given in § 4.2, as well as their German translations, are requoted after Fück, J.: *Arabīya. Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprach- und Stilgeschichte.* Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1950, p. 2.

SVO: *'ilwalad katab iddars*  — OSV: *'iddars ilwalad katabu*
"The boy wrote the lesson"  (lit.: "The lesson, the boy
wrote it").[10]

3. Apart from a derivational marking which is a synthetic procedure there is, in Arabic, another one which consists in producing analytical (transitive) constructions from the underlying synthetic (intransitive) ones. The difference between morphologically and syntactically marked transitivity which affects, in Arabic, the very concept of transitivity and the way it has to be interpreted, will be discussed later.

The most currently occurring transitivizer in syntactic constructions should be identified with the analytical element *bi-* (coinciding with a delocalized and deinstrumentalized preposition *bi-*):

$$Vi + bi- + NP = Vt + bi- + O .$$

The S-participant, as invariably present at both the input and output stages of the procedure, is not here explicitly symbolized. The NP has to be identified with a noun and its potential modifiers or with an O-referring postaverbally appended pronominal suffix, as in:

Vi *dahaba* "to go (*'ilā* to); to travel (*'ilā* to); to go away, leave, depart",

Vt *dahaba bihi 'ila l-madīnati*

(where V = perfective, 3rd pers. sing., masc.; *-hi* = morphonological alternant of *-hu:* here postprepositional O-referring suffix with both a person- and object-reference, 3rd pers. sing., masc.; *'ilā* = prep. local (directional); *al-madīnati* = definite noun in genitive as an invariably postprepositional case).

(1) "he carried it to the city", and

(2) "he led (accompanied, escorted, etc.) him to the city".

Similarly:

Vi *xaraja* "to go out, walk out; to go away, depart, leave",

Vt *xaraja bihi* in e. g.: *xaraja bihi mina l-madīnati* (see above; *mina* = contextual variant of the prep. *min* "from, out of")

(3) "he brought (got, took) it from the city", and

(4) "he moved (turned) him out (expelled him) from the city".

The (1)/(2) and (3)/(4) is uniquely due to the double reference of the pronominal suffix and to a relatively general lexical meaning of the verbs used and there is no connection whatsoever between it and between any type of transitivity marking.

3.1 Despite the fact that transitivity is here treated as an element of a two-value opposition, some notions of ranking cannot be fully dispensed with. When comparing both parallel ways of transitivity marking, morphological and syntactic,

---

[10] Hanna, H. Morcos: *The Phrase Structure of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. The Hague—Paris, Mouton 1967, pp. 42—43. Hanna speaks here about a subject-reference and an object-reference inflection of the verb.

twofold differences will be observed. In morphosyntax, for the O (accusative), associated with morphological markers, a *bi*-O (genitive) is substituted in connection with syntactic transitivizers. A substantial difference may also be observed in the semantic background of transitivity. When regarding transitivity as a transfer of action from an agent to a patient,[11] we see that the effectiveness of this transfer is, in syntactically marked contexts of transitivity, considerably reduced in comparison with constructions involving morphological transitivizers. The difference between the two may be clarified by the following parallel:

(1) morphological marking:

(the derivational basis should be identified with the V1i

*xaraja* "to go out, go away, depart, leave")

V2t (causative) *xarraja,* and

V4t (causative) *'axraja* "to move out, take out, dislodge (s. o., s. th.), to turn out, oust, expel (s. o., s. th.)";

as against:

(2) syntactic marking:

*xaraja bihi* (see § 3 above).

While, in the former case (1), we have to do with transferring an action which is merely due to a non-participative stimulus on the part of the actor, viz. *xarrajahu* or *'axrajahu* "he expelled him (but himself stayed)", in the latter case (2), the actor immediately participates in the action transferred, as far as the semantic contours of all individual constituents of the transitivity context permit it, viz. *xaraja bihi* "he expelled him (by leading him away, escorting him, etc.)". In the former case we will speak of a non-participative, in the latter case, of a participative transfer.

The semantic side of the whole transitivity context (minimally defined as a VSO) plays a decisive role in distinguishing between

(2.1) participative, and

(2.2) non-participative transfers.

Generally, the feature of participativeness in transitive constructions marked by *bi-* is made possible by an underlying associative value of *bi-* "with" which stands very close to that of the co-ordinator *wa* "and".

Specially, the latter feature in, say, *dahaba bihi* "he led him away", depends on an equal relatability of both the S (or, better, agent) and O (patient) to the action referred to in the V. This relational equivalence could be, in this case, semantically presented in terms like: S, O are walkers; possess an ability for walking, etc. In cases like *dahaba bihi* "he carried it away", the latter feature depends on an unilaterally stated relation between an agent — 'walker' and a patient semantically related to it as an entity which may be, in some way, affected by what is lexically coded in the verb as 'walking', 'going away', etc. or by what is associated with it.

---

[11] Cf. the study quoted in note 1.

The feature of what we call participativeness (or reduced transitivity), in syntactically marked *bi*-constructions, may best be seen in two-participant transitivity contexts the V of which is a verb of motion to which both participants, or at least one of them, are related in the sense exposed above.

Some examples:

Vi *māda* "to be moved, shaken, upset, shocked; to sway; to swing",[12]

Vt *māda bi (hi)* "to shake s.th. violently"; e. g.:

*'aw tamīdu bihi l-'arḍu ḥattā yaẓunnuhu xasfan* (*Muq.*, 347) (freely translated in terms of the English Vi "to shake":) "Or the earth shakes, so that he (the treasure hunter) believes that he will be swallowed up" (Ros., II, 320);

Vi *'intahā 'ilā* "to get to",

Vt *'intahā bi (hi) ('ilā)* "to lead, lead up, gring (s. o./here s. th./to)", e. g.: *fa-kāna 'aḥabba l-la'ibi 'ilayhi ('ilā ṣāḥibinā) 'an yajma'a ṭā'ifatan mina l-ḥadīdi wa yantahiya bihā zāwiyatan mina l-bayti* (*al-'Ayyām,* 23) "His (our friend's) favoured pastime consisted in gathering a collection of metal pieces and in bringing them (finally) to a corner of the house".

3.2 When the S equals an abstract or any other noun which is semantically incommensurable with the basic lexical meaning of the V (which coincides, for the most part, with a verb of 'motion') in the sense exposed in 3.1 above, the feature of participativeness cannot be accounted for in terms of a semantic relationship, as in:

relevant constituents:

S *ġalb, ġalab* "victory",

Vt *ḏahaba bi(hi)* where the basic 'motional' meaning is already slightly restated, viz. "to cause to go away, to make disappear, remove", e. g.:

*wa ġalbu 'aḥadi l-mutanāfiyayni yaḏhabu bi-l-munāfī l-'āxari* (*Muq.*, 337) "The victory of one of the two rivals causes the disappearance of the other" (Ros., II. 298); or:

S *mukūs* "custom duties",

Vi *'āda* "to return, go back, revert",

Vt *'āda bi (hi)* ("to return with", viz.) "to lead back, bring back, return, revert s. o. or s. th. (*'ilā* to)", e. g.:

*wa l-mukūsu ta'ūdu 'ilā l-biyā'āti bi-l-ġalā'i* (*Muq.*, 335) "The custom duties raise the sales (prices)" (Ros., II, 293).

The degree of semantic reinterpretation of the underlying concept of 'motion' may be so complete that there is virtually no semantic difference whatsoever between a derivationally and a syntactically marked Vt. One such pair will be given in what follows on the contrastive background of a Vi:

Vi *ḏahaba* "to go away, disappear", e. g.:

*wa 'iḏā ḏahabat 'āmāluhum fī 'iktisābihā wa taḥṣīlihā 'inqabaḍat 'aydīhim 'ani*

---

[12] See note 7.

s-sa$^c$yi fī dālika (Muq., 255) "When the incentive to acquire and obtain property is gone, people no longer make efforts to acquire any" (Ros., II. 103);

Vt marked derivationally:

'adhaba "to make disappear, remove", e. g.: wa yudhibu mālahu bi-l-xiyānati[13] (Muq., 346) "he will defraud him and deprive him of his property" (Ros., II, 318—9; lit.: 'he will make dissappear his property by defrauding him');

Vt marked syntactically:

dahaba bi (hi) as well as the participial dāhibun bi (hi), e. g.:

talaqqā (wajhuhu) fī dalika l-waqti hawā'an fīhi šay'un mina l-bardi l-xafīfi lladī lam tadhab bihi harāratu š-šamsi (al-'Ayyām, 3) "(His face) met at that time an air maintaining some light traces of coolness not yet removed by the heat of the sun" (lit.: '...that the heat of the sun did not remove'), or:

'i$^c$lam 'anna l-$^c$udwāna $^c$alā n-nāsi fī 'amwālihim dāhibun bi-'āmālihim fī tahsīlihā wa-ktisābihā (Muq., 255) "It should be known that attacks on people's property remove the incentive to acquire and gain any" (Ros., II, 103), etc.

3.3 The same transitivizing effect may be obtained in terms of Vn i + bi + NP = Vn t + bi + O, as in:

V5i (reflexive) taqallaba "to roll, be rolled (over); to move, to travel around",

V5t taqallaba bi (hi) "to transfer, carry around", as also

Vn 5t taqallub bi (hi) "transferring, carrying around", e. g.:

'immā bi-t-taqallubi bihā fī l-bilādi 'aw... (Muq., 345) "(merchants can make such profit) either by travelling around with (the merchandise) in (various) countries, or..." (Ros., II, 316; here an intransitive featuring is preferred with an associative interpretation of bi-).

Similarly:

wa hādā kamā waqa$^c$a li-s-saljūqiyyati fī $^c$udūlihim bi-kursiyyihim $^c$an bagdāda 'ilā 'asbahāna (Muq., 338 ) "This happened to the Saljūqs when they moved their seat of government from Baghdad to Isfahān" (Ros., II, 299), etc.

3.4 Constructions involving bi-transitivizers may, in some cases, undergo far-reaching processes of lexicalization which may, to a considerable degree, disfigure the underlying semantic relationship (centred around the notion of 'participation' in the action transferred), e. g.:

Vi qāma "to stand",

Vt qāma bi (hi) "to perform, do carry out".

Some of these lexicalizations have even led, in Colloquial Arabic, to root reconstructions, as in (Egyptian Arabic):

Vt gāb (root: g — y — b) "to bring", backed up with the Classical jā'a bi (hi) (root: j — y —') "to bring; to bring forth, produce" (viz., 'to come with').

Furthermore, the underlying semantic relationship may also be obscured by

---

[13] Of course, the preposition bi- is here used instrumentally, as obvious from the form (V4t), as well as from the semantic relationship between relevent constituents.

processes of idiomatization. The transitive or intransitive status of idiomatized *bi*-constructions may become a mere matter of interpretation, as in:

*ḍāqa* "to be or become narrow",

*ḍāqa bi (hi)* "to become too narrow, too confined (*bi* to)" (W, 548); or, freely paraphrased in transitive terms: 'to induce someone into troubles, annoyances; to harass, importune s. o.', in e. g.: *ḍāqat bihi l-'arḍu* "to be at a loss, be at one's wit's end", or in *ḍāqat bihi l-ḥayātu* "life depressed him, he had a bad time, he was bad off" (W, 548—9), etc.

Or in:

*ṭāla* "to be or become long; to last long"

*ṭāla bi (hi)* in e. g.: *ṭāla bihi z-zamanu ḥattā*... "it took a long time before he ..." (viz., 'the time lasted long together with him (as an experiencer of this length)', 'the time affected him by its length', etc.) (W, 575).

3.5 The extent of interpretational ambiguity, inherent in *bi*-constructions, has so far involved two functions of *bi-*:

(1) associative: "with" (*jā'a bihi* 'he came with it'), and

(2) transitive: (*jā'a bihi* 'he brought it').

Apart from these two values which constitute the most serious source of ambiguity in *bi*-constructions, the general picture may further be obscured by a number of other prepositional meanings potentially associated with *bi-*, mostly:

(3) local, as in *yuqīmu bi-l-qāhirati* "he resides in Cairo", and

(4) instrumental, e. g. *yaktubu bi-qalamin* "he writes with a pen".

The following example should illustrate an interpretational variation 'local'/'transitive'.

Relevant constituents:

V8i (reflexive) *'ftaṣama* (*bi-* should be, in this case, interpreted 'locally') "to seek shelter or refuge (*bi* with, in), take refuge, resort (*bi* to)",

or:

V8t *'ftaṣama* (*bi-* should be, in this case, identified with a lexically neutral 'transitivizer') "to keep up, maintain, guard, preserve (*bi-* s. th.)".

Both these interpretations are substantially possible in:

*fa-yaʿtaṣimu (l-maliku) bi-ḏālika l-miṣri wa yuġālibuhum* (*Muq.*, 310) "He (the king) fortifies himself in the city and fights them (from there)" (Ros., II, 237).

In contrast to this reflexive presentation, a 'non-participative' transitivity would produce a slightly restated version of the latter: "He holds (defends, guards) the city and fights them".

3.5.1 A 'non-participative' *bi*-transitivity in the reflexively featured V's and Vn's is frequently represented in Modern Written Arabic as well. The following quotation will contain two such cases.

Relevant material:

V10i (reflexive) *'istamarra* "to go on, continue, persist" — Vn10 *'istimrār*,

V10i (reflexive) + *bi (hi)* = V10t (causative) "to cause to continue, to make persist",

(illustrated on Vn10):

(1) *al-'istimrāru bi-'intāji...* "maintaining the continuity of production..." (lit. 'causing to continue the production...'),

and:

V1t *rafaᶜa* "to raise" — Vn *rafᶜ*,

V8i (reflexive) *'irtafaᶜa* "to rise" — Vn *'irtifāᶜ*,

V8i (reflexive) *'irtafaᶜa + bi (hi)* = V8t (causative) = V1t (illustrated on Vn8):

(2) *al-'irtifāᶜu bi-muᶜaddalātihi* "raise (raising) of its average amounts", as occurring in:

*wa 'atbatat kawādiruhā l-wataniyyatu kafā'atahā l-ᶜāliyata wa qudratahā l-xallā-qata fi l-'istimrāri bi-'intāji wa taswīqi n-nafti l-xāmi l-ᶜirāqiyyi wa-l-'irtifāᶜi bi-mu-ᶜaddalātihi (as-Sabāh, July 18, 1980: al-ᶜirāq aš-šaqīq yahtafil bi-tawrat 17 tammūz)* "Its national cadres have confirmed their high-level competence and creative powers in maintaining the continuity of the production and marketing of the Iraqi crude oil as well as in raising its average amounts".

4. Despite the fact that there is a geat variety of derivational indicators of transitivity and intransitivity — which are further completed by some syntactic devices (see § 3 above) — lexical means may as well play, in Arabic, an important role in this respect. As they invariably coincide with autonomous word units, they mostly come to signal the i, t values secondarily, by way of indicating grammatical values that have a more immediate lexical rendering than transitivity and intransitivity. For the former, such a value coincides with causativity while, for the latter, with reflexivity. In the following we will briefly survey a number of outstanding cases of

(1) transitivity signalled by lexical causativizers, as well as those of

(2) intransitivity signalled by lexical reflexivizers.

Lexical carriers of the i, t values, even if not totally devoid of their lexical meaning, will be here contrastively called (lexical) functors, as against carriers of the basic lexical meaning which will be referred to as (lexical) core.

Type: *yafᶜalu-hu yufakkiru* "he makes him think; he induces

      functor     core         him to thinking"

The functor-core relationship may involve, in the functor position, a variety of i, t signalling items with a relatively very varying share in the lexical modification of the core.

4.1 The notion of 'signalling transitivity' by way of causativizers should be understood with some limitations for the latter procedure need not lead, in a number of instances, to any changes in the underlying i, t values of the respective core elements or even a functor may have no core counterpart to be related to, at all. Lexical causativizer may be related to the core elements represented by:

(1) zero V's,

(2) Vi's, Vt's and related Vn's, and

(3) Vi's (reflexive), in a non-recurrent causativity,

Vt's (causative), in a recurrent causativity,

with Vn's:

ideally (see below):

Vn's (reflexive), in a non-recurrent causativity,

Vn's (causative), in a recurrent causativity,

actually (see below):

Vn's (reflexive, causative), in a non-recurrent causativity,

Vn's (causative), in a recurrent causativity.

4.1.1 Since zero-V's necessarily involve a zero change in the i/t orientation, the procedure has no impact on transitivization. This case may take place in lexically causativized non-verbal sentences, like:

*al-luġatu l-ᶜarabiyyatu (hiya) l-luġatu r-rasmiyyatu* "Arabic is an official language" causativized, in what follows, by way of a V *jaᶜala* "to make, bring about" and its Vn *jaᶜl*:

*jaᶜalū l-luġata l-ᶜarabiyyata l-luġata r-rasmiyyata* "they promoted ('made') Arabic to an official language" (the last term is definite, in Arabic: '... to the official language'),

*jaᶜlu l-luġati l-ᶜarabiyyati l-luġata r-rasmiyyata*[14] "the promotion of Arabic to an official language" (*aṭ-Ṯawra*, June 22, 1975 : *ᶜām at-taᶜrīb fi l-jazā'ir wa mukāfaḥat al-'ummiyya*).

4.1.2 Since the i/t distinction, unrelated to the reflexive-causative dichotomy, does not display relevant interactions with lexical causativizers, no change in the i/t orientation of the causativized core elements occur:

| | |
|---|---|
| functor (Vt) — core (Vi): | *jaᶜalahu yufakkiru* "he made him think, he induced him to thinking", |
| functor (Vt) — core (Vt): | *jaᶜalahu yaktubu (kitāban)* "he made him write (a letter)". |

4.1.3 In contradistinction to both preceding cases, the i/t distinction in the core elements which may be related to the reflexive-causative dichotomy, shows relevant interactions with lexical causativizers. These interactions, reflected in pleonastic constructions of the present day journalistic Arabic, may be stated in terms of the following functor-core relationships:

(the functor causative should, of course, be identified with a lexical causative, while the core constituent with a non-lexically conveyed causative or reflexive)

(1) Vt (causative) — Vi (reflexive): non-recurrent[15]

---

[14] The *-a* inflections, in the examples quoted (viz., *al-luġata r-rasmiyyata*), coincide with accusative, while the *-u* and *-i*, with nominative and genitive respectively.

Type: (V1t — V5i) *ja<sup>c</sup>alahu yatahawwalu* "he made him change";

(2) Vt (causative) — Vt (causative): recurrent

Type: (V1t — V2t) *ja<sup>c</sup>alahu yuhawwiluhu* "he made him change it".

With Vn's where the feature of causativity and reflexivity is frequently neutralized (see § 5 in what follows) the functor-core relationship yields a somewhat complicated picture:

(3) Ideal representation, exclusive of variations due to the Vn (causative/reflexive) neutralization:

(3.1) Vn (causative) — Vn (reflexive): Non-recurrent

Type: (Vn2 — Vn5) *tahqīqu t-tatawwuri* ('realization of the development') in:

*(min'ahdāfi l-xuttati l-xamsiyyati): tahqīqu t-tatawwuri l-mutaqābili bayna s-sinā<sup>c</sup>ati wa-z-zirā<sup>c</sup>ati* "(from among targets of the Five Year Plan): carrying into effect a parallel development of industry and agriculture" (*as-Sabāh*);

(3.2) Vn (causative) — Vn (causative): recurrent

Type: (Vn4—Vn2) *'ijrā'u ('ihdātu) tagyīri (l-haykali l-'iqtisādiyyi)* "bringing about (producing, provoking) a change of the economic structure". Fortunately for Arabic, the latter type of recursive pleonasms is mostly shortened by way of circumstancializers cutting across the recurrent string of causativity (see (4.1) below).

Unfortunately, however, some core constituents may, in this way of presenting functor—core relationships, semantically coincide with functor- rather than core-type constituents, as in:

Type: (Vn4—Vn4) *'ijrā'u 'izālati l-mulūhati* "carrying out desalting (chem.)", etc.

(4) Actual representation, inclusive of neutralization phenomena:

(4.1) Vn (causative) — Vn (causative/reflexive): non-recurrent

Type: (Vn2—Vn2/Vn5) *tahqīqu t-tatawwuri/t-tatwīri*

For a (Vn2—Vn5) see (3) above.

Type: (Vn4—Vn2) *'ijrā'u tagyīrātin* ('bringing about, carrying out changes'): *wa ya<sup>c</sup>malu <sup>c</sup>irāqu t-tawrati l-'āna <sup>c</sup>alā 'ijrā'i tagyīrātin jidriyyatin fī haykalihi l-'iqtisādiyyi (as-Sabāh)* "The revolutionary Iraq works on the enforcement of radical change in its economic structure"; or:

Type: (Vn4 — Vn2) *'ihdātu tagyīrātin* ('bringing about, provoking changes'): *'ihdātu tagyīrātin jāddatin wa jidriyyatin li-sālihi šu<sup>c</sup>ūbi d-duwali l-muntijati li-n-*

---

[15] The terms 'recurrent' and 'non-recurrent' are here somewhat improperly applied to define the extent of causativity in what we call functor—core relationship. Such cases of causativity are here called recurrent the core constituent of which is itself a causative, able to prolong (despite its core characteristics) the concatenation of causativity one step forward. The 'recurrence' is, then, understood as a backward running concatenation of causativity starting from this post-core constituent. Beyond this special application of these terms, any type of causativity is invariably 'recurrent' (type: *ja<sup>c</sup>alahu yaf<sup>c</sup>alu zamīlahu yuhawwilu l-qitāra* "he made him make his friend to shift the train", etc.).

*nafṭi (aṣ-Ṣabāḥ)* "producing serious and radical changes to the benefit of the people of the oil-producing countries".

(4.2) Vn (causative) — Vn (causative): recurrent (see (3.2) above).

4.2 Reflexivity may likewise be signalled by lexical indicators co-occurring with derivational devices and, in a sense, competing with them. The most commonly used lexical reflexivizer is *nafs* ('soul') "personal identity, self" (W, 985), as in:

*wa min ḏālika l-waqti ḥarrama (ṣāḥibunā) ʿalā nafsihi 'alwānan mina ṭ-ṭaʿāmi (al-'Ayyām,* 19) "And since then (our friend) denied himself various kinds of food".

Reflexivity is here conveyed by a lexically reflexivized causative of the type: V2t (causative) — medial (experiencer-centred) reflexive *(ʿalā) nafsihi.*

An experiencer-centred reflexivity seems to be, in this case, associated with an actually transitive V8 *'iḥtarama* (viz., 'to proscribe something to oneself', estimatively restated in 'to consider s. th. as prohibited for o. s.'=) "to honor, revere, venerate, esteem, respect".

Since a lexically non-manipulated experiencer-centred interpretation does not coincide with any of the derivational classes possibly associated with this verb, the above quoted lexical periphrase seems to be thereby justified.

An actor-centred reflexivity may be periphrased in sentences like: *wa hiya tafzaʿu 'ilā l-mūsīqā li-tašġula nafsahā ʿan nafsihā* (M'AM, 10) "She takes refuge to music in order to forget her inner problems" (lit. 'to divert herself from herself'), etc.

In attributive periphrases, mostly the reflexive adjective *ḏātī,* as in:

*ḥukm ḏātī* "self-government",

*naqd ḏātī* "self-criticism",

*tafrīġ ḏātī* "self-discharge", etc. (Khatib, 536).

4.2.1 The general tendency towards redundant phrasing, in Arabic, leads to a number of pleonastic constructions where the derivational reflexivity combines with lexical reflexivizers with or without an intervening neutralization of the underlying reflexive value.

4.2.1.1 The former case may be represented by the following correspondence:

V (Vn) (reflexive) + *bi-*causativizer + *nafs*-reflexivizer = V (Vn) (reflexive).

In the i, t terms, this would give the following equivalence:

V(Vn)i + t + i = V(Vn)i, as in:

relevant data:

V7i (reflexive) *'infarada* "to be alone; to do alone; to stand alone; to withdraw, segregate, walk away (*ʿan* from)" (W, 703),

Vn7 (reflexive) *'infirād* "isolation, seclusion".

Type: V(Vn)7i (reflexive) + *bi* + *nafs* (+ actor-referring pron. suf.) *'infarada bi-nafsihi ʿani n-nāsi* "he withdrew (from the people)".

The same holds for the corresponding Vn:

*al-'infirādu bi-nafsihi (ʿani n-nāsi)* "keeping away, seclusion (from the people)".

Without the lexical reflexivizer *nafs,* the Vn7 (reflexive) + *bi* + NP construction would display a transitive (causative) orientation, as in:

*al-'infirādu bi-(l-majdi)* "claiming (all the glory) for himself".

Both cases will be clarified by the following quotation:

*fa-'iḏā rasaxa ᶜizzuhu wa ṣāra (al-maliku) 'ilā l-'infirādi bi-l-majdi wa-ḥtāja 'ilā l-'infirādi bi-nafsihiᶜani n-nāsi li-l-ḥadīṯi maᶜa 'awliyā'ihi fī xawāṣṣi šu'ūnihi (Muq.,* 259) "Then, when his power is firmly established, he comes to claim all the glory for himself. He needs to keep away from the people and to remain aloof with his friends, in order to be able to talk with them about his special (private) affairs" (Ros., II, 111—2).

4.2.1.1.1 The additively oriented linearity of the equivalence i+t+i=i means that, in the example quoted, the Vn7 (reflexive) + *bi*-causative + *nafs*-reflexive = Vn7 (reflexive), i. e. *al-'infirād bi-nafsihi = al-'infirād.*

The full lexical equivalence of both items may be confirmed by the following quotation:

*wa-ḥtāja (l-maliku 'ilā l-'infirādi bi-nafsihiᶜani n-nāsi li-l-ḥadīṯi maᶜa 'awliya'iḥi fī xawāṣṣi šu'ūnihi* (see above) *li-mā yakṯuru ḥīna'iḏin man bi-ḥāšiyatihi fa-yaṭlubu l-'infirāda ᶜani l-ᶜāmmati mā-staṭāᶜa (Muq.,* 259) "... (see above) since his following has by then become large. Therefore, he (the king) seeks to keep away from the common people as much as possible" (Ros., II, 112). Etc.
Similarly:

Vi *najā* "to save oneself, be saved" = Vi *najā bi-nafsihi (rūḥihi),* as well as with the corresponding Vn *najāh* "escape, flight, salvation" = *najāh bi-nafsihi (rūḥihi)* (W, 946), etc.

4.2.1.1.1.1 When disregarding the tautological i=i, the remaining two equivalences, notably i + t = t and i + t + i = i, may be diagrammed as follows:

| (1) | *al-'infirād* | *bi-(l-majdi)* | (see 4.2.1.1 above) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | intransitive reflexive | | |

transitive
causative

47

| (2) al-'infirād | bi-nafsihi (ʿani n-nāsi) | (see ibidem) |
|---|---|---|
| intransitive reflexive | | |
| transitive causative | | |
| intransitive reflexive | | |

4.2.1.2 Another type of pleonastic reflexives which do not involve intermediate transitivizer, may result from a combination of a derivational with a lexical reflexivity indicator, as in:

Vn5 (reflexive) *tasammum* + (lexical reflexivizer) *ḏātī* "self-poisoning" (ʿAHT, 66). Etc.

5. When disregarding cases of a lexically coded and, for that matter, largely unpredictable neutralization of the i/t distinction like that displayed by the verbal derivatives quoted in § 2.12 (3) and (4), there is still another one which deserves special attention. The latter type of neutralization is specifically associated with Vn's, as against V's, and affects the i, t values through another set of properties of their lexical carriers which coincides here with the binary opposition of reflexivity and causativity, respectively.

In order to find a common denominator for both intransitivity-reflexivity and transitivity-causativity, we shall speak, in the former case, about 'spontaneity' or 'spontaneous action' (s) while, in the latter case, about 'conditioning' or 'conditioned action' (c). The s/c distinction, unless being neutralized, is overtly indicated in Arabic and may be illustrated on pairs, or even larger series of Vn derivatives, like:

c-oriented Vn2 (causative) *taḥwīl* "version" (of foetus, in obstetrics, with reference to external factors, e. g. to the obstetrician (Cairo 2, 142)), in contrast to the

s-oriented Vn5 (reflexive) *taḥawwul* "version" (of foetus with reference to itself (ibid.)).

Or, for larger sets of derivatives:

c-oriented Vn2 (causative) *taxmīr* "fermentation", derivationally related to V2t (causative) *xammara* "to ferment (s. th.), cause fermentation", as against

s-oriented pair:

Vn5 (reflexive) *taxammur* "fermentation", derivationally related to V5i (reflexive) *taxammara* "to ferment, be in a state of fermentation", and

48

Vn8 (reflexive) *'ixtimār* (see Vn5 above), related to V8i (reflexive) *'ixtamara* (see V5i above).

5.1 The destabilization of the i/t or, alternatively, s/c distinction may be confirmed by frequent cases of paronomasia where the Vn pattern differs from the V pattern in their respective s/c orientation, as in:

relevant data:

c-oriented Vn2 (causative) *taḥlīl* "dissolution, decomposition, analysation", derivationally related to V2t (causative) *ḥallala* "to dissolve, decompose, analyse",

s-oriented Vn5 (reflexive) *taḥallul* "dissolution, etc.", related to V5i (reflexive) *taḥallala* "to dissolve (i), etc.".

... *ḥattā tataḥallala ʿalyāfuhā (ʾalyāfu l-luḥūmi) taḥlīlan ġayra ḍārrin bi-ṣ-ṣiḥḥati* (ʿAHT, 211) "... until its fibres (fibres of meat) dissolve in a way that is no longer harmful to the health".

5.2 The destabilization of the s/c distinction with Vn's leads to undue alternations of the type:

Vn2 (causative) *takwīn*/Vn5 (reflexive) *takawwun*

The c-oriented *takwīn* "formation", as a constitutive part of a great variety of terms, frequently occurs in various s-contexts where no reference to communicatively relevant external stimuli is made and where it alternates with the s-oriented *takawwun,* as in:

*takwīn an-nuṭayfāt* (definition of the term *'inṭāf*) "spermatogenesis" (Cairo, 2, 118), as against e. g.:

*takawwun ad-dam* "haematosis" (Cairo, 1, 295), or

*takawwun al-ʿiẓām* "osteogenesis" (Cairo, 2, 111; here occurring in a longer term: *takawwun al-ʿiẓām an-nāqiṣ* "osteogenesis imperfecta"), etc.

Similarly:

*taḥwīl (tamṭīl)* — *taḥawwul giḏaʾī* (with prevalence of the c-oriented *taḥwīl (tamṭīl)* "metabolism" (ʿAHT, 66, 190, 191, etc.),

*tamaṭṭul (ġiḏāʾī)* "assimilation" (Rabat, 5, 10),

*(at-)tamṭīl* "assimilation" (Cairo, 2, 181),

*tamṭil, tamaṭṭul* "assimilation (biol.)" (Khatib, 31), etc.

Or:

*taskīr* — *tasakkur,* as constitutive element of *as-sukkariyyāt waḥīdat at-taskīr* "mono-saccharides" (ʿAHT 203, 204) co-occurring with *as-sukkariyyāt waḥīdat at-tasakkur* (idem, ibid., 174, 184, etc.), as well as with *as-sukkariyyāt aṯ-ṯunāʾiyyat (ʿadīdat) at-taskīr/at-tasakkur* "di-(poly) saccharides" (ibid., many occurrences), etc.

5.3 while with a V-related i, t distinction, the shift from a two-participant (viz., transitive) clause to a one-participant (viz., intransitive) one possesses quite sufficient distinctive power to maintain the i, t identity of the verb, nothing of the sort may happen with Vn's. These, except in communicatively atypical and marginal

cases (like those quoted in § 1.2 (2)), can never achieve an explicit two-participant representation and, accordingly, at least one participant has always to be substituted by way of a rather impressionistic evaluation of the extra-linguistic context, as a basis for determining the agent-patient relationship.

The undue s/c alternation is further stimulated by a specifically Arabic factor, notably by an uncommonly high level of overtness in signalling both poles of the s/c distinction. The latter feature is largely responsible for the impossibility to achieve ready-made abstractions of the s/c particularities in the case where these are communicatively irrelevant.

The extent of the s/c alternation is somewhat reduced by the semantic import of the lexical units themselves, as in *taqwīm al-ʿiẓām* "osteoplasty" (in surgery), for an invariably conditioned, man-stimulated process, or *'inqisām al-xalāyā* "division of cells", for a naturally spontaneous biological process.

6. The high degree of overtness in signalling the s/c distinction, as well as a great variety of the respective indicators available, leads to a certain over-abundance and superfluousness the lexicon has to cope with. A relatively effective, even if a rather spontaneous and lexicographically unsanctioned restrictive procedure has developed in the form of what we shall call 'dominant opposition' or 'dominant pair'. The usefulness of this rather intuitive notion, pointing to a pair or even a longer set of s/c constituents of a certain lexical domain which comes to be used in preference to the other carriers of this distinction, may be inferred from a number of relevant data. The concept will briefly be illustrated on the following 'dominant pair':

s-oriented: *najā* (see below)    c-oriented *'anqaḍa* (see below)

─ ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ── ──

as a dominant item from among:    as a dominant item from among:

V1i *najā* "to save o. s., be saved,    V2t *najjā* "to deliver, save, re-
be rescued, get away, escape"[16]    scue, bring to safety"

V10i *'istanjā* "to save o. s.,
V4t *'anjā* = V2t
escape, to be delivered"

reflexivized bi-transitive:    *bi*-transitive: *najā bi (hi)*
najā bi-nafsihi (§ 4.2.1.1,    see § 3)
4.2.1.1.1, 4.2.1.1.1.1)
V1i *naqiḍa* "to be saved, be res-    V1t *naqaḍa* "to deliver, save,
cued, save o. s., escape"    rescue"

─────────────

[16] See note 7.

V4t *'anqaḏa* "to deliver, save, res-
cue; to salvage, recover"

V10t *'istanqaḏa* = V4t

6.1 The preferred restriction to *najā — 'anqaḏa* is particularly well represented in the lexical domain of Vn's (Vn1 *najāh —* Vn4 *'inqāḏ*), as might be observed in the following s-, c-series:

s-series:
*qārib an-najāh* "rescue boat";
*ḥizām an-najāh* "safety belt"
*ṭawq an-najāh* "life buoy"

c-series:
*ᶜamaliyyat al-'inqāḏ* "rescue operation";
*firqat al-'inqāḏ* "rescue team";
*muḥāwalat al-'inqāḏ* "rescue attempt", etc. (Schregle, 957)


ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED

| | |
|---|---|
| Cairo | — *Majmūᶜat al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-ᶜilmiyya wa-l-fanniyya allatī 'aqarrahā al-majmaᶜ*, Vols 1—3. Cairo, Majmaᶜ al-luġa al-ᶜarabiyya (Academy of Arabic Language) 1957, 1960 and 1962, resp. |
| Rabat | — *Muṣṭalaḥāt al-juġrāfiyā wa-l-falak fi-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜāmm* (Terminology of Geography and Astronomy in Public Education), No. 1, and *Muṣṭalaḥāt ᶜilm aṣ-ṣiḥḥa wa jism al-'insān fi-t-taᶜlīm al-ᶜāmm* (Terminology of Health and the Human Body in Public Education), No 5. League of Arab States. Education, Culture and Sciences Organization (Coordination Bureau of Arabisation, Rabat). Casablanca, Dar El Kitab 1977. |
| Khatib | — Al-Khatib, Ahmed Sh.: *A New Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Terms. English-Arabic.* Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1971. |
| Schregle | — Schregle, G.: *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch* (German-Arabic Dictionary). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1963—1974. |
| W | — Wehr, H.: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic.* Edited by J. M. Cowan. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1971. The English equivalents are given in full or in somewhat reduced quotations. The transcription is slightly modified in accordance with the system of writing adopted in the present study. All MWA lexical material, unless explicitly attributed to other sources, is taken from Wehr, irrespective of whether the source is explicitly indicated or not. |
| *al-'Ayyām* . | — Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *al-'Ayyām* (The Days). Fourth edition. Cairo, Maṭbaᶜat lajnat at-ta'līf wa-t-tarjama wa-n-našr 1936. |
| M'AM | — Ṭāhā Ḥusayn: *Min 'adabinā l-muᶜāṣir* (From Our Contemporary Literature). Cairo, aš-Šarika al-ᶜarabiyya li-ṭ-ṭibāᶜa wa-n-našr 1958. |
| Muq. | — Ibn Khaldūn: *al-Muqaddima* (recent Egyptian edition based on the critical text edited by Lajnat al-bayān al-ᶜarabī, under the supervision of Professor ᶜAlī ᶜAbdalwāḥid al-Wāfī. Cairo, Dār aš-šaᶜb (non-dated)). |
| Ros. | — Rosenthal, Franz: Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah.* An Introduction to History. Translated from the Arabic by F. R. Three volumes. First Printing 1958. Second Edition 1967. Published for Bollingen Foundation. New York—Princeton, Princeton University Press 1967. |

51

| | |
|---|---|
| <sup>c</sup>AHṬ | — <sup>c</sup>Azmī, Sulaymān: *<sup>c</sup>Alā hāmiš aṭ-ṭibb* (Sidenotes of Medicine). Cairo, Dār al-qalam 1961. |
| | Dailies: |
| *aṣ-Ṣabāḥ* | — *aṣ-Ṣabāḥ* (Tunis), July 18, 1980 (*al-<sup>c</sup>irāq aš-šaqīq yaḥtafil bi-ṯawrat 17 tammūz*). |
| *aṯ-Ṯawra* | — *aṯ-Ṯawra* (Baghdad), June 22, 1975 (*<sup>c</sup>ām at-ta<sup>c</sup>rīb wa mukāfaḥat al-'ummiyya*). |

| | |
|---|---|
| i | — *intransitive, intransitively, intrasitivity;* |
| t | — *transitive, transitively, transitivity;* |
| s | — *spontaneous, spontaneity;* |
| c | — *conditioned, conditioning;* |
| V | — *verb;* |
| S | — *subject;* |
| O | — *object;* |
| VS, VSO, VOS, SVO, OSV | — word-order patterns; |
| V(Vn)4t | — the number quoted with V, Vn symbols indicates the derivational class membership (see § 2.1 (1)—(2)); |
| C | — C, in presenting derivational patterns, symbolizes a consonant, as in e. g. *taCCīC*, a Vn2 patern consisting of a prefix ta- and three root-constituting consonants with a long vowel (/ī/) between the second and the third radical, e. g. *ta<sup>c</sup>līm* "instruction", *takwīn* "formation", etc. |

# SOME REMARKS ON "LITERATURE OF THE SCARS" IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (1977—1979)

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

The aim of this article is to point out on the basis of the literary and comparative analysis of a few short stories the most important traits of the "literature of the scars", one of the phenomena of Chinese literature of the late 1970s.

1

This kind of literature made its appearance in the People's Republic of China rather unexpectedly. At least, that is how it may seem to many students of literature interested in literary history after the year 1949. But a more systematic study of the political situation, of party documents and pronouncements by official representatives of the political, cultural life and literary critics will make this phenomenon quite comprehensible. In some respects, this literature meant a surprise and a novelty to both critics and readers and was also given the designation *hsin ch'oa-t'ou* [1] new wave, or literally new high point of the tide. In the majority of the critics, this characteristic carried the connotation of a clearly negative evaluation.[1] In their view, such works are aimed against "Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line in literature" and against the "tendency to serve workers, peasants and soldiers".[2] Some others termed it *pao-lu wen-hsüeh* [5] literature of exposure, but some thought this to be of an equally pejorative nature and even worse.[3] The theoretical problem of how to designate this unexpected phenomenon was still aggravated by the bitter lessons from literary history, especially from the period of the PRC, but also the so-called *cheng-feng yün-tung* [6] Rectification Movement that had started in 1942. These lessons rang with a tragic tone. All those who had expressed criticism of the life whether in Yenan or later in the PRC, could expect nothing but condemnation, silencing, labour camps or banishment, persecution of relatives, wearing the

---

[1] Su Chuang [2]: *Lun "hsieh tso-chia shu-hsi-ti" chi ch'i-t'a* [3] The Writers Should Write About the Things They Know. Kuang-ming jih-pao [4] (henceforth only KMJP), 3rd August 1979. Probably the different opinions were held by the participants of the symposium at the Literature Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Cf. *The Wounded.* By Lu Xinhua, Liu Xinwu and others. Translated by Geremie Barmé and Bennett Lee. Hong Kong, Joint Publishing Co. 1979, p. 220.

[2] Su Chuang: op. cit.

[3] Loc. cit.

ignominious "rightist caps", etc. But neither was the designation *shang-hen wen-hsüeh* [7] literature of the scars accepted by all the critics.[4] It derived its origin from the short story *Shang-hen* [8] The Scars, by Lu Hsin-hua [9] (1954—). An analysis of it will be made later in this study. At the same time, both these last designations are suitable and as far as possible they express the essential traits of this literature. This literature, however, does not adequately reveal the drawbacks of the Maoist system in the various domains of the political, economic and cultural life of the PRC.

The exposure of "scars", shortcomings, dark side of reality, or anything similar, by whatever name it had been known in the long course of Chinese history and especially after the May Fourth Movement of 1919, has always been a perennial problem of Chinese literature. This was pointed out by Lu Hsün [10] (1881—1936) in 1924 when he wrote that "the Chinese never looked life straight in the face", and in this way a literature of concealment and deceit was born under the influence of which "the Chinese people sank deeper and deeper into a bottomless quagmire".[5] This was also a problem of the Chinese revolutionary and proletarian literature of the late twenties when Mao Tun [12] (1896—) and Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un [13] (1900—1977) argued whether literature should rather expose and criticize the contemporary or on the contrary, sing the praises of the future, as yet not existent society.[6] During the second half of the thirties and the first half of the forties, Mao Tun in at least three short essays stressed the need of exposure. In one of them entitled *Pao-lu yü feng-tz'u* [14] Expose and Satirize, of October 1938, he asserted that the true face of China's traitors (*han-chien*) [15] should be shown up with the aid of artistic means.[7] In another essay of May 1941, he went so far as to characterize the "literature of exposure". According to him, such a literature "discloses the dark and low (*yin wei*) [17] aspect of a given phenomenon, or the behind-the-scenes view of a certain event in virtue of which people get more clear idea of the true essence of it". Its task consists in criticizing reality and elucidating its little-known and carefully concealed aspects. This literature has to "expound all that lies on people's heart but not the tongue, all that they would fain say but dare not utter".

The literature of exposure is appropriate wherever "there are many political deficiences in the society". Mao Tun used to characterize such times by the expression *yu li* [18] dark and cruel, and the obligation then devolving on poets (he thereby meant also writers and artists) is to criticize (*tz'u*) [19] rather than beautify *(mei)* [20]. In this essay Mao Tun referred with good reasons to the great poet of the T'ang dynasty Po Chü-i [21] (772—846) and his *Hsin yüeh-fu* [22] New Yüeh-fu.

---

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] *Lu Hsün ch'üan-chi* [11] The Complete Works of Lu Hsün. Vol. 1. Peking 1973, p. 222.

[6] Gálik, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism.* London, Curzon Press; Bratislava, VEDA 1980, pp. 173—175.

[7] *Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh shih ts'an-k'ao tzu-lia* [16] Material for the Study of the History of Modern Chinese Literature. Vol. 1. Peking 1959, p. 671.

From the preface to this collection Mao Tun quoted a part of Po's words through which he justified those poems, probably the most critical and the most revealing in classical Chinese literature. Po Chü-i had written his works in order "to delineate things and events" (*wei shih erh tso*) [23]. Mao Tun seems to have correctly grasped and expounded this when stating that under delineating, Po Chü-i had in mind "exposure (*feng hsing*) [24] of the contemporary events".[8]

In the fifties, in conformity with the then cultural policy and the great majority of literary criticism, Mao Tun altered his view. Early in 1958 in an article *Kuan-yü suo-wei hsieh chen-shih* [27] About the So-called Truthful Literature, he wrote: "The demand to reveal the dark side of social life could be partially met in the old society, but it is absolutely absurd in the new one. The essence of the old society was dark (*yin-an*) [28] and therefore an exposure of the dark side of the old society had its partial epistemological justification. Why only partial? Because in the old society, too, the struggle of the oppressed people represented a bright (*kuang-ming*) [29] side. If only the dark side had been revealed, only half of the truth would have been written about."[9]

Mao Tun did not imply that there was nothing dark in the Chinese society of the second half of the fifties. He admitted that there were drawbacks, but he took them as shortcomings occuring "on the way forward". He considered them to be "remnants" of the old society. He associated the struggle against them with literary endeavours that were not to embellish (*fen-shih*)[31] social phenomena; he was also against the "theory of no conflicts" (*wu ch'ung-t'ou lun*) [32], but his efforts proved vain.[10] And even the little of a truly realist representation of reality that was still given some theoretical space towards the end of 1957 and beginning of 1958, remained unused in the subsequent development of Chinese literature and the experiences of 1960s and 1970s showed how works that would faithfully portray the Chinese reality, failed to be created in literature. Certain exceptions, for the most part historical dramas or essays, only go to prove the rule. It is enough, for example, to study the materials referring to the concept of the so-called positive hero in Chinese literature of this period, to see how the literary criticism and along with it in a considerable measure also creative literature had deviated from truth and reality. Similar views on relation towards reality and its representation in literary works were held not only by Mao Tun, but also Chou Yang [33] (1908—) and a pleiad of other theoreticians and critics.[11]

---

[8] Mao Tun: *Tsai t'an "pao-lu"* [25] Once again about "Exposure". Hua-shang pao [26] Chinese Commercial News (Hong Kong), 30th May, 1941, p. 3.

[9] Mao Tun: Ku-ch'ui chi [30] Encouragings. Peking 1959, p. 222.

[10] Loc. cit.

[11] Zhelokhovtsev, A. N.: *Literaturnaya teoriya i politicheskaya borba v KNR* (Literary Theory and Political Struggle in the PRC). Moscow, Nauka 1979, pp. 72—73. Also Chou Yang: *The Path of Socialist Literature and Art in Our Country.* Chinese Literature, *10,* 1960, pp. 12—64.

A study of the literary climate in China following Mao Tse-tung's death (September 1976) and the swift removal of the Gang of Four (October 1976) reveals that the literary criticism at the time, dealt with here, developed in two stages. The first of them went from October 1976 until July 1977, i. e. up to the Eleventh Congress of the CCP. The second one began after this Congress but came to manifest itself more strikingly, particularly in the creative sphere, at the turn of 1977—1978.

During the few months following the above events, there was practically no change in the literature except for the general criticism of the Gang of Four. A little later, however, at the beginning of 1977, new tones could be detected to the effect that "the proletarian and revolutionary literature and art" had in reality been promoted by the guidance of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai and not by that of Chiang Ch'ing, as had been alleged earlier.[12] For instance, one of the most typical works *Chih-ch'ü Wei-hu shan* [35] *Taking the Bandit's Stronghold* was previously cited as a case in point which was "born and had matured" as a result of the "warm concern and personal guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, combined with the efforts of the revolutionary literary and art workers".[13] Mao Tse-tung's *Tsai Yen-an wen-i tso-t'an-hui shang-ti chiang-hua* [36] *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* from the year 1942 was considered as the guide in the subsequent development of Chinese literature serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.[14] At the same time, another ill-famous document *Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Ching Ching*, from the year 1966, was condemned despite the fact that it "has been personally examined and revised by the Chairman three times".[15] In May of 1977, Mao and Chou began to be shown up as a pair of arbiters of literary and artistic taste.[16] Both the deceased representatives were being ascribed a certain "avant-garde" role, difficult or even impossible to prove, that writers and artists had to further in life: as examples, works from the 1950s and 1960s were quoted. To these demands was associated the drastic criticism of the *san t'u-ch'u* [37] Three Principles of Stress or Three Highlights as the method of characterization and an overall organization whether of "model heroes", or of literary works as such. This method was completely rejected as an obstacle to literary and art creation.[17]

---

[12] Jen-min jih-pao [34] (henceforth only JMJP), 13th February, 1977.

[13] Hung Ping: *A Fine Peking Opera on a Revolutionary Modern Theme.* Chinese Literature, 8, 1967, p. 182.

[14] JMJP, 23rd May, 1977. Excerpts of it are in Peking Review, 23 (3rd June, 1977), pp. 8—11.

[15] *Comrade Lin Piao's Letter to Members of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee.* In: *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 1968, p. 1.

[16] See note 14.

At the Eleventh Congress of the CCP Hua Kuo-feng gave credit to Mao Tse-tung (he made no mention of Chou En-lai) for the literature and art of the period of the "cultural revolution". For the ensuing years he set up the task of "achieving real success in the revolution, and in all the domains of culture to adhere to the orientation serving proletarian policy — workers, peasants and soldiers ...".[18] Simultaneously, the explicit demand was made to pursue the policy of letting "the hundred flowers bloom and the hundred schools to contend" (*pai-hua ch'i-fang, pai-chia cheng-ming*) [39], "weed through the old to bring forth the new" (*t'ui ch'en ch'u hsin*) [40], and "make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" (*ku wei chin yung, yang wei Chung yung*) [41].[19]

Following the 35th anniversary celebrations of the *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature* in 1977, a series of conferences were organized in the cities and capitals of the provinces at which this new version of literary policy was discussed. At the same time, it was stressed that literary and art workers have to alter their views and that it would be right to rehabilitate writers and artists who had been persecuted during the "cultural revolution". Their works should be also reprinted.[20]

At the 1st session of the National People's Congress held in February and March of 1978, the "four modernizations" (agriculture, industry, defence and science) the architect of which was Teng Hsiao-p'ing, were declared to be the general line for the ensuing period.[21] And this in itself intimated further changes in literary policy and theory. All the forces were to be put at the disposal to carry through the "four modernizations". To this end, the entire Chinese public (including literary and art workers) were called upon "to liberate their thought", the principal guideline being the principle that "practice is the criterion of truth" and truth may be attained solely through a study of facts. At the same time, the events relating to T'ien-an-men of 5th April 1976, minor literary works written during those dramatic days, were rehabilitated and conditions were set for writing creative works concerning this movement and literature associated with the criticism of the Gang of Four.[22]

The first short story connected with the "literature of the scars" came from the pen of Liu Hsin-wu [42] (1942—) at the time of a discussion on the new orientation after the 35th anniversary of the Yen-an Talks, and was published under the title *Pan-chu-jen* [43] *Class Counsellor* in the journal Jen-min wen-hsüh [44] People's Literature, in November 1977. It deals with a thirty-six year old teacher

---

[17] *P'ing "san t'u-ch'u"* [38] On "Three Highlights". JMJP, 18th May, 1977. Also *"Gang of Four" — The Nation's Scourge*. Peking Review, 23, 1977, pp. 15—17.

[18] JMJP, 23rd August, 1977.

[19] Loc. cit.

[20] Eber, I.: *Old Issues and New Directions in Cultural Activities since September 1976*. In: Domes, J. (Ed.): *Chinese Politics after Mao*. Cardiff, University College Press 1979, pp. 215 and 226.

[21] JMJP, 7th March, 1978.

[22] JMJP, 22nd December, 1978 and 7th May, 1979.

Chang Chün-shih [45] who decides to re-educate a young delinquent Sung Pao-ch'i [46] assigned to his class. In implementing his design, he meets with a lack of understanding on the part of his colleagues and pupils, but particularly of Hsieh Hui-min [47], the Youth League Branch Secretary, a very typical representative of the left wing of the future Maoist intelligentsia. The image of this young secondary school girl is the most striking creation of the story, while that of the young delinquent is weak and unconvincing.

During the course of 1978—1979, Liu Hsin-wu became officially the most representative figure in the Chinese literature at the present stage of development. He evidently supplanted the writer Hao Jan [48] (1932—), the chief representative of the ultra-leftist literature of the years 1972—1976, not quite adequately connected with the Gang of Four. The critique of Hao Jan was started in the same month when Liu Hsin-wu's story appeared in print.[23] This story, according to its Hong Kong's translators, was "the first work of a new literature in China ..."[24] When writing this story, Liu was evidently conscious of its "novelty" in contemporary China, for one of its motifs "Save the children who suffered at the hands of the Gang of Four"[25] is strikingly reminiscent of and suggests the last sentence from the very first modern Chinese short story, i. e. Lu Hsün's *K'uang-jen jih-chi* [49] *Diary of a Madman* from the year 1918.[26]

Although this motif in Liu Hsin-wu's story smacks rather of affectation, his work was the first indication of the "new wave" referred to above, having for the aim the exposure of the barbarous and inhuman practices of the "cultural revolution", whatever the interpretation that contemporary Chinese critics and cultural workers endeavour to put on it. References to the deeds of the "criminal clique led by Lin Piao and the Gang of Four" and to the deserts of Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and Hua Kuo-feng (these are mentioned most often), are but a camouflage, intended through the use of ideological, propagandist and eventually other clichés, to justify accomplices and accessories in innumerable transgressions, offences, crimes, hardships, tragedies inflicted on millions of Chinese during more than ten years of the "cultural revolution", and eventually even a longer period beginning in the second half of the fifties.

In November 1979, Mao Tun, then over eighty, from the tribune of the Fourth Congress of China Federation of Literary and Art Circles characterized the story Class Counsellor as a "great break-through", but did not admit that the designations "literature of the scars" or "literature of exposure" were "just right". Nevertheless, he proposed no alternative. Although he recognized the need for such works,

---

[23] Kai-yu Hsu (Ed.): *Literature of the People's Republic of China.* Bloomington and London, Indiana University Press 1980, p. 24.

[24] *The Wounded,* p. 220.

[25] Ibid., p. 167.

[26] The Complete Works of Lu Hsün. Vol. 1, p. 291.

primarily that "would increase vigilance", he stuck to his conservatism and mistaken conviction from 1950s.[27] Nor was he the only one, as has been shown at the beginning of this article. Others approved the above characteristics.[28] Chou Yang, at present the Chairman of China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, expressed the view that a similar literary tendency has its justification insofar as it detects the "obstacles and corrupt practices that stand in the way of the socialist modernizations".[29]

3

Liu Hsin-wu's example was followed but warily by other Chinese writers. Lu Wen-fu's [51] (1928—) story *Hsien-shen* [52] *Dedication*,[30] appeared after a lapse of five months and others even later. Of those that appeared in 1978, an analysis will be made of Lu Hsin-hua's The Scars, and from the 1979 we have selected *Ch'ung-feng* [53] Re-encounter by Chin Ho [54],[31] and *Chi-i* [56] Memory by Chang Hsüan [57].[32] All three had won a prize in a contest for the best stories of the years 1978 and 1979.[33] The last story to be dealt with is *Ah, shu* [60] *Ah, Books!* by Yang Wen-chih [61] (1954—).[34]

A certain role in this selection was played by their thematic and motivational orientation: all describe cruel experiences from the times of the "cultural revolution" and from the view of their composition they are based on a single thematological situation (re-encounter, return) and on a single *leitmotif* not only of these four, but also of many other short stories, poems, dramas and other works: this *leitmotif* is scar or scars. The scars described in these works had been left by the preceding eight to fifteen years.

Lu Hsin-hua, a young man quite unknown until 1978, discovered the *topoi* of the "scar" for contemporary Chinese literature. He wrote the story in 1977 shortly after enrolling at the Department of Chinese Literature of Fu-tan University in Shanghai. People's Literature which had about that time published Liu Hsin-wu's *Class Counsellor,* refused Lu Hsin-hua's story, the editors finding it too negatively tuned. It was only after he had written it in the form of *ta-tzu-pao* [63] big-character poster,

---

[27] Mao Tun: *Chieh-fang ssu-hsiang, fa-yang wen-i min-chu* [50] Liberate Thought and Develop Literary Democracy. People's Literature, *11*, 1979, p. 3.

[28] KMJP, 4th November, 1978.

[29] KMJP, 20th November, 1978.

[30] Originally published in People's Literature, *4*, 1978 and translated into English in *The Wounded*, pp. 73—99.

[31] Shang-hai wen-hsüeh [55] Shanghai Literature, *4*, 1979, pp. 14—25.

[32] People's Literature, *3*, 1979, pp. 13—20.

[33] People's Literature, *4*, 1979 and Chi Min [58]: *Hsien-shih-chu-i-ti hsin t'an-suo* [59] New Explorations into Realism. KMJP, 2nd July, 1980.

[34] Originally published in Tso-p'in [62] Works, *8*, 1978, pp. 15—20 and translated into English in *The Wounded*, pp. 55—71.

that the story was published in the newspaper Wen-hui pao [64].[35] It came to be one of the most controversial short stories since 1949.

Chin Ho, of whom we know next to nothing as yet, underscored the *topoi* of "re-encounter" in the title of his short story and in its entire arrangement.

Both "scars" and "re-encounters" (the latter is a variation of old and frequent motif of "return", e. g. to one's native house, wife, country, etc.) constitute *loci communes* of various national literatures. Already at the time when the first lyrical poems were being written in China, later to be included in the collection *Shih-ching* [65] *The Book of Poetry,* the great Greek poet Homer at the other end of the then cultural world was creating his *Odyssey.* In its nineteenth book we witness the scene how the old nurse Euryclea while washing Ulysses' feet, recognized him by a scar on his knee. Euryclea is about to shout for joy, but Ulysses prevents her : he takes her by the throat with his right hand and draws her near himself with the left. He does not wish to be recognized before he fulfils his mission which gives meaning to his "re-encounter" with "prudent Penelope", his wife, or to his "return" into the royal palace which he had not seen for twenty years. He must first slay Penelope's suitors who curried favour with her, endeavoured to usurp his kingdom, and caused much hardship to the court and to the people of Ithaca. With the help of his son Telemachus and his faithful servants, but particularly the "blue-eyed goddess Minerva", he succeeds in his design and kills his wife's suitors. It is only then that Penelope recognizes her husband for whom she had waited so long, worrying about his fate.

This digression from the Chinese present into the remotest Greek antiquity is not meant to point out any contact-genetic relationships, nor typological similarities between scars and re-encounters in Ulysses' story on the one hand, and the scars and re-encounters in the works of Chinese men of letters from the years 1977—1979 on the other. Nevertheless, our comparison is sufficiently justified. *Tertium comparationis* in this case will help to bring out by contrast of the nature of the various components in the events under analysis, the priorities and deficiencies. A point will be made of typological divergences deriving from "inner, structural affinities among literatures"[36] that constitute likewise an important part of the literary scholarship.

The protagonist in the first story The Scars is Wang Hsiao-hua [66], a twenty-five years old woman, teacher in a village school. Towards the end of December 1977 she learned that her mother had been incorrectly labelled as a "renegade". After the fall of the Gang of Four, her mother's case was rectified and she was reinstated at her school in a leading post. But her health quickly deteriorated. She asked Hsiao-hua who eight years before had run away from her because of "the treacherous and

---

[35] *The Wounded,* pp. 215—216.

[36] Ďurišin, D.: *Teória literárnej komparatistiky* (Theory of Comparative Literature). Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1975, p. 106.

shameful past"[37] to a coastal village in Liaoning Province, to come and visit her. But before leaving the house, the daughter had lost her best friend, was expelled from the Red Guards, had to move with her mother to a small dingy room. All that was "like an ugly scar on her clean and fair complexion".[38] Her further inner and invisible scar (or scars) left in her by so many years of life in a remote village, the incessant harassments and persecution despite her constant adjustment to the changing political line, all that is passed over in silence in the story. So is also the scar left in Hsiao-hua's heart by her mother's death on the eve of the Chinese New Year 1978. Perhaps the reader will be reminded of these by "the scars of old wounds faintly visible among the creases" on mother's forehead. What counts with Hsiao-hua is solely her encounter with her dead mother. She can neither assure her of her newly-born love, nor ask pardon for her long and unjustified detestation. At the close of the story, Hsiao-hua firmly grasps her fiancé's hands and swears never to forget who was responsible for her and her mother's scars, nor the "kindness" of Chairman Hua. Together, the two head "with big strides" towards the bright light of Nanking Road — perhaps a symbol of China's future.

The leading character in the second story Re-encounter is twenty-eight years old delinquent, even murderer from the times of the most violent phase of the "cultural revolution". His court brief stated that during the "hot summer" of 1967, he had belonged among those who committed "antisocial acts". He was reproached that as the head of a minor detachment of the Red Guards he had failed to comply with part of one point from Shih-liu t'iao [67] Sixteen Points adopted at the Eleventh Plenum of the CC CCP on 8th August, 1966, according to which it was not allowed "under whatever pretext, to incite the masses or the students against each other".[39] In an armed clash with another group, he had fatally wounded a young student. He himself had received a wound on the forehead. The scar that remained is an identifying mark to a member of the security force and investigator Chu Ch'un-hsin [68] who, in August of 1967, had held a high party post in the town of Pei-ning [69] and was an eye witness to this event. The accused who ought to have been sentenced for his deeds that included manslaughter, had at one time, in the name "of protection of Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line" defended with his own body the now investigating Chu when the latter was hiding from "revolutionary masses" during the uncertain times of the "cultural revolution". There is no need to insist how unpleasant the "re-encounter" proved primarily to Chu Ch'un-hsin, for according to a proper interpretation of the above words from the Sixteen Points, he too ought to have been indicted as in his official function he should have prevented such acts of

---

[37] The Wounded, p. 11.

[38] Loc. cit.

[39] Cf. Shangai Literature, 4, 1979, p. 18 and The Sixteen Point Decision. In: D a u b i e r, J.: A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. New York, Vintage Books 1974, p. 302.

violence. The end of the story implies that not even Chu himself is certain as to who is the "criminal" — whether he himself or the young Yeh.

The protagonist in the third story Memory is a young woman Fang Li-ju [70], working in a film-projecting unit that had the task of carrying out propaganda work in the countryside. On one occasion, she happened inadvertantly to insert a film wrongly into the projector and spectators saw the picture of Chairman Mao receiving a foreign delegation upside down. Although this lasted but a brief instant, it was assessed as a serious political crime. This took place at the time of the Ssu-ch'ing[71] Four Clean-ups Movement, just before the "cultural revolution", the goal of which was to carry out purges in Chinese villages and towns in the political, ideological, economic and organizational areas in the spirit of the leftist Maoism.[40] Fang Li-ju attempted suicide, but she was saved and condemned. Afterwards she was expelled from the Youth League, forced to put on "the cap of an active counter-revolutionary" and was sent to work in the countryside under a constant political and ideological supervision. She, too, carried a scar on the forehead and the temple "reaching as far as the ear lobe",[41] a result of the ill-treatment she had gone through. She conceals it from old Ch'in Mu-p'ing [72], her former boss from fifteen or so years ago. Now, thirty-five years old, looking like an old woman who "had no right to love, joy and quiet family life",[42] she asked him for help in her rehabilitation. He had formerly personally endorsed her sentence, but soon after he, too, was condemned as "the head of a black line in art and literature".[43] Now, old Ch'in had full understanding for her, but she could not be rehabilitated, for her deed was still constantly considered to be a serious transgression.

In the fourth story Ah, Books!, the protagonist is a young man, Chang Chao-hui [73], one of the zealous members of the Red Guards who, by an unfortunate accident, suffers burns on his leg and has to lie in hospital. There he "re-encounters" his former schoolmate, the girl Liu Hui-shan [74]. Liu brings him a scorched copy of Victor Hugo's Les Misérables as reading material. The young man with very definite ultraleftist views on culture and literature, as were prevalent in China during the "cultural revolution", refuses to read such "yellow" and "pornographic" stuff. When he had finally read the book, however, Hugo's masterpiece opened before him for the first time an unknown literary world and helped him to create in himself an essentially different relation towards reality and the people about him. His "re-encounter" with the young nurse and the sight of the scorched book (it was evidently a partial or abridged translation) reminded him of the barbarous burning of books

---

[40] More about it see in D a u b i e r, J.: op. cit., p. 23 and D o r r i l l, W. F.: Power, Policy and Ideology in the Making of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. In: R o b i n s o n, Th. W. (Ed.): The Cultural Revolution in China. Berkeley, University of California Press 1971, pp. 62—63 and 65—67.

[41] People's Literature, 3, 1979, p. 18.

[42] Loc. cit.

[43] Ibid., p. 16.

from the school library of which he had been the principal instigator, and of the truly heroic conduct of his other schoolmate Sung Pao-i [75], who unmindful of the immense political consequences of his action, saved the copy of *Les Misérables* from the flames. In contrast to the three preceding stories, this one does not speak of "scars", if we except that left on the protagonist's leg after his stay in hospital. The scars are concealed in the fear in which Liu Hui-shan and Sung Pao-i — later husband and wife — had to live as owners of proscribed (and "stolen" at that) literature. But they also loom in Chang's imagination for whom the world of Fantine and Jean Valjean becomes transformed into his own experienced world. The episode of Fantine, the woman-sufferer, who was "forced to cut out her hair for her child, then take out her teeth and sell them, and finally to sell her very body for her child",[44] reminded him very much of the fate of his own mother.

Just as the other stories, so this one, too, is tributary to the political situation prevailing in the first half of 1978. The protagonist thinks that he "has freed" himself of "*pei-ts'an shih-chieh*" [76] the miserable world (otherwise the Chinese title for *Les Misérables*) of the Gang of Four, and this "freedom" and this "release" has allegedly been brought by Chairman Hua. The conclusion of this story is not as politically illustrative as that in Lu Hsin-hua's, although it is equally politically programmed. Chang "meets again" Sung, his principal antagonist from the period of the "cultural revolution" and the indirect initiator of the change in his cultural development. The latter invites him to "*chu-chieh yen-hui*" [77] "banquet of victory", a dinner with dumplings prepared for two former rivals and now comrades,[45] by Liu Hui-shan.

4

A recollection of the most important elements of the plot in the four stories being analysed (and in Homer's epic) will permit a mutual comparison and enable us to make adequate inferences and determine the characteristic traits of this literature.

The *leitmotif* of the scars in the various stories in Chinese literature of the end of the seventies essentially differs from the scar on Ulysses' knee. The latter resulted from a wound inflicted by a boar while Ulysses, as a small boy, was out hunting on the Parnassus with his grandfather Autolycus. Ulysses' scar is but an identifying mark by means of which he may be recognized, for as the favourite of the most powerful god and the wisest goddess of the Olympus — Jove and Minerva — he remains unrecognized and unrecognizable.[46] The scars of the various characters in the four

---

[44] *The Wounded*, p. 67.

[45] Ibid., pp. 70—71 and Works, *8*, 1978, p. 20.

[46] Cf. *The Odyssey of Homer*. Literally translated by Theodore Alois Buckley. London 1874, pp. 258—273.

stories dealt with here are either real, visible to the eye, caused by beating, torturing, and excesses of the "cultural revolution" (Mrs. Wang in the first and Fang Li-ju in the third story), or invisible, yet none the less painful, often entailing long-lasting sufferings (Wang Hsiao-hua in the first story, the mother of the young murderer Yeh Hui and his wife in the second story, again Fang Li-ju, the husband and wife Sung-Liu in the fourth). The scar of Yeh Hui is a "mark upon Cain" with the difference that it was not Yeh Hui who was the chief culprit, but the system that had made possible the "cultural revolution" with its barbarous consequences, slaughterings of "children", i. e. young students and workers protecting with their own bodies the so-called Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line. The "cultural revolution" branded young Yeh right on the forehead with the scar. He must suffer and be convicted for far more grievous crimes committed by others who, however, will not be in the dock. Chang Chao-hui's visible scar is of an *a posteriori* origin and carried an allegorical meaning: his scar from burns on his leg is evidently meant as a punishment for his dereliction in burning books (fire is universally known as a means of destruction, but also of punishment) and is to remind him in future of his misdeed.

In Homer's epic the motif of scar, besides being a mark of recognition, has at least one additional purpose: it gives an opportunity to the narrator to interrupt the plot involving the hero's return (or re-encounter) and talk about the youth of Ulysses, about his grandfather, about the banquet prepared in his honour, about his sleeping and rising, departure for the hunt and stalking the game, his getting mauled by a boar and treatment of the wound, etc. It is thus an opportunity for an epic excursion only, without forming the central line of the entire plot nor being the point of the whole narrative.[47]

In the stories under analysis, the scar as an allegory of pain and suffering is a *leitmotif* and a central item of imagery and narrative. Nevertheless, nowhere is any attention paid to a direct description of the scars or to their emphasis. The delineation is sober, sometimes it is absent altogether. As observed earlier, Fang Li-ju even conceals her ugly scar from the old party cadre under her hairdo. She does so because, having been a beautiful girl earlier, she endures with difficulty this inhuman humiliation. To her it is no mark of recognition, of identity, but only of a barbarous indignity, degradation. Precisely her scar should be one of the reasons for her rehabilitation. The old nurse Euryclea succeeds far more in helping Ulysses[48] to carry out his design than the highly-placed cadre Ch'in Mu-p'ing aids the innocent and unjustly persecuted village midwife.

As to the second aspect of our analysis relating to the thematological situation of a re-encounter (or return), in the case of Ulysses we find a clear goal of his

---

[47] Ibid., pp. 269—270.
[48] Ibid., pp. 307—310.

endeavours, his re-encounter with his faithful wife and his return to his kingdom. The most important to him is the reunion in his family hearth from which he had been torn off by the Trojan war, and his fateful wanderings, then the punishment of Penelope's ruthless and haughty suitors violating the honour of his house and his country.[49]

The issue is quite different in the case of the stories. Here, scars form the main subject of description and narration, re-encounters being only an opportunity for their artistic objectivization. The only culprits are seen uniquely in the Gang of Four, although these "suitors" in the struggle for power in the party and in the State represented only a part of those who within the systemo-structural complex of the "cultural revolution" inflicted untold suffering on the masses of Chinese people. When more than eight years of "wandering" passed and Wang Hsiao-hua returns home, nobody waits for her, except the naked corpse of her mother covered over with a piece of cloth. When in those moments she imagines — as her dying mother had done before — that the Gang of Four is responsible for her and her mother's scars, it is either a self-deception or political hypocrisy. Wang Hsiao-hua sees in Hua Kuo-feng's "kindness" a guarantee of future security.[50] But only a few years back she had put the same faith in Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, one of the Gang of Four. How can a judicious reader, especially if he is acquainted with the mechanism of power and the course of new Chinese history, identify himself with her changing faith and her "final" oath?

Fang Li-ju does not ask for her rehabilitation for her own, but rather for the sake of the villagers among whom she works. She does not even go personally to the competent party cadres. Her former boss, who himself had been rehabilitated shortly before, comes to see her of his own initiative to inform her that at the moment her rehabilitation does not come into consideration. Her crime is allegedly evident: she made a laughing stock of the "great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman" in front of the "masses". According to the initiator of her punishment Huang Hsi-ch'iang [78], the deputy of her protector Ch'in Mu-p'ing, her crime cannot be ascribed to the Gang of Four and has to be left further in vigour in the name of the "protection of the gains of the Four Clean-ups Movement".[51] To Fang Li-ju the story does not end in the hope, but in retained tears behind which is concealed her quiet suffering of fifteen years duration with no prospects of coming to an end. To her former judge and present advocate, the "re-encounter" means a "deepening of inner wounds".[52] He combines hope with "memory", for he cannot rely on the "law". Perhaps the influence of "memory" might help to alter the valid

---

[49] Ibid., pp. 296—305 and 310—319.

[50] *The Wounded,* p. 24.

[51] People's Literature, *3,* 1979, p. 19.

[52] Loc. cit.

prescriptions. Except that Ch'in is but an observer here, the direct participant of the temporally unlimited punishment is Fang. Her red-rimmed, tear-swollen eyes are a more serious *pointe* of the story than the apotheosis of memory in which Ch'in Mu-p'ing unjustifiably puts his trust.

The story Re-encounter is based on a gradual gradation of *topoi* according to which it has got the name. It opens up with a mere statement of the transgressions of the protagonist Yeh Hui from his court brief, but the narrator does not introduce the accused himself. The antagonist Chu Ch'un-hsin listens to the recital, makes a mental note of the misdeeds and confronts them with reality where he himself had been the "main actor". At first "re-encounter" Chu Ch'un-hsin recedes into the background, the narrator stresses in his own words and with the aid of Chu Ch'un-hsin's inner monologue, the scar on the protagonist's forehead. The plot has no detective form or pace. Everything is known to the investigators beforehand (besides Chu Ch'un-hsin, the head of the department is also present at the interrogation). Through gradation, but also delaying of the plot's progress, the author intends to lead up to the *pointe,* to address the reader and explain to him the causal antecedents of Yüeh Hui's scar and Chu Ch'un-hsin's covert complicity. "Re-encounter" is more or less fortuitous and quite unexpected for the two main characters of the story. It intensifies, however, Chu's feelings of uncertainty, fear, conjectures and anxiety from disclosure. The author makes use of Chu's reflections, recollections, descriptions of the situation during the "hot summer" of 1967, so that in the end the reader, having met Yeh Hui, witnessed Chu Ch'un-hsin's situationally enforced or extorted self-analysis and his return into his own and also Yeh's past, might decide on the measure of their guilt and even more so on the guilt of those who stand outside the narrated events. The gradation in the narrative continues in Chu's meeting with the mother of Yüeh Hui, an old working woman. The latter does not ask for a mitigation of the sentence, but only points to certain moments, for the most part of an ideological nature, that caused the transformation of the good and shy lad into the leader of a group of the Red Guards and the murderer. She asks Chu to take into account also these circumstances of which he might not have been aware. Also that they had known each other during the "cultural revolution" and her son had sheltered him at the risk of his own life. Chu Ch'un-hsin keeps on telling himself that he did not commit a crime and considers the words of the old woman to be an "interrogation of his conscience".[53] But when she had gone, he began to feel that he does not quite belong among those who had been persecuted by the Gang of Four, and that this magic formula, salutory to many, need not apply to him.

The story approaches its climax when Chu Ch'un-hsin meets Yeh Hui alone face to face. Not as the investigator, rather as self-defence. When Chu insists that during the "cultural revolution" many people, including himself, had made mistakes, but that

---

[53] Shanghai Literature, *3*, 1979, p. 23.

these should serve as a lesson, Yeh Hui interrupts him and pronounces words that form the *pointe* of the story and represent one of the peaks that the authors of the "literature of the scars" might have reached in their criticism of the recent Chinese past: "The mistake you have made, you may boldly and self-confidently (*li-chih ch'i-chuang*) [79] ascribe to the account of the Gang of Four. Insofar as I have made a mistake, I must admit that I have followed the line set by Lin Piao and the Gang of Four and have thus harmed the Great Cultural Revolution."[54]

In these last words the accused turns into the accuser. A pity, however, that his accusation is indirect, vaguely formulated and thereby only partially truthful and convincing. Yeh Hui is aware that he is one of those who had become victims of the intrigues of Lin Piao and the Gang of Four. He does not indict his antagonist directly. He only accuses those innumerable participants in the Chinese political life who, towards the end of the seventies, built their career on their own errors, mistakes and often even misdeeds from the period of the "cultural revolution", for they have the possibility of putting their guilts on Lin Piao and the Gang of Four, without regard for historical truth.

The *pointe* of this story, although far from being sufficiently sharp, and failing in fact to hit the target and to show the true causes of the "scars" described, is nevertheless of considerably greater value than that in the story *Ah, Books!* In the latter, the author seems to have gone back to one of the traditional structural devices of old Chinese fiction (*hsiao-shuo*) [80] called "banquet pattern" according to H. C. Chang, that consists in bringing together all the heroes of the literary work with the purpose of idle chit-chatting, very popular among the *literati.*[55] The purpose is not spoken of directly, but from the general contents it is clear that the "banquet of victory" had its firm political and ideological goal: to show the unity of the various classes and strata of the Chinese people in the struggle for achieving the "four modernizations" that had shortly before the publication of this story been proclaimed to be the general line for the following period which was to last until the end of this century.

The value of this story, besides showing up the "scars", lies in something else: in a renewed consciousness among the Chinese intelligentsia of the existence of a world literature as an inseparable part of every truly developed literature and culture of the modern times, and in a renewed conviction that the "literature knows no State boundaries";[56] that literature, regardless of the spatial and temporal framework of its origin, may spell an enrichment of its own limited horizon. "Re-encounter" in this story is not confined solely to the three characters (Chang, Sung and Liu), but also

---

[54] Ibid., p. 25.

[55] Chang, H. C.: *Chinese Literature: Popular Fiction and Drama.* Edinburgh 1973, p. 19.

[56] Cheng Chen-to [81]: *Hsü-yen* [82] Foreword. In: *Wen-hsüeh ta-kang* [83] Outline of Literature. Vol. 1. Shanghai 1927, p. 1.

a "re-encounter" with Hugo's *Les Misérables* and with some other masterpieces of world literatute which, after an absence of fifteen to twenty years, again appeared on the bookstalls and in the hands of Chinese readers in the PRC: *Hamlet, Timon of Athens, Henry IV*, and *The Merchant of Venice* by W. Shakespeare, Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, H. Balzac's *Père Goriot, Eugénie Grandet*, and *Les illusions perdues*, N. Gogol's *Dead Souls*, I. Turgenev's *Virgin Soil*. L. Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* further Ibsen's plays, Chekhov's and Maupassant's short stories, etc. Chinese readers "re-encountered" also Hugo's *Quatre-vingt-treize*.[57]

5

Not only the stories analysed here, but all the works of the "literature of the scars", are situationally set in the past. The most diverse scars are abundantly inflicted and originate in a clearly defined period of the 1960s and 1970s. Re-encounters are possible only in the present or at most, in the very proximate past: a few months following the Eleventh Congress of the CCP at earliest, hence, towards the end of 1977, and later. No similar scars or re-encounters had existed in Chinese literature before that. The "literature of the scars" has a firmly fixed framework of reference: it may not go beyond the alleged zone of action of Lin Piao and the Gang of Four, and if it does happen, as for instance, in the story Memory, it is done inconspicuously, modestly and the reader draws sustenance only from hope.

Mao Tse-tung, the unique "meta-hero" of Chinese literature of the "cultural revolution", came to be joined by at least two others at the time dealt with in this study, i. e. by Chou En-lai and Hua Kuo-feng. These are not described either directly or in detail. They intervene into events by virtue of the power comparable with that of *deus ex machina* in the classic times.

The innovation in the "literature of the scars" are "meta-villains" that had not existed in Chinese literature before the year 1977. Their number is exactly defined: Lin Piao and the Gang of Four.

Wang Ch'un-yüan's [84] call after "demythologization" of heroes, of which we have written elsewhere,[58] came to be implemented in full measure in the "literature of the scars" (we do not have in mind now the "meta-heroes" and "meta-villains"). There is nothing heroic about Wang Hsiao-hua or her mother, and Ch'in Mu-p'in timidly confirms the sentence passed on Fang Li-ju, while she herself never dares to say a word of protest. Neither does Yeh Hui raise his voice against Chu Ch'un-hsin for he either lacks the courage, or is dominated by a spirit of false loyalty to his former chief, or else blindly believes in the official propaganda relating to Lin Piao

---

[57] McDougall, B. S.: *The Reappearance of Western Literature in the Seventies*. Modern Chinese Literature Newsletter, *4*, 1978, 2, pp. 9—10.

[58] *The Concept of "Positive Hero" in Chinese Literature of the 1960s and 1970s*. In: *Asian and African Studies, XVII*, 1981, p. 48.

and the Gang of Four. In the story *Ah, Books!*, the conflict between Chang and Sung seems to be non-existent. Not a word is said to recall the past; Sung even brings as a present to Chang a copy of *Les Misérables*. He gives it to one who had been the most direct cause of his hardships.

Such modes of acting and such approaches can be explained solely through and adequate knowledge of social psychology of the Chinese. Certain is that they are the outcome of the anti-individual and limiting principles inherited from the traditional epochs. Control and manipulation of human behaviour is as valid during the post-Mao era as it had been before, although in an altered form. The "literature of the scars" should aid in bringing up people who would be "stainless screws" of the "four modernizations".

The various figures of this literature are the so-called *chung-chien jen-wu* [85] middle characters, condemned in China in the years 1964—1976[59] and at least partly restored since the end of 1977. Partly because the results (i. e. characters themselves) should not consist in pointing out their "mediocrity", but in a change for the better and the higher in the Maoist apprehension.[60]

Although certain critics, for instance, Ch'eng Tan-ch'en [89], maintain that the *personae* in these stories do not belong among the "middle characters",[61] yet there is no denying that they are created in a quite different manner, and decidedly are not the "ideal heroes" of the period 1966—1976 as we know them from *yang-pan-hsi* [92] revolutionary model works, or from the novels and stories by Hao Jan and other writers of this period. In addition, they are not the more or less obligatory images of workers, peasants and soldiers, but for the most part of young people from the so-called *ch'ou lao-chiu* [93] stinking old nine category of the intellectuals, or such as were close to this social stratum: teachers, technicians, scientists, educated overseas Chinese, former students, etc. But "old cadres", too, figure in the works of the "literature of the scars", usually in the role of righters of wrongs brought about by the "cultural revolution", or such as at least attempted some correction.

Furthermore, we witness in these works at least some partial inclusion of "private feelings" (e. g. love) which had been banished from Chinese literature at least since the second half of the 1950s.[62] In particular, love between man and woman has been

---

[59] Ibid., pp. 31—34.

[60] Cf. JMJP, 22nd December, 1977. Chou Yang in his speech delivered at the 4th Congress of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, see KMJP, 20th November, 1979, does not stress this last aspect. The same is valid for Ch'ü Pen-lu [86]: *P'ing hsieh "chung-chien jen-wu" chu-chang ho tui t'a-ti p'i-p'an* [87] On the View of Writing "Middle Characters" and the Criticism Levelled at It. She-hui k'o-hsüeh chan-hsien [88] Social Sciences Front, *3*, 1979, pp. 283—288.

[61] Ch'en Tan-ch'en: *Hsieh "chung-chien jen-wu" wen-t'i tsai t'an-t'ao* [90] Once Again on the Question of Writing of "Middle Characters". Hsin wen-hsüeh lun-ts'ung [91] Review of Modern Literature, *2*, 1979, p. 139.

[62] More creative works about love have been written probably only in the year during the Hundred Flowers Movement, cf. Hou Chin-ching [94]: *Hsü-yen* [95] *Preface.* In: *1956 tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo*

and still is socially controlled, class-conditioned and hence, liable to be regulated.[63] Love in these works is admitted insofar as it somehow serves the "four modernizations".

A consciousness of the existence of world literature and culture became manifest not only in the story *Ah, Books!*, but in further works with which we had opportunity to become acquainted. The most conspicuously it can be seen in the case of *Les Misérables,* but other foreign works, too, attract the interest of authors, e. g. *The Gadfly* by E. Voynich, *The Watch* by L. Panteleyev, *The Last Class* by A. Daudet and Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice,* besides numerous others that are only referred to.

Also the consciousness of Chinese national literature and culture is incomparably stronger in these works than used to be the case in the preceding period. The unprecedented interest in world literature and culture, but also in Chinese literature and culture is not, of course an end in itself and along with an awakening of the nationalist sentiments[64] should primarily serve to implement the political and economic endeavours of the present Chinese leadership.

6

At least one story might be characterized as a piece of the "literature of the scars", but could not be assigned among those analysed here, is familiar to European readers from Barbara Spielmann's translation. It appeared in the collection *Hundert Blumen: Moderne chinesische Erzählungen.*[65]

The author Shih Mo [109] (born ca 1951), literally "The Silent Stone" decided to make no account of the most diverse limitations and to present his short story outside the prescribed "formulas", without any "meta-heroes" and "meta-vellains", disregarding every "must" and "must not" connected with the possibility of writing such literature in the PRC.

---

*hsüan* [96] Selected Short Stories from 1956. Peking 1957, pp. 6 and 8. Also Tsang K'o-chia [97]: *Hsü-yen (Preface).* In: *1956 shih-hsüan* [98] Selected Poems from 1956. Peking 1957, p. 10. One of those who helped to expel love from new Chinese literature was Yao Wen-yüan [99] (1925—), one of the Gang of Four. Cf. his article *Lun shih-ko ch'uang-tso chung-ti i chung ch'ing-hsiang* [100] On the Situation in the Poetic Creation. Wen-i yüeh-pao [101] Literary Monthly, *3,* 1957, pp. 51—53. Also Chang T'ien-i [102]: *Wen-hsüeh tsa-p'ing* [103] Literary and Critical Essays. Peking 1958, pp. 65—76.

[63] Cf. Liu Hsin-wu: *Ai-ch'ing-ti wei-chih* [104] The Place of Love. Shih-yüeh [105] October, *1,* 1978, pp. 117—129. It has been translated into German by Renate Krieg (slightly abridged) and published in *Hundert Blumen: Moderne chinesische Erzählungen.* Zweiter Band, 1949—1979. Edited by Wolfgang Kubin. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1980, pp. 433—466.

[64] E. g. *Class Counsellor* by Liu Hsin-wu, *Dedication* by Lu Wen-fu or *Yin-yüan* [106] *Marriage* by K'ung Chieh-sheng [107] (1952—). The last one see in *The Wounded,* pp. 25—54.

[65] Originally published in the journal Chin-t'ien [108] Today, *2,* 1974, pp. 21—31 in Peking University. *Hundert Blumen,* pp. 483—505.

70

The story *Kui-lai-ti mo-sheng-jen* [110] Return of the Stranger has the same thematic and the motivational design as the four stories to which the major part of the present study has here been devoted: "re-encounter" of one condemned though innocent with the members of his family, and "scars" left on the victims as permanent marks of their hardships whether in a labour camp or at home.

The anonymous old man's fate resembles that of Ulysses to some extent. Both returned home to their families after a lapse of twenty years, but in contrast to the Greek "hero", the Chinese "little man" (or "middle character") found at home his faithful and devoted wife, but primarily a "dead daughter" — dead in that she felt absolutely nothing towards her father, although he was entirely innocent. This "dead" girl, twenty-four years old teacher, becomes the protagonist of the story and the author describes the event of the "re-encounter" and the history of the "scars" through her eyes, using the "first-person" form.

The author of the story described a circular journey of the "emaciated and small" father of Lan-lan [111] (protagonist's name), starting with father's home, without giving any particular location, through the camps in the Northeast, then in the Shanhsi Province and lastly in Kansu. Contrary to The Scars, where the narration generally follows a progressive development of the plot, the course here has for the most part an inverted character. While the "re-encounter" in the former takes place at the end of the story, in the latter it is, at least formally, situated at the beginning.

It may be presumed with certainty that Shih Mo had read Lu Hsin-hua's story and the Return of the Stranger may quite possibly have been written in contrast to The Scars. This, of course, does not hold in absolute manner, for some elements of the delineated reality are the same: e. g. both make a point of the innocence of the condemned, members of their families had to live in a small room, but after the rehabilitation, they were moved into a roomy or a new dwelling. This was evidently a dynamic stereotype of activity.

"Re-encounter" in The Scars is painful only to Wang Hsiao-hua, for at the site from which she had originally undertaken her circular journey, she had found her dead mother. "Re-encounter" in the Return of the Stranger is painful to "dead" Lan-lan as well as to the living father. What can Lan-lan feel towards him when they declared him dead immediately after his departure (she was then four) and they asked her "to detest him, to abuse him", and if it had been possible, they would have given her a whip mercilissly to strike him with. Later, it came out that he was not dead. He wrote her letters when she was bigger, but she did not read them. When about twelve, she had once to kneel on bits of broken glass for having repeated Red Guards mother's statement that her father was innocent. In the cellar where she had to serve her sentence, she witnessed the death of a tortured old man, whose whole body "was covered with wounds". Nobody was allowed to give him a glass of water; when he died in the early morning, she fainted ...

In Lan-lan's recollections, dreams mix with reality. In her dreams she sees her

father as a gentleman inspiring respect, with a white turban, sitting on an elephant, and also as a "little old man" with blood-stained face begging for water. She is somewhere between the two. The first image is rather a yearning, dreamy vision of her childhood. The second comes closer to reality experienced and still felt. To her father the life in their family is a sort of a continuation of that in the camps, an atavistic residue of the circular journey. At home he is afraid of being spied on, denounced, and lives according to a strict daily regime of the past two decades. That life had been "quite all right" to him, "he had become used to it", despite the fact that he had to work hard, had little to eat, had to live without hope and look at the world between the "straddling legs of a soldier in leather boots". The stranger looks also at the contemporary life with anxiety, uncertainty. So does also his wife and even Lan-lan's fiancé. "Everybody pretends joy, contentment, concealing sorrow." To Lan-lan such a life appears untrue (*pu chen-shih-ti*) [112].

Truth (*chen-shih*) [113] is the central theme of this story. But it is not that "truth" of which much was written in the PRC towards the end of the first half of 1978 and later. Chinese mass media discussed about gnoseology, the questions concerning the relation between truth and social practice, whereby an attack was being prepared by Teng Hsiao-p'ing's pragmatic group against that of Hua Kuo-feng advocating Mao Tse-tung's teaching about the "permanent revolution".[66] The "truth" spoken of in Chinese press was to have been rehabilitated primarily in order that all the forces be united for achieving the "four modernizations". The truth involved in the Return of the Stranger was meant to be a contrast to *hsü-kou* [114] empty fabrication, construction. It was to be a truth about the "cultural revolution", about the May 7th Cadre Schools, about labour camps, the suffering of the masses, about the inner, pragmatically inmeasurable, though all the more important truth of all concerned, a truth that would reach the widest possible circle of important elements in the life of the past, but also of the present.

Lan-lan's father is incapable of expressing this truth, but neither does he attempt to do so. Lan-lan endeavours to elucidate this truth to herself (and thereby also to the reader) by comparing the objective reality with the standard of her own individual cognition. That "individual" (*ssu*) [115] or *tzu-ssu* [116] against which the struggle was waged also during the "cultural revolution",[67] in order that the individuals and the masses could be better manipulated in the spirit of the needs of Maoism, Lan-lan preserves for herself as a "means of self-defence" (*tzu-wei-ti shou-tuan*) [117]. She has to rely solely on her own moral strength, nothing else was available for her in society.

---

[66] Feoktistov, V. F.—Yashchenko, G. J.: *Ideologicheskaya borba v Kitae na sovremennom etape* (Contemporary Ideological Struggle in China). Problemy Dalnego Vostoka (Problems of the Far East), *1*, 1980, pp. 125—127.

[67] Daubier, J.: op. cit., p. 13.

Lan-lan's individual knowledge succeeded in time in breaking down also the emotional barrier that separated her from the "stranger". It was the truth of his suffering and his twenty years' devotedness that finally convinced her of the sincerity and righteousness in their mutual relations. Lan-lan overcame the strangeness and estrangement interposed between her and her father by the inhuman and unjust system. His circular journey ended with this second and real "re-encounter".

This "re-encounter", however, is not the *pointe* of the story. That one resides in the definition of truth understood in a manner different from that presented in the new version of Maoism in the post-Mao era. This is evident from the entire story and its conclusion. Lan-lan as teacher does not act like Chang Chün-shih from the *Class Counsellor*. She too teaches young children, but she does not pretent hypocritically to save those who had "suffered at the hands of the Gang of Four". The young deliquent Sung Pao-ch'i in Liu Hsin-wu's story and the little girl Chang Hsiao-hsia [118] in Lu Hsin-hua's story had been exposed to approximately the same pedagogical and political impact, the same blue notebooks, manuals and ideas. The problem is that every one has to take a certain attitude towards them. Sung Pao-ch'i and even more so Yeh Hui made the mistakes since they believed in pseudo-values.

●

The "literature of the scars" meets the political and ideological demands of the contemporary leadership in a greater measure than the adequate and justified needs of the literary and artistic development of Chinese literature.

The exposure of the scars stops half way. It is related to a scope of the "criminal clique of Lin Piao and the Gang of Four", although it ought to reach the entire field of influence of the Maoist model in the political, economic and cultural life of the Chinese society.

Concealment and deceit, as two characteristic traits of Chinese literature, referred to at the beginning, passed muster in the traditional era, but in the modern age, too.

In the *Chung-yung* [119] *The Doctrine of the Mean,* traditionally attributed to Tzu Ssu [120], the grandson of Confucius, we read: "The Master said, 'There was Shun: — He indeed was greatly wise! Shun loved to question *others* and to study their words, though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad *in them*, and displayed what was good' (*yin o erh yang shan*) [121]."[68]

Shun [122] (traditional dates 2255—2205 B. C.), one of the wise and ideal rulers of Chinese antiquity, allegedly "invited the opinions of all men, and found truth of the highest value in their simplest sayings, and was able to determine from them the course of the Mean".[69] Insofar as the principle of "conceal what is bad and display

---

[68] Legge, J.: *The Chinese Classics.* Vols 1, 2. Taipei 1969, p. 388.
[69] Loc. cit.

what is good" is applied to determine correct and incorrect views, one might well agree with it. When, however, it came to be universally valid, it resulted in a relativizing of values and frequently led to concealment and deceit.

This relativization has full sway also today. The "literature of the scars" displays just so much "bad" as is deemed indispensable for promoting the "good" that serves the pragmatic efforts of those who control and guide it.

1.新潮头 2.苏庄 3.论"写作家熟悉的"及其它 4.光明日报 5.暴露文学
6.整风运动 7.伤痕文学 8.伤痕
9.卢新华 10.鲁迅 11.鲁迅全集 12.茅盾
13.钱杏邨 14.暴露与讽刺 15.汉奸
16.中国现代文学史参考资料 17.隐微
18.幽厉 19.刺 20.美 21.白居易 22.新乐府
23.为事而作 24.讽兴 25.再谈"暴露"
26.华商报 27.关于所谓写真实 28.阴暗
29.光明 30.鼓吹集 31.粉饰 32.无冲突论
33.周扬 34.人民日报 35.智取威虎山 36.在
延安文艺座谈会上的讲话 37.三突出
38.评"三突出" 39.百花齐放,百家争鸣
40.推陈出新 41.古为今用,洋为中用 42.刘
心武 43.班主任 44.人民文学 45.张俊石
46.宋宝琦 47.谢惠敏 48.浩然 49.狂人日记
50.解放思想,发扬文艺民主 51.陆文夫
52.献身 53.重逢 54.金河 55.上海文学
56.记忆 57.张弦 58.挣脱 59.现实主义的

新探索 60.呐喊 61.杨文志 62.作品 63.大字报 64.文汇报 65.诗经 66.王瑶华 67.十大条 68.朱寿信 69.北宁 70.方丽范 71.四情 72.秦慕平 73.张召辉 74.刘惠珊 75.宋保义 76.悲惨世界 77.祝捷宴会 78.黄喜强 79.理直气壮 80.小说 81.郑振铎 82.叙言 83.文学大纲 84.王春元 85.中间人物 86.曲本陆 87.评写"中间人物"主张和对它的批判 88.社会科学战线 89.陈月晨 90.写"中间人物"问题再探讨 91.新文学论丛 92.样板戏 93.吴若九 94.侯金镜 95.序言 96.1956短篇小说选 97.臧克家 98.1956诗选 99.姚文元 100.论诗歌创作中的一种情形 101.文艺月报 102.张天翼 103.文学杂评 104.爱情的位置 105.十月 106.七四缘 107.孔捷生 108.今天 109.石黑犬 110.归来的陌生人 111.兰兰 112.不真实的 113.真实 114.虚构 115.私 116.自私 117.自卫的手段 118.张小霞 119.中庸 120.子思 121.隐恶而扬善 122.舜

# DEBUTS DE LA NOUVELLE PROSE VIETNAMIENNE
# (1945—1950)

JÁN MÚČKA, Bratislava

La mission de la littérature vietnamienne naissante n'était pas de nature exclusivement littéraire, mais aussi sociale avec toutes les complexités de son époque. On y trouve le reflet d'une partie essentielle de l'expérience historique et de l'élan révolutionnaire de la nation vietnamienne. Elle contient pas mal du traditionnel, mais aussi du continu, de l'intégrant, du nouveau. Son trait caractéristique réside dans un effort pour faire prévaloir les principes réalistes et en termes extralittéraires, pour mobiliser les forces afin de préserver l'autonomie et l'indépendance nationales gagnées par le combat.

Les transformations sociales dans leurs conséquences inexorables ont engendré aussi dans la vie culturelle vietnamienne de la période étudiée ici, des phénomènes et des éléments nouveaux qui déterminaient, au point de vue historique et théorique, une nouvelle conception de la prose artistique vietnamienne. La teneur du concept 'littérature contemporaine' devint foncièrement changée. Au premier plan du processus littéraire se trouvait toute une série de problèmes artistiques, théoriques et historiques ayant rapport à la réalité nouvelle. Ce rapport tendant vers le progrès artistique, était rempli d'un contenu intérieur très riche et possédait un sens concret bien complexe.

Un certain "silence" des prosateurs vietnamiens dans les années précédant la révolution d'Août (1945) était symptomatique de la préparation et la formation d'un nouveau front culturel et artistique. La révolution, une fois venue, signifiait alors un revirement historique aussi dans le développement de la prose. Idéologiquement, elle prit contact avec de tels faits importants de la période d'avant la révolution, comme étaient la publication des Thèses sur la culture (*De cuong van hoa*, 1943) du Parti communiste de l'Indochine et la création de l'Union des Travailleurs Culturels pour la Défense de la Patrie (*Hoi van hoa cuu quoc*, 1943).

Un des fondateurs de la jeune littérature soviétique, N. S. Tikhonov avait écrit dans son article La Littérature de la grande révolution (Literatura velikoï revolyutsii): "Dès les premiers jours de la formation du pouvoir soviétique, dans la tempête qui reversait tous les piliers du passé, dans les luttes, les débats passionnés, naissaient les premiers poètes et prosateurs de cette littérature insolite qui a été nommée soviétique. Dès son début, la littérature soviétique se formait comme une littérature multinationale, car elle réunissait les vieux et les jeunes talents de toute les nations qui trouvaient dans la révolution leur mission d'écrivain et mettaient leurs aptitudes au service de la nation. Mais ces guerriers intrépides, ces hérauts, annonciateurs enflammés du grand coup d'Etat, n'étaient pas de simples participants de la guerre

civile et des événements révolutionnaires. C'étaient des travailleurs d'une grande culture démocratique, ils s'appuyaient sur la tradition des écrivains de la littérature classique russe, derrière eux étaient les fils célèbres de nations diverses, des écrivains — des démocrates, des humanistes dont le chemin devait être suivi par des jeunes appelés à un service responsable, dévoué au peuple et à la grande Révolution d'Octobre.''[1]

Une pareille situation survint aussi au Vietnam à la suite de la Révolution d'Août 1945, quand la nouvelle littérature avait la possibilité de se développer en vertu des travaux de la génération antérieure d'écrivains qui passaient par des changements de nature surtout idéologique. Lors même que dans les nouvelles conditions sociales après la libération, cette génération d'écrivains vietnamiens aient reconnu une certain restriction de leurs possiblités quant au contenu et la forme de leurs travaux précédents, ce fut néanmoins un processus complexe, rempli de vues divergeantes sur la nature de l'art. Cependant, il existait dès le début de ce processus dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne une base commune de patriotisme, d'anticolonialisme, de la défense de la patrie, d'une conscience nationale et partiellement aussi de démocratisme, que la révolution révendiquait et réalisait.

Chaque écrivain vietnamien était conscient de l'expérience profonde de la réalité précédente, soit qu'il s'agisse de l'époque de l'administration française, ou de l'occupation japonaise avec son idéologie de la Grande Asie. On peut constater à titre objectif que la majorité des écrivains vietnamiens sont parvenus — lors même que beaucoup d'entre eux par des voies fort compliqués — graduellement à produire des ouvrages qui ne portaient pas atteinte aux intérêts de la nouvelle société et de l'Etat. Le mérite en revient sans doute aussi au travail idéologique réfléchi et à la politique culturelle du parti communiste qui réagissait avec discernement aux problèmes complexes des temps, mais décidait en principe dans les questions fondamentales touchant au développement ultérieur de la société. Comme V. I. Lénine avait écrit avec prévoyance et perspicacité en Septembre 1917 que '''aller en avant en Russie du 20$^e$ siècle qui s'était assurée la république et le démocratisme par voie de révolution, n'est possible qu'en avançant vers le socialisme'',[2] de même au Vietnam dans les années 1945—1950 ce sens de développement comportait un caractère d'urgence.

Il est généralement admis qu'avant la Révolution d'Août il existait nombre de mouvements divers aussi dans la prose artistique vietnamienne, des courants, des tendances de teneur souvent contradictoire. Cette situation persistait dans ces conséquences d'une manière notable aussi après la révolution, mais un fait important est à souligner, à savoir, que même avant la révolution il y existait au Vietnam un

---

[1] Literaturnaïa gazeta (Journal littéraire), 28 janvier 1965.

[2] Cité selon *Ideologitcheskaïa borba v literature i estetike* (Lutte idéologique dans la littérature et l'esthétique). Moscou 1972, p. 22.

courant de littérature révolutionnaire illégale, qui plus tard est devenu un courant légal, voir même le facteur principal, dominant, rassemblant autour de soi toutes les forces progressives, créativement artistiques (un rôle important y a été joué par l'œuvre poétique de To Huu). La forme de la prose vietnamienne naissante s'est façonnée alors à partir de rencontres de vues discordantes, d'assauts d'esprits, d'idéations opposées (chez maints auteurs cela aboutit dans la création d'un nouveau monde imaginaire de fantaisie artistique) face à la nouvelle réalité. L'effort général tendait vers la création (non seulement une postulation) d'une conception artistique actuelle pour laquelle on cherchait des expressions adéquates, appropriées à l'importance des transformations sociales et révolutionnaires, comme aussi aux sentiments nouveaux dans la vie. Cependant, la formulation explicite de ces efforts à cette époque laissait encore à désirer; néanmoins, en ce qui concerne le niveau d'une conviction artistique pénétrante elle contribua à mettre en jeu les relations entre l'œuvre littéraire et sa transformation artistique, ce qui représente dans l'ensemble de la littérature vietnamienne des valeurs d'une expression indépendante aux signes spécifiques.

On peut formellement constater qu'un groupe assez nombreux d'écrivains vietnamiens d'avant-guerre ont pris parti assez tôt aux événements et aux efforts révolutionnaires de leur pays. On y trouve Ngo Tat To, Nguyen Cong Hoan, Nguyen Hong, Nam Cao, To Hoai, Bui Hien et bien d'autres. Parmi les auteurs d'une génération plus jeune, qui alors se formaient comme écrivains, c'étaient : Tran Dang, Thep Moi, Nguyen Van Bong, Nguyen Dinh Thi, etc. Naturellement, dans les premières années après la révolution, les écrits de ceux-ci différaient aussi tant par leur qualité que par leur quantité, cependant un changement tangible s'y est opéré faisant cas d'une nouvelle attitude, d'une nouvelle prise de position, d'un nouveau point de vue.

Un trait caractéristique de la prose vietnamienne de 1945—1950 est qu'elle commençait à se préoccuper du but principal — l'idéal unique et multiforme de l'homme travailleur et combattant, transformé en dépendance des demandes du jour. De cette manière, la recherche de cet idéal, la création d'une image artistique d'un héros travaillant, combattant et simultanément socialement actif vint au programme de l'activité des écrivains. La forme diverse des modèles demandait des approches esthétiques différentes — impressionnantes chez certains auteurs était l'approche imaginative qui décelait les vestiges de la manière périmée de penser, mais qui d'autre part représente aussi une approche originale avec une inclination vers la réalité tantôt dans le sens idéologique, que dans le choix des moyens d'expression.

Le problème de réalisme dans la littérature vietnamienne moderne ne cesse pas d'éliciter un intérêt soutenu de la part du monde littéraire. C'est inévitable, car cela contribue aussi à résoudre des questions secondaires et autres qui en découlent, et même certaines versions plus ou moins enracinées (telle par exemple, impliquant

que le réalisme critique doit forcément dégénérer dans les conditions de développement du réalisme socialiste). Notre prémisse est que la littérature vietnamienne du réalisme critique, datant de la période pré-révolutionnaire, représente une certaine interdépendance typologique dans laquelle le nouveau s'unit au vieux (à l'enraciné) d'une manière plus ou moins déformante, ce qui plus tard, dans le processus littéraire, mène dans un sense positif, vers le réalisme socialiste, éventuellement vers certains genres du modernisme, ou bien, dans un sens négatif, vers un naturalisme vulgaire (qui en fin de compte, dégénère au point de vue idéologique et celui de la culture des masses).

L'œuvre prosaïque, où les vieux thèmes prédominent, est représentée à cette époque par le livre des contes *Luong cay* (Le Sillon, 1945) par plusieurs auteurs. C'est un certain coup d'œil rétrospectif dans le passé récent caractérisé par des signes d'un primitivisme lyrique poétisant. Un écrivain qui avait du succès dans ce sujet était Nguyen Hong dans sa collection de contes *Dia nguc* (L'Enfer, 1945) où il a dépeint d'une manière saillante les souffrance des gens pendant la famine qui avait frappé la région du nord de Vietnam en 1945.

L'écrivain Nam Cao accueillit la révolution d'une manière originale, frénétique même. Son âme débordait d'un enthousiasme sincer et d'un sentiment cordial. Il attendait de la révolution qu'elle enlèverait tout d'un coup tout ce qui était triste et mauvais dans la vie des gens. Il suivait avec une sorte d'exaltation le sens des transformations révolutionnaires, écrivait des changements dans son pays natal, par exemple, dans sa pochade *Cach mang* (La Révolution),[3] mais il se reportait aussi vers certains aspects de la vie d'auparavant, par exemple, sans son esquisse *Mo sam banh* (A la recherche du champagne),[4] et écrivait des nouvelles dépeignant le destin de hauts fonctionnaires vietnamiens collaborant avec les impérialistes, par exemple, dans sa nouvelle *Noi truan chuyen cua khach ma hong* (Difficultés de l'hôte aux joues roses).[5] Son plus grand désir immédiatement après la révolution était "d'écrite et en même temps de lutter avec l'arme à la main", comme il s'est exprimé dans sa pochade *Duong vo Nam* (Chemin non du sud).[6] Son œuvre de cette époque peut être caractérisée sommairement et succinctement en disant qu'elle provenait du drame de vie multiforme de l'homme.

L'écrivain To Hoai s'est concentré à cette époque sur la présentation des régions lointaines de son pays, pleines de beautés pittoresques de la nature et de simple joies humaines — par exemple, dans son récit *Nuoc chay* (L'eau coulante, 1946). En outre, il suivait le thème patriotique de la lutte en progrès au Vietnam du sud — le conte *Nho que* (Souvenir de la patrie, 1946). Le prosateur Tran Dang s'est distingué dans son ouvrage de cette époque par une pénétration psychique profonde dans

---

[3] Tien phong (Avant-garde), 1946, № 18.

[4] Ibid., 1945, № 2.

[5] Ibid., 1946, № 12.

[6] Ibid., 1946, № 10.

l'âme et le caractère du nouvel homme. Par les yeux de ce nouvel homme, l'auteur lui même regarde la capitale Hanoï — c'est un regard clair et direct qui voit beaucoup, mais aussi révèle beaucoup. Il en est ainsi dans le conte *Mot lan toi thu do* (Quand je suis une fois venu dans la capitale, 1946). Un autre écrivain de cette génération, Thep Moi visait le futur dans ses œuvres — on aperçoit chez lui une aptitude naissante de transposer de manière positive les événements présents dans une image générale de la vie future — son esquisse *Co giai phong* (Drapeau libre, 1945).

La signification de la révolution pour l'œuvre littéraire nouvelle du Vietnam résidait principalement en ce qu'elle élucida plus à fond le passé et traça une perspective claire du futur. Un autre important facteur à cette époque était que beaucoup d'écrivains vietnamiens, qui dans les années trente avaient appartenu au mouvement dit romantique (tels que Nguyen Tuan, Hoai Thanh et autres), mais aussi des poètes — représentants du fameux mouvement "Nouvelle poésie", vinrent aussi a trouver petit à petit leur place dans le développement post-révolutionnaire de la littérature vietnamienne, jusqu'à y occuper une position dominante. N. I. Nikulin écrit à ce sujet : "Mais le rôle principal y est (dans la poésie vietnamienne — J. M.) constamment joué par les poètes de la génération plus ancienne, dont la majorité avait débuté sur leur chemin créatif dans le mouvement "Nouvelle poésie" (1932—1945) ... Parmi ces poètes, Xuan Dieu, Te Hanh, Che Lan Vien, Huy Can accueillirent la Révolution d'Août 1945 avec un sentiment cordial et devinrent des édificateurs actifs de la nouvelle culture vietnamienne ..."[7]

Parmi les prosateurs de cette génération, on trouve Nguyen Tuan qui rétrospectivement a écrit de lui-même : "Ton moment sérieux est survenu ...C'est le cas ou jamais."[8] Il écrit de soi dranchement, se préoccupe de la vie autour de lui, croit au futur, lors même que du côté formel il simplifie beaucoup de choses et phénomènes. Hoai Thanh accuillit avec enthousiasme le nouvel ordre, concentre son attention surtout sur les phénomènes extérieurs dans la société et se préoccupe de la relation entre l'individuel et le collectif. Cependant, par endroits, il traite de cette relation d'une manière relativement schématique, de sorte qu'il n'a pu éviter une certaine partialité subjective dans ses jugements — par exemple dans esquisse *Dan khi mien Trung* (Atmosphère du Vietnam Central).[9] Au premier abord, Nguyen Huy Tuong avait été pris quelque peu au dépourvu, surpris par les changements révolutionnaires et les événements de guerre — comme en témoigne son esquisse *O chien khu* (Dans la région des hostilités).[10] Il poursuivit aussi le thème historique et dans son recueil *Luong cay* (Le Sillon) déjà cité, il publia un conte *Nguoi dai bieu om yeu trong Hoi*

---

[7] Nikuline, N. I.: *Poeziïa sotsialistitcheskogo Vietnama* (Poésie du Vietnam socialiste), In: *Sotsialistitcheskyi realizm na sovremennom etape iego razvitiya* (Réalisme socialiste à l'étappe contemporaine de son développement). Moscou, Nauka 1977, p. 293.

[8] *Vo de* (Sans titre), Van moi (Nouvelle littérature), 1945.

[9] Tien phong (Avant-garde), 1945, № 3.

[10] Ibid., 1945, № 2.

*nghi Dien Hong* (Délégué malade à la conférence de Dien Hong) dans lequel il exprima au moyen d'événements historiques l'espoir et la résolution du peuple de lutter contre la fourberie et la duplicité des colonialistes français. Xuan Dieu dans son esquisse *Mien Nam nuoc Viet va nguoi Viet mien Nam* (La partie sud du Vietnam et les vietnamiens du sud, 1946) et dans sa prose poétisée *Viet-nam Dai hoi* (Le parlement vietnamien),[11] a relevé l'unité et la solidarité du peuple vietnamien sur les personnages de trois femmes représentant la région nord, centrale et sud du pays. C'est une prose imprégnée d'un lyrisme civil.

Ces transformations thématiques, cependant n'étaient que les premiers pas vers une nouvelle formation de la littérature vietnamiene contemporaine. Cela explique certaines insuffisances, imperfections dont elles sont marquées du côté artistique et idéologique ; en outre, elles sont survenues à une période bien compliquée, pleine de contradictions diverses et de conflits. Par contre, elles aidaient à découvrir et à rectifier les phénomènes négatifs dans la pratique sociale concrète et secondaient les révendications civiles instaurées par la situation révolutionnaire.

Il existait cependant, beaucoup de questions que les écrivains ne comprenaient pas encore ou même ne s'en rendaient pas compte du tout. Il s'en suivit que souvent ils évitaient de présenter les antagonismes et les contradictions qui, certes, existaient bien. Nam Cao, par exemple — pour lui, la révolution était surtout et avant tout une affaire d'émotivité, il la comprenait sous une forme étroite et simplifiée. Il trouvait tout à fait sympathique qu'elle renversait tout le vieux de fond en comble, qu'elle mettait au programme du jour une révision des valeurs, mais il n'arriva pas à comprendre qu'elle apportait une solution favorable aux révendications matérielles de base pour l'homme travailleur. Quant à Nguyen Huy Tuong, cet auteur semblait sentir que la révolution incorporait en soi aussi quelque chose d'intérieur, de caché, mais ne parvint pas à se l'expliquer. Dans l'épisode du garçon qui quitte ses parents, leur causant du chagrin, pour aller joindre les rangs de l'armée libératrice, cet auteur ne dissimule pas sa surprise d'une telle conduite, ne saisissant pas les motifs qui l'y poussaient — *Hai cha con* (Père et fils).[12]

Cependant, des différences existaient parmi les prosateurs aussi à ce point de vue. Nguyen Tuan, par exemple, ne partageait pas tout à fait les sentiments de Nguyen Huy Tuong ou ceux de Nam Cao. Dans une de ses pièces (*Co doc lap* — Herbe indépendante, 1946), il dit par la bouche d'un de ses caractères: "Nous sommes l'essence de la Destruction. Nous sommes nés dans l'Injustice. Notre demeure est la Dissatisfaction. Nous sommes un peuple de la nationalité Chaos. Nous sommes le produit de l'Inégalité. Nous avons causé l'incendie de la Guerre. Nous sommes une mère gardant avec souci la pureté d'une terre désordonnée, pleine d'une contrainte simulée et illogique. Nous balayerons vigoureusement l'humanisme et l'injustice

---

[11] In: *Nguon song moi* (Source de vie nouvelle), 1945.

[12] Tien phong (Avant-garde), 1946, № 9.

non-scientifiques. Nous entamerons la lutte contre l'Ordre actuel, nous vivrons constamment pour répudier l'Ordre actuel. Contre le bloc d'injustice nous sommes une bombe explosive, une bombe atomique. Nous brûlons, nous fouettons, nous détruisons et en détruisant, nous créons. Nous dirigeons la vie de contradictions et d'antagonismes. Nous sommes l'histoire." Ce passage montre que Nguyen Tuan ne manque pas d'enthousiasme, mais son idée de violence révolutionnaire est quelque peu outrée et non pas tout à fait justifiée. L'auteur ne voit pas clairement l'essence naturelle et humaniste de la révolution. Il exprime de telles idées, mais d'une manière encore plus saillante, dans son roman *Chua Dan* (Pagode Dan, 1946).

Dans plusieurs de ces nouvelles œuvres prosaïques écrites après la révolution, la révolution, en raison des défauts relevés ci-avant, n'apparait que comme un concept plutôt abstract — elle n'est pas toujours associée à l'image de l'homme avec ses actions et démarches concrètes des jours ordinaires. Par conséquent, dans les œuvres de cette époque, cette image n'atteint pas sa pleine valeur, n'est pas complète dans sa complexité de développment et d'action. Dans la nouvelle *Mot phut yeu duoi* (Moment de faiblesse),[13] Nguyen Huy Tuong a créé l'image d'une militante venant d'un milieu assez réel, qui prend une active part dans l'activité révolutionnaire. Par la suite, l'ennemi la persécute et elle quitta la partie volontairement parce qu'elle est honnête et craint d'embrouiller dans cette affaire la famille de son mari. On ne saurait nier à l'auteur sa volonté d'analyser plus à fond la situation assez précaire et compliquée de l'état mental de la jeune femme, mais en fin de compte, il finit par s'empêtrer dans les petits fonds de réflexions morales-philosophiques. "Lors même qu'il s'agisse du personnage principal, l'auteur ne l'a pas présenté comme un personnage typique et 'le moment faible' dont il voulait parler pour la critiquer, donne l'impression ici d'une manière agréable de capitulation de la part de la jeune femme, sans une analyse plus approfondie, et surtout sans une critique rigoureuse des vues de la jeune révolutionnaire."[14] Il se peut, cependant, que l'auteur avait l'intention de dépeindre cette jeune femme comme un personnage atypique précisément à cause de sa manière d'agir, ce qui d'autre côté ne demande pas que ce soit un personnage irréel.

Nguyen Hong a présenté des personnages révolutionnaires dans son recueil de contes *Lo lua* (Le four, 1946), d'une manière assez exagérée, lors même qu'on y trouve des traits de vrais gens de la vie. Cependant, chez cet auteur, un certaine exagération et hyperbolisation des situations et des personnages est caractéristique déjà pour ses travaux d'avant la révolution où ce penchant semble répondre à un but envisagé (pour renforcer les contrastes sociaux). Ainsi, il faut chercher une fonction de ses hyperboles aussi dans ses œuvres ultérieures. Un certain défaut de nature

---

[13] Ibid., 1945, № 1.

[14] Phong Le : *May van de van xuoi Viet-nam, 1945—1970* (Quelques problèmes de la prose vietnamienne 1945—1970). Nha xuat ban Khoa hoc xa hoi Ha Noi 1972, p. 27.

formelle-stylistique réside dans une prolifération de monologues et de dialogues des personnages.

Une signification, en un certain sens irremplaçable, dans le processus littéraire du Vietnam d'après la révolution revenait aux mémoires de Vo Nguyen Giap *Khu giai phong* (Région libérée, 1946) et de Tran Huy Lieu *Nghia-lo vout nguc — Nghia-lo khoi nghia* (Nhgia-lo en réfugié — Nghia-lo en insurgé, 1946). Ils s'y sont occupés des problèms de l'activité révolutionnaire au point de vue du mode de penser et de la pratique révolutionnaire en termes concrets, s'efforçant d'expliquer la révolution et les questions concernant la qualité de la nouvelle idéologie.

La nouvelle de Do Phon, *Khao* (1946), est marquée par une approche objective, mais teintée de scepticisme envers la révolution ; dans la nouvelle *Nguyen* (1945), Nguyen Tuan a décrit des jeunes gens qui s'animent éperdument par une beauté et une joie de vie essentiellement vide (cheveux, ongles, envies "naevi", les cous fluets des femmes, mélancolique flacon d'eau-de-vie ou pipe à opium). Dans sa nouvelle, citée ci-avant, *Chua Dan* (Pagode Dan), Nguyen Tuan est allé encore plus loin et a créé une image grotesquement absurde des jeunes gens. Mais des voix univoquement contrarévolutionnaires, et alors de nature réactionnaire, se sont fait entendre, par exemple celle de l'écrivain Doan Phu Tu, qui prit parti contre trois tendances proclamées par la révolution vietnamienne — la nation, la science, les masses — et écrit sans équivoque : "Si l'art veut vivre, il devra se joindre avec les connaissances bourqeoises et leur argent, c'est son seul moyen de subsister."[15]

Les questions de base auxquelles la nouvelle littérature vietnamienne était censée donner des réponses étaient essentiellement les mêmes que celles qui affrontent toute littérature et à n'importe quelle époque ; cependant, à cette étape initiale, elles s'avérèrent beaucoup plus insistantes : Ecrire pour qui ? Ecrire quoi ?, Ecrire comment ? Par rapport à la situation concrète, le savant littéraire vietnamien Phong Le remarque avec justesse que la première des questions est la plus facile et y donne également une réponse simple : "La mission de l'art est de servir la patrie."[16] Comprendre parfaitement et dans toutes leurs conséquences les deux autres questions et y donner une réponse, s'avéra plus compliqué. La grande diversité des vues sur la valeur de la littérature artistique devait être graduellement réduite par voie de discussions — une hâte excessive aurait pu nuire à l'affaire.

Tout à fait à l'écart et, en fit, contre le développement historique (donc contre la révolution) se tinrent quelques uns des représentants principaux du groupe littéraire d'avant la révolution 'Par nos propres forces' (Tu luc van doan) qui, déjà pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale, avaient passé à partir des positions de réformisme aux positions d'une activité politique contre-révolutionnaire. Nhat Linh et Hoang Dao avaient pratiquement cessé de se faire entendre à partir de 1941, Khai Hung

---

[15] Van moi (Littérature nouvelle), 1945, № 8.

[16] Phong Le : op. cit., p. 29.

continuait à contribuer au journal Ngay nay (Aujourd'hui) et après la Révolution d'Août 1945, se jeta avec encore une plus grande verve à publier dans le journal Chinh nghia (Justice), l'organe du Parti national vietnamien (Viet-nam Quoc dan dang). Il cessa d'écrire des romans avec un thème d'avant-guerre (plusieurs étaient d'un caractère décadent) et commença à écrire des contes et des pièces dramatiques (étaient destinées à la lecture, non pour la scène) avec le but avéré de populariser et propager plus activement ses propres idées et vues qui étaient essentiellement dirigées contre la révolution et s'efforçaient d'oblitérer le caractère hostile des visées des impérialistes. Dans la pièce *Khuc tieu ai oan* (Elégie de la flûte),[17] il paraphrase la révolution comme un roi amoral, méchant (il s'appuie sur l'épisode de Von Yun dans le livre Printemps et Automne).[18]

Truong Tuu et Nguyen Duc Quynh qui, au point de vue idéologique, passent dans l'histoire littéraire vietnamienne[19] pour trotskistes et qui, avant la Révolution d'Août 1945, avaient écrit des romans sociaux, s'imposèrent le silence au point de vue littéraire après la révolution, quoique dénonçant en termes tranchants le nouveau développement artistique-littéraire. Dans l'article *Nha van va cach mang* (L'écrivain et la révolution) ils ont écrit : "Le chemin de la Nouvelle littérature et de l'art mènera sans doute par le chemin de la lutte des classes ouvrières du monde et de notre patrie contre la bourgeoisie ..." (...) "Non! Pour sauver notre patrie, nos hommes des lettres n'ont pas à prêter serment sur les cadavres et le sang de l'ennemi". (...) "Avons nous encore à découvrir qui et où est l'ennemi de notre nation? Est-ce que ce n'est qu'un seul impérialiste? Or tout un système? L'ordre économique, political, social, culturel entier dans lequel nous suffoquerons à mort si nous ne nous en débarrassons pas."[20]

On peut constater qu'en dépit de la situation complexe et idéologiquement contradictoire pendant les années 1945—1946, la prose vietnamienne commença à se développer par voie d'une nouvelle méthode créative menant vers le réalisme socialiste. Un des résultats de la Révolution d'Août 1945 au Vietnam était l'installation d'un régime populaire-démocratique dans le pays. Celui-ci créa des conditions de base pour des discussions élargies sur la mission et le rôle da la littérature et le travail artistique per se. Toutefois, les premiers pas de la nouvelle prose étaient relativement incertains, le nombre d'ouvrages de valeur et bien tournés au point de vue formel-artistique, était minime. Comme on a noté plus haut, bon nombre d'écrivains opèrent pour "le silence", parmi eux tels qui avaient été auparavant des représentants du mouvement réaliste.

---

[17] Chinh nghia (Justice), 1946, № 21—28.

[18] *Xuan Thu* (Tchouen Tsieou) Printemps et l'Automne. 5ᵉ livre des Cinq livres confuciens.

[19] Par wx. Phong Le : Op. cit.

[20] Dans le recueil *Van hoa va cach mang* (Culture et révolution), 1946, cit. selon Phong Le : Op. cit. p. 32.

Pendant les premières années de la guerre de résistance contre les français, Ngo Tat To ne fit qu'enrégistrer quelques menues épisodes de la vie, par exemple, *Qua tet bo doi* (Petites étrennes militaires du jour de l'an),[21] ou bien *Buoi cho trung du* (Marchais dans la région centrale).[22] Nguyen Cong Hoan n'a écrit pendant cette période que quelques romans sans prétention à une valeur artistique de grande portée, par exemple *Dong chi To* (Camarade To).[23] De même, Nguyen Hong ne réussit à dépeindre, de manière adéquate à son talent, aucun problème de quelqu'importance dans la vie. Dans son recueil d'esquisses *Dat nouc yeu dau* (Patrie bien aimée, 1949) il n'a fait que rassembler un pêle-mêle d'idées interprétées d'une manière fort simplifiée. Et dans le conte *Con nuoi Bep Ba* (L'enfant adoptif)[24] il ne réussit pas non plus à présenter une image convaincante et attrayante du combattant ou militant de son époque. Les écrivains eux-mêmes étaient conscients de leurs insuffisances — par exemple, To Hoai écrit alors : "Quand nous écrivons sur la beauté, le seul mot qui nous vient est dévastée, quand nous écrivons sur le mal, alors nous succombons facilement à l'émotion."[25] Beaucoup d'entre eux (y compris aussi ceux qui en vertu de leur conscience nationale et leur propre conviction avaient pris part activement à la lutte de résistance) se trouvaient en contradiction avec leurs propres idées, ou dédoublés. Après un laps de temps, Hoai Thanh en a écrit ouvertement : "Le parti et les masses ont enflammé dans nos cœurs la résolution de battre les français. Mais dans notre esprit, personnelement dans le mien, il y restait toujours une région autonome où se cachaient assez d'avis divers. Je n'avais pas encore compris que dorénavant la vie était changée à fond. Je croyais que la politique et la société avaient changé partiellement seulement ..."[26]

Pendant ce temps de recherche, de polémique et de discussion, un rôle important dans le processus littéraire fut joué par le Congrès national des travailleurs culturels (Dai hoi van hoa toan quoc), ouvert en juillet 1948 avec la communication par Truong Chinh marxisme et le problème de la culture vietnamienne (*Chu nghia Mac va van de van hoa Viet-nam*), comme aussi par la Conférence avec discussion sur la littérature et l'art menée par Viet-bac (*Hoi nghi tranh luan van nghe Viet-bac*) en septembre 1949 et la communication par To Huu edifier une littérature et un art populaires (*Xay dung van nghe nhan dan*).

En un certain sens, on peut dire que ces conférences firent avancer la production

---

[21] Cuu quoc (Défense de la patrie), 1949.

[22] *Tap van cach mang va khang chien* (Recueil de la littérature révolutionnaire et résistante). 1949.

[23] Le journal Sao vang (l'Etoile jaune), 1946.

[24] Van nghe (Littérature et art), Xuan (Printemps) 1950.

[25] To Hoai : *Tu nhan xet tu tuong, nghe thuat cua toi* (Mes vues idéologiques et artistiques). In : Van nghe (Littérature et art), № 45.

[26] Hoai Thanh : *Nhin lai couc tranh luan ve nghe thuat hoi 1935—1936* (Regard rétrospectif sur la discussion concernant l'art de la période 1935—1936). Nghien cuu van hoc (Études littéraires), 1960, № 1.

prosaïque par quelques pas en avant. Nam Cao publia un conte fort réussi *Doi mat* (Les yeux, 1948), où il releva précisément le problème "des yeux", c'est-à-dire, le problème du regard sur la réalité et sa propre place dans cette réalité. Il évita une poétisation superflue et au point de vue idéologique, y atteint sa maturité. Il a décrit la vie derrière les lignes ennemies dans son conte *Bon cay so cach mot can cu dich* (Quatre kilomètres de la base ennemie, 1949) et un sacrifice héroïque dans la région frontalière dans le conte *Chuyen bien gioi* (Episode de la frontière, 1950). Des œuvres de Tran Dang, on peut relever le conte *Mot cuoc chuan bi* (Préparation, 1949) qui est une recherche du chemin artistique de l'écrivain. Dans le recueil de contes *Nui Cuu quoc* (La montagne, Défense de la patrie, 1948), To Hoai indique qu'il est capable de s'emparer d'une manière originale et artistiquement attractive de la matière offerte par la vie des minorités nationalistes des montagnes. Alors il continua avec succès dans ses rapports en 1949 de la région nord-ouest du Vietnam. Ils sont remarquables par l'habilité de l'auteur dans le choix de la représentation — des petites choses et phénomènes mais essentiellement de grande importance. L'écrivain Thep Moi de son côté, a réussi dans de courts reportages de saisir exactement les nouveaux traits de la lutte et aussi des commencements de la production économique. Nguyen Tuan dans sa collection de traits *Duong vui* (Le gai chemin, 1949) tourne l'attention du lecteur, même dans les conditions et situations difficiles, vers les éléments plus gais et plus esthétiques de la vie. Il reste à signaler que vers 1949 un grand nombre d'auteurs-soldats de talent apparurent dans la vie littéraire du Vietnam — ils publiaient le recueil de contes *Ve quoc quan viet* (Écrit par des soldats en défendant la patrie, 1949). Nam Cao accueillit leur entrée dans la littérature par les mots: "Ceux qui écrivent, comme aussi leurs caractères qu'ils décrivent, sont tous des hommes de main. Dévoués, solidaires, ardents au combat et disciplinés. Leur psychisme n'est ni embrouillé ni compliqué. Ce sont des gens simples, modestes et réels ..."[27] En fait, très peu de ce grand nombre d'auteurs-débutants atteignirent par la suite un niveau littéraire-artistique plus prétentieux dans leurs travaux, mais un mouvement créatif d'une telle envergure parmi les jeunes était d'une signification non négligeable à cette époque. Dans cet ordre d'idées il faut souligner l'œuvre de Ho Phuong et son conte réussi *Thu nha* (Lettre de la maison, 1949).

En guise de conclusion on peut constater que beaucoup d'écrivains vietnamiens de diverses générations qui, pendant les premières années de la lutte de résistance contre les colonialistes français, avaient pris une active part dans le processus littéraire, ont donné preuve que leur dévelopment artistique ultérier s'annonçait bien et était plein de promesses.

---

[27] Cuu quoc (Défense de la patrie), 1949, № 19.

# THE "MOVEMENT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASIA" — A PART OF THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND TO THE JAPANESE AGGRESSION IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA (1938—1945)

ZDEŇKA VASILJEVOVÁ, Prague

The "movement for the development of Asia" (kōa undō), propagating the Japanese penetration into the countries of East and Southeast Asia, which was to be transformed in a tool of Japanese expansion in the framework of the "New Political Structure", finally became a purely bureaucratic body, an inevitable result of the Japanese fascist rulers' fear of any political activity.

The plans of Japanese militarism to dominate all of Asia consisted of two interrelated parts: an aggression northwards, i. e. against the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, and penetration of the south, i. e. aggression against the countries of East and Southeast Asia. The aim of the first thrust of the aggression was to eliminate Soviet government in the Far East, and to gain control over the Soviet Far East Coast and Siberia. The second thrust was intended to dislodge the European colonial powers and the United States from East and Southeast Asia, and to establish Japanese domination in the area.

From the early 1930s, the plans were being gradually elaborated in greater detail, and steps were taken to implement them. The occupation of Northeast China by Japanese forces and the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932 created a staging area for aggression against the Soviet Union and Mongolia. But the Japanese attempts at incursion into the territories of these states in the area of Lake Khasan and River Khalkhyn Gol were repelled. In the late 1930s a plan for an aggression "southwards" was drawn up, as expressed in the programme of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere". The sphere was to have included China, the countries of French Indochina, Thailand, Malaya, Burma, India, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, and in the long-term also Australia and New Zealand.

Implementation of this large-scale aggression was a complex process consisting of several linked-up phases. The first step was to occupy a territory, either by direct invasion of Japanese forces, or by the stationing of troops on the basis of an imposed agreement. The next step was to obtain control over the local government and administrative apparatus either in the form of a puppet regime as in Manchukuo or a direct Japanese rule.[1] Japan would then be able to begin a ruthless exploitation of the human and material resources of this region.

---

[1] The methods of Japanese administration in the occupied territories have been described by F. C. Jones in *Japan's New Order in East Asia. Its Rise and Fall 1937—45*. London, Oxford University Press 1954, p. 330 f.

During its expansion into the countries of East and Southeast Asia, Japan used, in addition to military means, also a number of other forms and methods, such as ideological propaganda the aim of which was to disorientate the anti-colonialist national liberation movement and win over its representatives for Japanese policy. That is why, along with an intensive military build-up and preparations for large-scale armed operations, great attention was being given in the second half of the 1930s to non-military means of penetration of East and Southeast Asian countries. The *Institute for the Development of Asia (Kōain)* was established on 16 December 1938, as a co-ordinating body of the Japanese government, whose task was to preparate political, cultural and economic measures for the policy of a "New Order in Asia".[2] Heisuke Yanagawa was appointed director of the *Institute*.[3]

Besides official military and civilian institutions, also a number of right-wing nationalist organizations took an active part in Japan's penetration of East and Southeast Asia; their propaganda and other activities were described as a "movement for the development of Asia" (kōa undō).[4] In the framework of its basically nationalist orientation, there was, however, not full unanimity within the "movement" as to ways of achieving Japanese domination in Asia. The "movement" disposed of no unified organization.[5] For this reason the Japanese government, wishing to bring it under its control, established on the basis of the *Institute for the Development of Asia* the *Federation of Organizations for the Development of Asia (Kōa Dantai Rengōkai).*[6] Fumimaro Konoe was appointed its chairman, Heisuke Yanagawa vice-chairman, and Teiichi Suzuki became its acting chairman.[7] The task of the *Federation* was to co-ordinate the activities of the various nationalist organizations; however, this was later found to be insufficient, and the demand was voiced for "effective centralized union".[8]

Japan's aggression was substantially escalated in 1940. Japan attempted to make use of the defeat of France and the Netherlands by fascist Germany and the perilous position of embattled Great Britain for seizing the colonies of these powers in Southeast Asia. Japanese troops entered French Indochina. By imposed mediation in the Thai-Indochinese conflict, Japan strengthened its influence in Thailand. The Japanese government started negotiations with representatives of the Dutch East

---

[2] *Nihon kindai shi jiten* (Dictionary of Modern Japanese History). Tokyo, Tōyō keizai shinpōsha 1965. See entry Kōain, pp. 162—163.

[3] *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabi shuyō bunsho* (The Chronology of Japanese Diplomacy and Chief Documents). Vol. 2. Tokyo, Hara shobō 1966. Nenpyō (Chronology), p. 120.

[4] *Yokusan kokumin undō shi* (The History of the National Imperial Rule Assistance Movement). Tokyo, Yokusan undō shi kankōkai 1954, p. 927.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 929.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., p. 930.

Indies. Japan tried to overcome its difficult situation in China, where it failed force Chian Kai-shek to surrender, by creating a puppet pro-Japanese government in Nanking, headed by the quisling and collaborationist Wang Ching-wei. On 30 November 1940, a *Japan-China-Manchukuo Treaty* was signed, with the participation of the Wang Ching-wei government, and a *Joint Japan-China-Manchukuo Declaration* was issued.[9] The absolute subjugation of the Wang Ching-wei and Manchukuo's regimes by Japanese was disguised in the *Declaration* by clichés about respect for sovereignty, mutual co-operation and good neighbourly relations, for the sake of which there was to be "joint defence" and "economic ties",[10] which in fact meant total mobilization for Japan's military and economic goals. According to the Japanese government, the spirit of the *Declaration* was to be the guiding principle of the activities of all organizations taking part in the "movement for the development of Asia".[11]

There were also requirements of home policy, which encouraged the Japanese government to attempt to bring the "movement for the development of Asia" under its control: in 1940, the fascist development of Japan was fast nearing completion under the slogan of a "New Political Structure" (Seiji Shintaisei). Political parties and a number of other organizations were dissolved, and replaced by the *Imperial Rule Assistance Association* (IRAA, *Taisei Yokusankai*), under direct control of the government. The IRAA was to guide the political activity of the population and mobilize the latter for the objectives of the fascist regime. Its task was also to support the policy of penetration of East and Southeast Asia, and for this purpose a *Section for East Asia (Tōabu)* was established, and Kanichirō Kamei appointed its head.[12]

On 14 January 1941, the Cabinet issued new guidelines for the "movement for the development of Asia":

"1.Unification of guiding ideas for the development of Asia

a) The guiding ideas of all organizations whose goal is to build a New Order in Greater East Asia are determined by the goals formulated in the Joint Japan-China-Manchukuo Declaration of 30 November 1940.

b) It is not permitted to propagate the dangerous theory of a League of Nations which obscures the sovereignty of the Empire and is contrary to the spirit of the building of our State, and no movement for the creation of such an international formation is permitted.

2. Integration of all organizations for the development of Asia

a) The ideological enlightenment movement for the building of a New Order in Greater East Asia, existing in the Empire, has close ties with the government and is

---

[9] *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabi shuyō bunsho.* Vol. 2. Nenpyō, p. 143.

[10] *Yokusan kokumin undō shi,* pp. 927—928.

[11] Ibid., p. 927.

[12] Ibid., p. 417.

subordinated to the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. Therefore, all organizations having relations with this movement will be integrated in an appropriate way.

b) The appropriate way of integration means establishment of ties with the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

c) Within the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, an ideological movement will be launched in relation to all organizations in other countries."[13]

It became apparent, however, that it would be relatively complicated to implement this resolution. Both the *Institute for the Development of Asia* and the *Imperial Rule Assistance Association* began to carry out the task. It was agreed at a consultative meeting of their representatives that integration should lead to a "new unified entity".[14] On 23 January, a session of the executive committee of the IRAA was held. It was attended by Teiichi Suzuki of the *Institute for the Development of Asia* and General Akira Mutō,[15] head of the Military Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of War and one of the leading representatives of Japanese military clique. It was decided at the session to unify in co-operation with the government more than 300 existing organizations in such a way that those engaged in practical activity would fall under the *Institute*, and the so-called ideological organizations under the IRAA.[16]

On 1 February, the IRAA set up a *Special Committee for the Promotion of the Movement for the Development of Asia (Kōa Undō Sokushin Tokubetsu Iinkai)*.[17] Yoriyasu Arima,[18] close collaborator of Fumimaro Konoe, was appointed its chairman. The IRAA was planning to establish an associated organization which would be joined by the existing organizations of the "movement for the development of Asia". After the merger, branches were to be set up in prefectures, and recruitment of members carried out. This was approved also by the *Federation of Organizations for the Development of Asia*, which existed within the framework of the *Institute for the Development of Asia*. The IRAA began talks with representatives of a number of nationalist organizations, active in Japan or its colonies.[19] It was decided to establish a *League of Greater East Asia (Dai Tōa Renmei)*, the constituent congress of which was to have been held on 16 March 1941.[20] However, the plan was later abandoned.

The failure of the first attempt to implement the government decree had evidently deeper causes then mere organizational difficulties. In IRAA materials, the failure

---

[13] Ibid., pp. 417—418.

[14] Ibid., p. 418.

[15] Akira Mutō, General of the Japanese Army, member of the General Staff and the Staff of Kwantung Army. He took part in Japanese aggression in China and Southeast Asia. As one of the principal war criminals executed in 1948.

[16] *Yokusa kokumin undō shi*, pp. 418, 928.

[17] Ibid., pp. 418—419.

[18] *Nihon kindai shi jiten*. See the entry Arima Yoriyasu, p. 17.

[19] *Yokusan kokumin undō shi*, p. 418.

[20] Ibid., p. 419.

was commented as follows: "However, because the new organization was to have originated as a political organization, it irritated the existing forces, and met with their opposition."[21] A role in the failure of the plan to establish a *League of Greater East Asia* was evidently also played by a phenomenon which was typical for the period when Japan's development of fascism was nearing completion. It was the fear that any activity, even though initiated and controlled from above, might set in motion forces which might get out of control and turn against the existing power system.[22] Ways were therefore sought how to control the "movement" most effectively.

On 5 April 1941, the IRAA *Section for East Asia* was upgraded to the *Bureau for East Asia (Tōakyoku),* and Ryūtarō Nagai was appointed its head.[23] Nagai, formerly a professor specializing in colonial affairs and later deputy and Cabinet member for the bourgeois Minseitō party, was in 1940 one of the active advocates of the dissolution of political parties and of the policy of the "New Order" in East Asia.[24] On 10 April, the Cabinet decided to establish the *Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia (Dai Nihon Kōa Dōmei).*[25] In May, the *Special Committee for the Promotion of the Movement for the Development of Asia* convened a meeting of the organizations affiliated to the "movement". The meeting adopted a proposal for the establishment of the *Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia,*[26] in accordance with the government's decision.

Evidently, the founding of the new organization involved complications, and therefore on 10 June 1941, the Cabinet issued another decree: "In accordance with the decision of the Cabinet of 14 January, Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia (provisional name) is to be established, and begin its activities. Affiliated organizations will not stick to their former positions, and will subject themselves to the control of the new structure. The organizations for the development of Asia integrated in the IRAA will be unified and take an organizational form of three types: political organizations, ideological and educational organizations concerned with the development of Asia, and scientific and study organizations. Within the framework of the integration, the organizations will retain their present structure."[27]

The tone of the decree is very curt. The government evidently tried to authoritatively forestall any objections against integration and to suppress any attempts by

---

[21] Ibid., p. 418.

[22] Ishida Takeshi: *Kinjai Nihon seiji kōzō no kenkyū* (A Study on the Political Structure of Modern Japan). Tokyo, Miraisha 1964, p. 265.

[23] *Yokusan kokumin undō shi,* p. 419.

[24] *Nihon kindai shi jiten.* See the entry Nagai Ryūtarō, p. 434.

[25] *Yokusan kokumin undō shi.* Nenpyō, p. 5.

[26] Ibid., p. 419.

[27] Ibid.

various organizations at their own interpretation of the "movement for the development of Asia".

After the Cabinet issued the decree, preparations made fast progress. Prime Minister Konoe, Chairman of the IRAA, asked on 17 June 86 "initiators" to make the necessary preparations for the establishment of the League.[28] They met on 21 June with IRAA representatives, to approve the founding documents of the new organization.[29]

6 July, i. e. the eve of the 4th anniversary of Japan's attack on China, was chosen as the date of a public meeting at which the Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia was officially inaugurated.[30] The date, too, symbolized the identity of the objectives of the League with the goals of Japanese aggression in Asia. Fifty-three organizations joined the League. About 2,000 of their officials met in Hibiya Hall.[31] The government was represented by War Minister Hideki Tōjō, Minister of Navy Koshirō Oikawa, head of the Cabinet Planning Board Suzuki, and head of the Institute for the Development of Asia Genshichi Oikawa. The IRAA was represented by Vice-Chairman Heisuke Yanagawa and other officials; also present were ambassadors of Manchukuo and of the Wang Ching-wei regime.[32] Prime Minister Konoe sent a message of greetings to the constituent congress.[33]

The head of the Bureau for East Asia, Ryūtarō Nagai, made it clear in his speech that it was expected that the League would extend its activities throughout Japan and also abroad: "We wish from the bottom of our hearts that the establishment of the League makes it possible for the great idea of the development of Asia to spread from every individual organization into their association, from the association of the organizations into the whole Nation, and from the whole Nation into Greater East Asia, so that finally, the great spirit of the eight corners of the world under one roof permeates the entire world."[34]

The programme of the League, unanimously adopted at the meeting of the "initiators" on 21 June 1941, was formulated as follows:

"1. It is expected that the League, in accordance with the spirit of the building of our State, will bring the eight corners of the world under one roof and make them into one house, and that in conformity with the great ideal which allots every country a certain place and satisfies every nation with its share, it will build a New Order in the whole world, and contribute to the establishment of eternal peace and to the development of mankind's culture.

---

[28] Ibid., p. 933.
[29] Ibid., pp. 933—934.
[30] Ibid., p. 934.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., p. 935.
[34] Ibid., pp. 934—935.

2. It is expected that the League, in the sense of the Joint Japan-China-Manchu-kuo Declaration, will become a milestone of the general renaissance of East Asia through respect of sovereignty, co-operation in defending the country, economic ties and cultural endeavour, and that it will proceed boldly towards the great objective of co-prosperity of Greater East Asia, cementing firmly the force of all nations.

3. It is expected that the League will associate the supporters who form the vanguard of the national movement for the development of Asia and that, in order to make the speediest possible contribution to the state policy of the development of Asia, it will work with inexhaustible patience and dedication to unite all forces of the people, thus irradicating the ancient evil in East Asia and achieving the goal of the holy war."[35]

The programme proves that the purpose of the *League* was to support Japan's aggressive policy in East and Southeast Asia. The text contains theses and terminology of official documents in which Japan's foreign policy was formulated in the second half of the 1930s. In Article 1 of the programme, the idea of Japanese world hegemony is symbolically expressed by the term "hakkō ichiu" (bringing eight corners of the world under one roof). This term, taken over from a legend about the divine founder of the Japanese state, Emperor Jinmu, was used in the new sense in the programme of the second Konoe Cabinet, *Foundations of State Policy (Kihon Kokusaku Yōkō)*,[36] which was an important step towards the completion of Japan's fascist development.

Article 1 also contains the term "New Order" (Shin Chitsujo). The building of a "New Order" in East Asia was officially declared as the programme of Japanese foreign policy in a statement of the first Konoe Cabinet of 3 November 1938.[37] The statement called on the Chinese government to capitulate and surrender to Japan just as Manchukuo, and thus to help "invigorate in East Asia the principles of international justice, ensure the joint struggle against communism, create a new culture and establish economic ties".[38] Two years later, the term "New Order" became the expression of the plans for world hegemony of the fascist coalition. The *Tripartite Pact* concluded by Germany, Japan and Italy in 1940 as the foundation of a fascist alliance, said: "Japan recognizes and respects the leading role of Germany and Italy in the building of a New Order in Europe" (Article 1),[39] and: "Germany and Italy respect the leading role of Japan in the building of a New Order in Greater East Asia" (Article 2).[40] Both in Europe and East Asia, "New Order" was the term

---

[35] Ibid., p. 934.

[36] *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabi shuyō bunsho.* Vol. 2, p. 436.

[37] Ibid., p. 401.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 459.

[40] Ibid.

for the use of the cruellest imaginable methods to subjugate countries and nations, and for their ruthless plundering.

Along with the programme of the *League,* also the text of a pledge was also formulated; it reflects attempts to suppress all differencies of opinion, and to achieve absolute unification of the "movement for the development of Asia": "We pledge to create Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia, not to be tied to the past nor to be caught by individual opinions, to unite around the programme of the League, and by concentrating all forces to expand a mighty movement for the development of Asia."[41]

The *League,* however, failed to meet the expectations, and only three months after its foundation, a "consolidation of its structure" was started.[42] A 60-member *Special Committee for Consolidation and Unification (Seibi Tōitsu Tokubetsu Iinkai)* was set up.[43] Its chairman was General Iwane Matsui, an active supporter of the policy of aggression in Asia. [44] In March 1942, the *Committee* completed its work on the *Principles of Consolidation and Unification of Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia,* which were submitted to the government.[45]

According to these *Principles,* those organizations of the "movement for the development of Asia" which had ideological and political character were to be dissolved. Their members were to join the *League* on an individual basis. Organizations engaged in practical activity and studies were to remain in existence and become collective members of the *League,* but their sections with an ideological and political character were to be dissolved.[46] This makes it clear that the purpose of the *Principles* was to reduce the number of the organizations grouped in the "movement for the development of Asia", to eliminate those which apparently could not be safely expected not to cause complications, and to retain those whose services could be used for the policy of aggression.

The organizations grouped in the *League* were expected to make known their views of the *Principles* by 27 March. Fifteen of them decided to dissolve, 49 remained in the *League* as its collective members.[47]

On 7 May, Prime Minister Hideki Tōjō, who was also Chairman of the IRAA, appointed General Senjūrō Hayashi chairman of the *Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia.*[48] The general belonged to the most aggressive circles in the

[41] *Yokusan kokumin undō shi,* p. 934.

[42] Ibid., p. 935.

[43] Ibid., p. 936.

[44] Iwane Matsui, General of the Japanese Army, took an active part in the campaigns against China. As one of the principal war criminals executed in 1948.

[45] *Yokusan kokumin undō shi,* p. 936.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., pp. 936—937.

[48] Ibid., p. 936.

Japanese Army. As early as in 1931, as supreme commander of the Japanese forces in Korea, he gave the order to his troops to cross the Korean-Chinese frontier to help the Kwantung Army which had started operations against Chinese forces. In home policy, especially when he was prime minister, he supported the so-called "control group" which was opposed to developing a radical fascist movement from grass roots, and advocated gradual fascistization of the Japanese monarchy from above.[49]

In May, General Hayashi appointed other officials and the structure of the top-level bodies of the *League* was gradually changed.[50] However, not even this reorganization was able to active the "movement". The *League,* just as other organizations grouped in the IRAA stagnated, and failed to launch a mass-based national movement in support of Japan's expansion.

In 1943, in a situation when the positions of the fascist coalition were substantially weakened, particularly after the Red Army's victory at Stalingrad, Tōjō's Cabinet carried out another reorganization of the "movement". On 18th May, the Cabinet issued the declaration *For Strengthening the Movement for the Development of Asia:*

"In view of the course of the Great East Asia War and of the present state of the League for the Development of Asia and the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, the relationship between the two shall be adjusted for the purpose of cementing the movement for the development of Asia in Japan and beyond its borders, and establishing inseparable ties with the general national movement, to ensure that the movement for the development of Asia becomes even more widespread.

— Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia will be gradually dissolved and the Bureau for the Development of East Asia attached to the IRAA[51] will be abolished, and both will be re-established in a new form.

— In view of the fact that the IRAA will promote a national movement for the development of Asia as an important part of its activities, an effective structure will be established within the IRAA for planning and realization of the movement for the development of Asia. The Association will pursue the objectives for which Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia was founded, and will continue to perform its functions.

— The new primary bodies will be accountable directly to the chairman of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

— These changes are being introduced to ensure that the new bodies within the framework of the structure vigorously develop the movement for the development of Asia, and convert effectively and in an appropriate way its energy into action."[52]

---

[49] *Nihon kindai shi jiten.* See the entry Hayashi Senjūrō, p. 510.

[50] *Yokusan kokumin undō shi,* pp. 938—939.

[51] The *Bureau for the East Asia (Tōakyoku)* was in March 1942 changed to the *Bureau for the Development of East Asia (Kōakyoku).* See: *Yokusan kokumin undō shi,* p. 935.

[52] Yokusan kokumin undō shi, p. 943.

*Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia* was thus dissolved, the *Bureau for the Development of East Asia* attached to the IRAA was liquidated, and the two were replaced on 26 May, 1943, by the *General Headquarters for the Development of Asia (Kōa Sōhonbu)*, accountable directly to Prime Minister General Tōjō.[53] Its statutes outlining its main tasks were published on the same day.

The tendencies towards unification and deeper control over political life in Japan continued. In October 1943, the government decided to "simplify" the national political structure, expecting it to bring about a greater "cohesion of all national forces". The "simplification" also applied to the IRAA and its bodies, including the *General Headquarters for the Development of Asia.*[54]

In July 1944, in connection with the resignation of the Tōjō Cabinet, the officials of the *General Headquarters for the Development of Asia* also resigned. The new IRAA Chairman, Prime Minister Koiso, appointed General Iwane Matsui its new head,[55] and in August and early September, other officials were appointed.[56] General Matsui proclaimed *Postulates of the Movement for the Development of Asia*, and called on all officials to observe them:

"1. It is necessary to sincerely embrace the spirit of the Imperial Way, and to address oneself with patriotic fervour to the sacred task of the development of Asia;

2. It is necessary that everyone fulfils his duties and strives for unity as an expression of concord and friendly relations;

3. It is necessary to turn on the broadest scale to all supporters in our country in order to draw on their wisdom, and to refrain from violence and arbitrariness;

4. It is necessary to respect the customs of the peoples of Asia, to adhere to etiquette and to contribute sincerely to disseminating the ideals of the development of Asia;

5. It is necessary to bring everything under the control of the Chairman, and sincerely to accept his control."[57]

The *Postulates* were formulated somewhat differently from the previous documents of the "movement". The emphasis on concord and friendly relations, and on the need to refrain from violence and arbitrariness indicates that relationships within the movement had not been trouble-free. Especially remarkable is point 4, speaking of the need to respect the customs of Asian nations. At that time, resistance against the Japanese occupation was growing in all countries occupied by the Japanese army, and Japanese aggressors were forced to look for ways of mitigating the resistance.

However, there was no development of the "movement" in the spirit of General

---

[53] Ibid., p. 944.

[54] Ibid., p. 945.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., pp. 945—946.

[57] Ibid., p. 946. .

Matsui's appeal, and another reorganization of the *General Headquarters for the Development of Asia* was made in October 1944.[58]

Thus, according to the intentions of the ruling political and military circles of Japan, the "movement for the development of Asia" was to become a tool for the mobilization of a mass support for Japan's policy of aggression in East and Southeast Asia. Since 1938, the Cabinet undertook directly to lead the "movement" by setting up the Institute for the Development of Asia with the view to integrate the existing nationalist organizations, active in the "movement", into a unified structure. As a result of this, the "movement" has become part of the so-called "New Political Structure" within the framework of the IRAA and the *Greater Japan's League for the Development of Asia* was founded in 1941. In this way the "movement" was subordinated to a direct governmental control. Since then, the "movement" was subject to a number of reorganizations, obviously intended to strengthen the governmental control of it. This was typical for all organizations and "movements" within the framework of the war-time "New Political Structure" of Japan and it is, therefore, doubtful, to what extent this "movement", becoming gradually a purely bureaucratic body, was able to stimulate the expected mass support for the chimera of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere".[59]

---

[58] Ibid., pp. 946—947.

[59] See e. g. the development of the Industrial Patriotic Movement (sangyō hōkoku undō), described in Vasiljevová, Z.: *The Industrial Patriotic Movement. A Study on the Structure of Fascist Dictatorship in War-Time Japan, Problems of Modern Japanese Society.* Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica, Monographia XXVII. Prague, Charles University 1971.

# RESPONSE TO VOLUME V OF THE *SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG* IN THE PEKING PRESS FROM OCTOBER 1976 TO OCTOBER 1977

EVA SALAJKOVÁ, Bratislava

The present study deals with the role to be played by Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, published in April 1977, and analyses the principal commentaries on this work that appeared in the central organs of the People's Republic of China. The supplement to the study includes a bibliography of the principal articles containing actualized commentaries on Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* published in the periodicals Jen-min jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Peking Review.

Immediately after Mao Tse-tung's death, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party proclaimed its allegiance to his message. The new leadership headed by Hua Kuo-feng was confronted with the task of selecting and interpreting those of Mao Tse-tung's "Thoughts" that it had decided to take over and incorporate into its political conceptions.

One of the first actions by which the new leadership did justice, in its own estimates, to Mao Tse-tung's legacy, was the publication of *Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan* [1] Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Volume V.

The Chinese press devoted considerable attention to this publication and during several subsequent months carried numerous commentaries on this volume. Yet, despite this grandiose initial celebration, the propagation of this volume began relatively fast to weaken until it ceased completely.

Exactly one month after Mao Tse-tung's death, two days following Hua Kuo-feng's nomination as Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and practically two weeks before the launching of the campaign of criticism of the "Gang of Four", the central press, in addition to the report about the construction of a mausoleum to Mao Tse-tung, also decided to publish Volume V of his Selected Works and to prepare the edition of his Collected Works.

This decision, published in the press, mentioned for the first time the fact that Hua Kuo-feng had become head of the politbureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

In addition, this decision also stipulated that the politbureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party would directly organize the work connected with the publication of Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and his Collected Works.[1]

---

[1] Jen-min jih-pao [2] People's Daily, 9. 10. 1976.

By controlling directly the editorial work on Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Hua Kuo-feng had in hand an excellent means through which he strove to reinforce his own position and adjust Mao Tse-tung's legacy in accordance with his own political designs. He also made use of the propagation of this volume to discredit the "Gang of Four". The latter were accused of delaying preparatory works on the publication of this volume[2] and all the mistakes and deficiencies from the time before Mao Tse-tung's death were laid at their door, to the extent which Hua Kuo-feng's leadership judged proper.

When the new leadership had taken over, Mao Tse-tung continued to be honoured as he had before his death when the influence of the "Gang of Four" had still been prominent, and although Mao Tse-tung had been greatly responsible for China's plight, he was left out of this criticism on design.

Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung appeared in April 1977. The period of September 1949 to November 1957 embracing Mao's works included in this volume, represents a development stage during which the People's Republic of China began to lay down the foundations for building up socialism and achieved the greatest successes in promoting her national economy.

The compilers of this volume selected works in which they tried to show Mao Tse-tung as the principal artificer, the deviser of the successful line of building up socialism in China. At that time, Mao Tse-tung had not as yet dared openly to come out with his voluntaristic conceptions. Nevertheless, his works from this period already contain the germs of conceptions that came to be applied later, and which, in practice, meant a deviation from and ultimately a complete break with Marxism-Leninism.

The compilers of Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung included 70 works from that period, 46 of which had not been previously published. Omitted were 42 works that had appeared in the current press and in the Hung-wei-ping collection *Mao Tse-tung szu-hsiang wan-sui* [3] Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thought.[3]

The works included in Volume V were primarily such as related directly to the theses taken over into their political conceptions by Hua Kuo-feng's leadership from Mao Tse-tung's legacy. They were works containing the germs of the conception of "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat", which represents an anti-Marxist, subjectivist conception of two antitheses in a socialist system, viz. "the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" and the necessity of a struggle against the "bourgeoisie" during the whole period of the existence of socialism.[4]

---

[2] E. g. Jen-min jih-pao, 7. 12. 1976.

[3] Konovalov, E. A.—Feoktistov, V. F.—Yakovlev, A. G.: *Eshche odno svidetelstvo anti-sotsialisticheskoi sushchnosti maoizma* (One More Testimony of the Antisocialist Essence of Maoism). Problemy Dalnogo Vostoka, 1978, No. 1, p. 69 (further Konovalov).

[4] *Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung.* Peking 1977, pp. 65, 330—362, 363—402 (further SW-5).

The compilers included works in which Mao Tse-tung had formulated a critical, negative attitude to certain features of building of socialism in the Soviet Union,[5] with the design of lowering the unquestionable significance of the Soviet experience in this domain for the People's Republic of China.

Also included were works dealing with questions of peace and war[6] in which were already outlined Mao Tse-tung's subsequent statements on the inevitability of armed conflict.

In view of the continuing anti-Soviet and antisocialist policy, the compilers left out many works from this period in which Mao Tse-tung had positively assessed the aid and cooperation of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.[7]

Likewise, such works were omitted from Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung that ran counter to Mao Tse-tung's subsequent statements on the need to promote class struggle throughout the period of socialism. In addition, Mao Tse-tung's thesis from the year 1956, that "socialist revolution will be essentially completed in the whole country in three years"[8] was excluded from Volume V. Its propagation would have been in conflict with the current thesis of the urgency of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat".

From the day when the publication of Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung had been announced, its propagation became one of the most frequent topics in the press. At first, essays appeared that recommended this volume as a whole. A typical feature of every article was an effort at stressing right from the beginning "the deep historical significance"[9] of Mao Tse-tung's work, his "contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory, consisting in a systematic compendium of the experiences of proletarian dictatorship in our country and abroad."[10]

Such an assessment of "Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts" was not the first attempt on the part of Chinese propaganda to have Mao Tse-tung acknowledged as the "greatest Marxist of the contemporary era". Peking leaders, conscious of the attractiveness of Marxism-Leninism in their country and abroad, endeavoured to pass Maoist these for "Marxism-Leninism of the contemporary period".

Pride of place in commentaries on Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung went to questions relating to the essence of socialism and the character of class conflicts in a socialist system, which Mao Tse-tung had resolved, as claimed by the Pekinese press, when he set up "the great theory of the continuing revolution

[5] SW-5, pp. 267—288.

[6] Sw-5, pp. 136—137, 289—292, 330—362, 499—500.

[7] E. g. Mao Tse-tung's address at the jubilee session of the Supreme Soviet in November 1957 was not included in SW-5.

[8] *Vystuplenie Mao Cze-duna na Verkhovnom gosudarstvennom soveshchanii* (Mao Tse-tung's Address at the Session of the Supreme Soviet Conference). Narodnyi Kitai, 1956, No. 4, cit. according to Konovalov, p. 71.

[9] Hung-ch'i [4], Red Flag, 1977, No. 5, p. 19.

[10] Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, p. 19.

under the dictatorship of the proletariat"[11] and "for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism proclaimed that even after a socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production will have been completed, conflicts, classes and class warfare will still continue".[12] By crediting Mao Tse-tung with the setting up of a new "Marxist" theory of a continued revolution, which was one of the most propagated theses, the commentators of Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung unjustifiably proclaimed the author "the greatest Marxist-Leninist of modern times". Practice has clearly shown that such a solution of questions relating to the character of a socialist system is no contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The thesis on a "continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" failed to be theoretically justified and in fact served the ends of a policy of reprisals and mass purges among Mao Tse-tung's opponents.

An important place in the class struggle in the Maoist interpretation was taken up by "the fight against the bourgeoisie within the party". According to the commentaries in the Peking press, Mao-Tse-tung pointed out the need of a "constant incessant struggle against the bourgeoisie on the economic, but also the political and ideological front".[13] The emphasis of this need was also conditioned by the fact that at the time of the publication of this volume, the Peking press indicated the "Gang of Four" as both the object of such a "class struggle" and the representative of "bourgeoisie within the party".[14] At the same time, the Peking leaders did not even take the trouble to alter the term by which the members of the "Gang of Four" had earlier designated their opponents.

An evident effort could be seen in the commentaries on Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* as well as in the selection of its theses, to give Mao Tse-tung the credit for setting down the general line in 1952.[15] Simultaneously, by failing to point out its diametrical divergence from the 1958 general line which was enforced by Mao Tse-tung himself, the commentators endeavoured to create the impression that the latter was a continuation and a development of the former (the 1952 line) which is contrary to historical reality. The general line of 1958 did not take contact by its content with the 1952 general line and represented an application of Mao Tse-tung's non-Marxist and unrealist conceptions of a quick building up of the national economy.

At the VIIIth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956, Mao Tse-tung's "Thoughts" failed to be recognized as an ideological and theoretical basis of the Party. As might be expected, Volume V was made to include only works dealing with the preparations of the VIIIth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, his address

---

[11] Jen-min jih-pao, 1st May, 1977.

[12] Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, pp. 32—33.

[13] Jen-min jih-pao, 1st May, 1977.

[14] Jen-min jih-pao, 1st May, 1977.

[15] Jen-min jih-pao, 1st May, 1977.

of greeting being omitted. Similarly, the commentaries on Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, when dealing with the VIIIth Congress, confined themselves to general statements about the aims and designs of this Congress which was to "have summarized the experiences following the VIIth Congress, and unified the party and all the forces at home and abroad that could be marshalled in the struggle for building up a great socialist State".[16]

Following the articles in which Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* was dealt with as a whole, from May 1977, Chinese propaganda began to concentrate on definite works and thoughts contained in this volume.

In the majority of essays, the authors adhered to a set pattern. They began by marking out Mao Tse-tung's contribution to an elaboration of any problem in question, stressing initially that a study of these Mao Tse-tung's "Thoughts" would help in deepening the criticism of the "Gang of Four" and then proceeded with a discussion of the relevant topic.

Thus, for instance, the author of the essay *The Atom Bomb is a Paper Tiger*[17] pointed out right at the start Mao Tse-tung's "contribution" in an elaboration of issues relating to the atom bomb and did not omit to underscore that a study of these thoughts is "of an enormous significance to a deepening of the criticism of the 'Gang of Four'". He then tried to accuse the Soviet Union for a distortion of the Marxist-Leninist principle according to which victory in war is decided by man and not by arms and of propagating the theory that nuclear weapons are decisive in a war.

The essay *Guide to Socialist Revolution and Construction in China's Agriculture*[18] commenting on Mao Tse-tung's work on agriculture in Volume V, was designed to back up the efforts of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to improve the economic situation in this domain which was then in a critical state.

Hua Kuo-feng's leadership devoted great attention to questions relating to the intelligentsia. To boost the effort at activizing the intelligentsia, particularly in the technical sphere, the author of the article *Intellectuals are an Important Force in Socialist Revolution and Construction*[19] asserted that Mao Tse-tung had grasped the significance of the intelligentsia for the consolidation and building up of the country. But of course, the commentator designedly passed over in silence the fact that Mao Tse-tung distrusted the intelligentsia.

In the article *Self-Reliance and Making Foreign Things Serve China*,[20] the author took note of the way Mao Tse-tung looked upon utilization of their own proper forces and the taking over of experience from abroad. He states quite blatantly that

---

[16] Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, p. 30.
[17] Jen-min jih-pao, 21st June, 1977.
[18] Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 6.
[19] Peking Review, No. 28, 8th July, 1977.
[20] Peking Review, No. 28, 8th July, 1977.

Mao Tse-tung understood the need of an exchange of experience and import of technical equipment from abroad, although the opposite was the case.

Among the most propagated and commented works was Mao Tse-tung's *Tsai sheng shih tzu-chih-ch'ü tang-wei shu-chi hui-i shang ti chiang-hua* [5] Address at a Meeting of Secretaries of Party Committees of Provinces, Towns and Autonomous Regions, of January 1957. It was hailed as an outstanding example of how Mao Tse-tung "had used the dialectical method in the analysis and solution of questions within the country and abroad".[21] It contained the germs of the conception of a "continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" which was proclaimed to be the principal idea of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Similar attention was also devoted to the work *Lun shih ta kuan-hsi* [6] *On the Ten Major Relationships,* of April 1956 (appeared separately in December 1976). Mao Tse-tung belittled in it the significance of Soviet experiences in building up socialism in the People's Republic of China and praised the specific road of building up socialism on the basis of Maoist principles. Such "thoughts" well suited the designs of Hua Kuo-feng's leadership.

The latter carried on without any interruption in the anti-Soviet campaign immediately after Mao Tse-tung's death. The greater majority of the commentaries on Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* brought numerous sallies against the Soviet Union. In the spirit of the anti-Soviet campaign these commentaries praised Mao Tse-tung for his fight against "contemporary revisionism"[22] which they imputed to the Soviet Union.

The title page of Jen-min jih-pao used to carry in printed frames inscribed as *Mao chu-hsi yü lü* [7] Statements of chairman Mao (including some quotations from Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*).

Through the publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and an interpretation of its content, Hua Kuo-feng's leadership succeeded in codifying for a certain time its relationship to Mao Tse-tung's legacy in a form that could be seen from the collection of the works and the nature of the ensuing commentaries. The propagation of this volume was utilized to celebrate Mao Tse-tung and to preserve the label of "the great leader and teacher". The commentaries contained words in support of Hua Kuo-feng and his political conceptions by means of which he controlled the Chinese Communist Party and the entire country. The propaganda simultaneously made use of the commentaries to discredit the "Gang of Four".

As already noted, the Chinese press paid considerably attention to the propagation of *Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. The commentaries achieved a peak in the months of May, June and July.

---

[21] Hung-ch'i, 1977, No.5, p. 32.

[22] Jen-min jih-pao, 1st May, 1977.

Between 26th April and 28th September 1977, Jen-min jih-pao published at irregular intervals a total of 22 instalments of *Auxiliary Materials to a Study of Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung.*

In August 1977, this volume receded into the background, the attention now being shifted to preparations of the XIth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

Hua Kuo-feng's political report at the XIth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in August 1977, contained but a short note to this volume, viz. on the need thoroughly to study Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung.*[23]

The months August and September may be characterized as a period of an abatement in the propagation of Volume V and at the end of the year 1977, only a few desultory remarks on or references to this work, so extolled a few months before, could be found in the central organs.

The abatement of the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's work, and the silence on the selection of Volume V, carried out under Hua Kuo-geng's supervision, were undoubtedly related to the growing political and ideological changes within the Chinese leadership. This resulted from an altered relation and attitude to the previous interpretation of Mao Tse-tung's "Thoughts".

Little by little, the image of Mao Tse-tung as the "infallible leader" began to wane and to be abandoned. In a Communiqué of the third Plenary Session of the eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party from December 1978 it was admitted that Mao Tse-tung also could make mistakes.[24]

But the essence of the Maoist character of the policy and ideology of the People's Republic of China was preserved; the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party only looked for new and more efficient forms of enforcing its designs.

The struggle for the political orientation of China goes on and along with it, also that for the legacy and assessment of Mao Tse-tung's personality and his work.

Supplement of the principal articles in the Peking press dealing with Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* from October 1976 to October 1977

*Chung-kuo chung-yang kuan-yü ch'u-pan Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ho ch'ou-pei ch'u-pan Mao Tse-tung ch'üan-chi ti chüeh-ting* [10] Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Comunist Party on publishing Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and on the preparation of the edition of the Collected Works of Mao-Tse-tung. Jen-min jih-pao, 9th October, 1976.

---

[23] Hua Kuo-feng: *Tsai chung-kuo kung-ch'an-tang ti-shih-i tz'u ch'üan-kuo tai-piao ta-hui shang ti cheng-chih pao-kao* [8] Political Report at the XIth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 9, p. 22.

[24] *Chung-kuo kung-ch'an-tang ti-shih-i chieh chung-yang wei-yüan-hui ti-san tz'u ch'üan-t'i hui-i kung-pao* [9] Communiqué of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party of 22nd December, 1978. Jen-min jih-pao, 24th December, 1978.

*I-wan jen-min ti kung-t'ung hsin-yüan.* Jen-min jih-pao, Hung-ch'i tsa-chih, Chieh-fang-chün pao she-lun [11] Common wish of a hundred million people. Editorial by Jen-min jih-pao, Hung-ch'i, Chieh-fang-chün pao. Hung-ch'i, 1976, No. 11. pp. 14—16.

*Hsien-ch'i hsüesh-hsi ma-lieh chu-tso ho Mao chuhsi chu-tso ti hsi kao-ch'ao, Pen k'an p'ing-lun-yüan* [12]. To stimulate a new wave of study of the works of Marxism and chairman Mao's works. Commentator of the journal Hung-ch'i. Hung-ch'i, 1976, No. 12, pp. 21—24.

Chu-Chin-p'ing, *She-hui-chu-i ke-ming ho chien-she ti chi-pen fang-chen — Hsüeh-hsi Mao chu-hsi ti kuan-hui chu-tso Lun-shih ta kuan-hsi* [13] The basic policy for socialist revolution and construction — Studying the excellent work of Chairman Mao On the Ten Major Relationships. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 1, pp. 91—95.

*Chung-kuo kung-ch'an-tang Chiang-szu sheng wei-yüan-hui, Chia k'uai she-hui-chu-i chien-she pu-fa ti pi you chih lu — Hsüeh-hsi Lun shih ta kuan-hsi ti t'i-hui* [14] The Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Chiang-szu Province, The necessary road to speeding up the process of a socialist building up — Notes on studying On the Ten Major relationship. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 2, pp. 26—32.

*Chung-kuo Kuang-hsi Chuang-tsu tzu-chih-ch'ü wei-yüan-hui hsieh-tso-tsu, T'uan-chieh i-ch'ieh k'e-i t'uan-chieh ti jen, tiao-tung i-ch'ieh chi-chi yin-szu* [15] The theoretical study group of the Party Committee of China of the Chuang autonomous region in Kuang-hsi province, To unify all the people who can be unified, to mobilize all the active factors. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 2, pp. 33—39.

Hua Kuo-feng, *Pa wu-ch'an-chieh-chi chuan-cheng hsia ti chi-hsü ke-ming chin-hsing tao-ti — Hsüeh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti wu-chüan* [16] Continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the end — A study of volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Jen-min jih-pao, 1st May, 1977.

*Chung-kung-chung-yang t'ung-chan-pu p'i-pan-tsu, Ch'u-tiao tu-ts'ao k'e-i fei-t'ien — Hsüeh-hsi mao chu-hsi ti P'i-p'an Liang Shu-ming ti fan-tung szu-hsiang* [17] The Criticism group of the department of work in the united front of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Uprooted poisonous weeds may be used to manure the field — Studying Mao Tse-tung's work The criticism of Liang Shu-ming's reactionary opinions. Jen-min jih-pao, 19th May, 1977.

*Chung-kung-chung-yang kuan yü hsüeh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan ti*

*chüeh-ting* [18] Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on studying Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, pp. 19—20.

*Chung-kung-chung-yang Mao Tse-tung chu-hsi chu-tso pien-chi ch'u-pan wei-yüan-hui, Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan chieh-shao* [19] Committee for editing and publishing chairman Mao Tse-tung's works at the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Introducing Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, pp. 21—38.

*Hsien-ch'i hsüeh-hsi Mao chu-hsi chu-tso ti hsin kao-ch'ao — Je-lieh huan-hu Mao Tse-tung hsüan chi ti wu chüan ch'u-pan.* Jen-min jih-pao, Hung-ch'i tsa-chih, Chieh-fang-chün pao she-lun [20] Bring about a new high tide in study of chairman Mao's works — Hailing publication of Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Editorial by Jen-min jih-pao. Hung-ch'i, Chieh-fang-chün pao. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, pp. 39—42.

L i n C h i n - j a n, *Kuan-hui ti hsin szu-hsiang wei-ta ti hsin kung-hsien — Hsüeh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan kuan-yü wu-ch'an-chieh-chi chuan-cheng hsia chi-hsü ke-ming ti kuang-hui ti szu-hsiang* [21] A new brilliant concept, a new great contribution — Studying the concept of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, pp. 43—50.

*Chung-kung Liao-ning sheng-wei li-lun-tsu, Ts'ung Kao-Jao-fan-tang-lien-meng tao "szu jen pang" — Hsüeh-hsi Tsai Chung-kuo-kung-ch'an-tang ch'üan-kuo tai-piao hui-i shang ti chiang-hua* [22] The theoretical group of the Party Committee in Liao-ning Province, From the anti-party block of Kao and Jao to the "Gang of Four" — Studying the Address at the all-state conference of the Chinese Communist Party. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, pp. 51—56.

Y u e  W e i, *Cheng-ch'üeh ch'u-li kuo-chia sheng-ch'an tan wei ho sheng-ch'an-che ke jen ti kuan-hsi — Hsüeh-hsi Lun shih ta kuan-hsi ti t'i-hui* [23] Correctly to resolve the various relationships between the state, the production unit and the producer — Notes on studying On the Ten Major Relationships. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, pp. 57—63.

*Chung-kung Kuan-tung sheng-wei-yüan-hui, Chua-chu chu-t'i chien-ch'i chi-pen lu-hsien chiao-yü* [24] The Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Kuan-tung Province. To grasp the main problem, to persevere in the principal line as regards education. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, pp. 64—69.

T'an P'ing, *P'ei-yang chiao-yü ch'ing-nien shih ch'üan-tang shih-yeh — Hsüeh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan kuan-yü ch'ing-nien kung-tso ti lun-shu* [25] To care for the education of youth is a matter of the entire party — Studying statements about youth in Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 5, pp. 70—73.

*The theoretical study group of the Party committe of the Sin-kiang Uighur Autonomous Region, Chairman Mao's Nationality Policy Guides Us Forward — Notes on studying "On the Major Relationships".* Peking Review, 3rd June, 1977.

Tseng Ting-ch'üan, *An-hui sheng chiao-yü-chü, Chien-ting-ti kuan-ch'e chih-hsing tang ti chih-shih-fen-tzu cheng-ts'e — Hsüeh-hsi Mao chu-hsi Kuan-yü chen-ch'üeh ch'u-li jen-min nei-pu mao-tun wen-t'i ti t'i-hui* [26] Department of education of the An-hui Province — Energetically and consistently to carry out the party policy towards intellectuals — Notes on studying Mao's On dealing correctly with contradictions among the people. Jen-min jih-pao, 13th June, 1977.

Chien Chan, *Yüan-tzu-tan shih chih-lao-hu — Hsüeh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan kuan-yü yüan-tzu-tan li lun-shu* [27] The atom bomb is a paper tiger — Studying the discourses on the atom bomb in Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao-Tse-tung. Jen-min jih-pao, 21st June, 1977.

Wang Ch'ien, *Wo-kuo nung-yeh she-hui-chu-i ke-ming ho chien-she ti wei-ta chih-chen — Hsüeh-hsi Mao Ce-tung — hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan kuan-yü nung-yeh ho-tso-hua wen-t'i ti lun-shu* [28] Guide to socialist revolution and construction in China's agriculture — Studying the discourses on the problems on turning into a cooperative in Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 6, pp. 33—39.

Lin Chin-jan, *Yung Mao chu-hsi ti chi-hsü ke-ming li-lun lai chih-tao she-hui-chu-i chien-she — Hsüeh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan* [29] Use chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution to guide socialist construction — Studying Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 6, pp. 40—46.

*Jen-min ch'u-pan-she p'i-p'an-tsu, Tsui-o ti yung-hsin k'e ch'i ti shih-pai — P'i-p'an "szu jen pang" p'o-huai Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan pien-chi ch'u-pan ti tsui-hsing* [30] Criticism group of the People's publishing house, Malicious designs, shameful defeat — Condemnation of the crime of the "Gang of Four" for thwarting the edition and publication of Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 6, pp. 63—68.

*Ti-san chi-hsieh kung-yeh-pu p'i-p'an-tsu, Ts'ung yung pi sha jen k'an "szu jen pang" ti fan-tung pen-chih — Hsüeh-hsi Mao chu-hsi P'i-p'an Liang Shu-ming ti fan-tung szu-hsiang* [31] Criticism group of the 3rd department of the ministry of engineering industry, The reactionary essence of the "Gang of Four" from the aspect of liquidation of people with the pen — Studying Mao's The criticism of Liang Shu-ming's reactionary opinions. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 6, pp. 69—72.

L o Y ü a n - c h e n g, *Self-Reliance and Making Foreign Things Serve China — Notes on studying Chairman Mao's "On the Ten major Relationships".* Peking Review, 8th July, 1977.

H s i a n g C h u n, *Intellectuals Are an Important Force in Socialist Revolution and Construction — Notes on studying Chairman Mao's exposition regarding intellectuals in Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung.* Peking Review, 8th July, 1977.

*Chün-cheng ta-hsüeh cheng-chih hsi li-lun-tsu, Wei-ta ti chan-lüeh szu-hsiang — Hsüh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi tiwu chüan kuan-yü ti-kuo-chu-i ho i-ch'ieh fan-tung-p'ai tou shih chih-lao-hu ti lun-shu* [32] Theoretical group of the Political Faculty of the Political Military Academy, Great strategy of thought — Studying the discourses on how imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers in Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao-Tse-tung. Jen-min jih-pao, 14th July, 1977.

*Hsü Chia-t'un, Tang-wei-hui ying-tang shih tsu-chin wei-yüan-hui — Hsüeh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan* [33] A party commitee should be a stimulating committee — Studying Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Hung-ch'i 1977, No. 7, pp. 6—13.

W e i H u a, *She-hui-chu-i ke-ming yü tang-nei lu-hsien tou-cheng — Hsüeh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan kuan-yü tang-nei tou-cheng ti hsüe-shuo* [34] Socialist revolution and the fight within the innerpolitical line — Studying the teaching about the innerpolitical struggle in Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 7, pp. 24—26.

*Jen-ta ch'an-wei-hui min-tsu cheng-ts'e yen-chiu hsiao-tsu, Wei-hu ho fa-chang ch'üan-kuo ke tsu jen-min ti ta t'uan-chie* [35] Study group for research of the nationality policy at the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, To protect and promote a great unify of peoples of all nationalities in our country. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 8, pp. 56—59.

*Keng Chang-suo, I-k'ao ch'ün-chung chang wu pu sheng — Hsüeh-hsi Tsai Chung-kuo-ch'an-tang ch'üan-kuo tai-piao hui-i shang ti chiang-hua ti i-tien t'i-hui*

[36] Leaning on the masses, we are invicible — A few notes from a study of the Address at the all-state conference of the Chinese Communist Party. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 8, pp. 77—78.

Teng Ch'ing, *Ch'eng-ch'ing "szu jen pang" tsai Hung-lou-meng yen-chiu chung chih-tsao ti hun-luan — Hsüeh-hsi Mao chu-hsi Kuan-yü Hung-lou-meng yen-chiu wen-t'i ti hsin* [37] To clear up the mess caused by the "Gang of Four" in the study of the novel Dream of the Red Chamber — Studying Mao's Letter concerning the study of The Dream of the Red Chamber. Hung-ch'i, 1977, No. 10, pp. 32—36.

*Hsüeh-hsi Mao Tse-tung hsüan-chi ti-wu chüan ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* [38] Studying auxiliary materials to Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Jen-min jih-pao, 26th April, 30th April, 10th May, 19th May, 27th May, 7th June, 15th June, 21st June, 23rd June, 28th June, 3rd July, 8th July, 16th July, 8th August, 11th August, 17th August, 27th August, 1st September, 7th September, 24th September, 27th September, 28th September, 1977.

1.《毛泽东选集》第五卷 2.人民日报 3.毛泽东思想万岁 4.红旗 5.在省市自治区党委书记会议上的讲话 6.论十大关系 7.毛主席语录 8.华国锋在中国共产党第十一次全国代表大会上的政治报告 9.中国共产党第十一届中央委员会第三次全体会议公报 10.中国中央关于出版毛泽东选集和筹备出版毛泽东全集的决定 11.亿万人民的共同心愿,人民日报,红旗杂志,解放军报社论 12.掀起学习马列著作和毛主席著作的新高潮,本刊评论员 13.朱锦平,社会主义革命和建设的基本方针——学习毛泽东主席的光辉著作《论十大关系》14.中国共产党江苏省委员会,加快社会

主义建设步伐的必由之路 —学《论十大关系》的体会 15.中国广西壮族自治区委员会写作组 团结一切可以团结的人 调动一切积极因素 16.华国锋,把无产阶级专政下的继续革命进行到底 —学习《毛泽东选集》第五卷 17.中共中央统战部批判组,锄掉毒草可以肥田 ——学习毛主席的《批判梁漱溟的反动思想》 18.中共中央关于学习《毛泽东选集》第五卷的决定 19.中共中央毛泽东主席著作编辑出版委员会《毛泽东选集》第五卷介绍 20.掀起学习毛主席著作的新高潮 —热烈欢呼《毛泽东选集》第五卷出版,人民日报,红旗杂志,解放军报社论 21.林尽染光辉的新思想 伟

大的新贡献 ——学习《毛泽东选集》第五卷关于无产阶级专政下继续革命的光辉的思想 22.中共辽宁省委理论组,从高饶反党联盟到"四人帮"——学习在中国共产党全国代表会议上的讲话 23.岳巍,正确处理国家、生产单位和生产者个人的关系——学习论十大关系的体会 24.中共广东省委员会,抓住主题坚持基本路线教育 25.谭平,培养教育青年是全党的事业——学习《毛泽东选集》第五卷关于青年工作的论述 26.曾定全,安徽省教育局,坚定地贯彻执行党的知识分子政策——学习毛主席《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》的体会

27. 解展, 原子弹是纸老虎 —— 学《毛泽东选集》第五卷关于原子弹的论述  28. 王谦, 我国农业社会主义革命和建设的伟大指针 —— 学习《毛泽东选集》第五卷关于农业合作化问题的论述  29. 林尽染, 用毛主席的继续革命理束指导社会主义建设 —— 学习《毛泽东选集》第五卷  30. 人民出版社批判组, 罪恶的用心可耻的失败 —— 批判"四人帮"破坏《毛泽东选集》第五卷编辑出版的罪行  31. 第三机械工业部批判组, 从用笔杀人看"四人帮"的反动本质 —— 学习毛主席《批判梁凍演的反动思想》  32. 军政大学政治系理论组, 伟大的战略思想 —— 学习

《毛泽东选集》第五卷关于帝国主义和一切反动派都是纸老虎的论述

33. 许家屯, 党委会应当是促进委员会——学习《毛泽东选集》第五卷

34. 魏华, 社会主义革命与党内路线斗争——学习《毛泽东选集》第五卷中关于党内斗争的学说 35. 人大常委会民族政策研究小组, 维护和发展全国各族人民的大团结

36. 耿长锁, 依靠群众战无不胜——学习在中国共产党全国代表会议上的讲话的一点体会 37. 邓清, 澄清"四人帮"在《红楼梦》研究中制造的混乱——学习毛主席《关于红楼梦研究问题的信》 38. 学习《毛泽东选集》第五卷参考资料

# OMUKAMA KABAREGA AND THE BANYORO MILITARY RESISTANCE TO BRITISH COLONIAL ENCROACHMENT

VIERA PAWLIKOVÁ, Bratislava

The military resistance of Omukama Kabarega of Bunyoro, who between 1891 and 1899 fought the British invaders with remarkable tenacity and military skill, seems to be one of the classical cases of African military resistance to the imposition of colonial rule. This study attempts to document the legacy of long anti-colonial struggle in the kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara and to analyse the changing patterns of resistance as well as the role in it of traditional political leadership.

In the words of a historian of Bunyoro-Kitara, E. Steinhart, "Bunyoro's resistance was not only the most lengthy, costly, and ardous of the armed reactions to British intrusion in Uganda, it was also the one most characteristic of what can be termed royal resistance".[1] The resistance mounted by the Banyoro and led by their Omukama Kabarega was characteristic of resistance movements of the period of the imposition of colonial rule which under the direction of historic leaders sought to defend the historic state. It belongs to the type of primary resistance, to those instances of primary resistance in which the prime mover behind the organization of the anti-colonial rising was shown to have been that of the old state and its ruler. If we accept a useful periodization of African resistance movements of the Soviet Africanist A. B. Davidson,[2] Kabarega's military resistance falls into the second phase of African primary resistance movements which coincides with the period of European scramble and partition of Africa (1870—1900). The resistance movement in Bunyoro was led and directed by the traditional monarch to retain the sovereignty of the state in his hands. The ruler himself led the war of independence and mobilized and challenged local opposition. The struggle of Kabarega was basically a struggle for the preservation of the monarchic system and the traditional institutions of Bunyoro against British influence and rule. His goal was to retain (and later to regain) sovereignty and liberate his homeland by driving out the British and those who were helping them to establish and perpetuate the oppressive colonial system. His success would not mean a change of the socio-economic order or elimination of the oppression of masses.

---

[1] See Steinhart, E. I.: *Conflict and Collaboration. The Kingdoms of Western Uganda, 1890—1907.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1977, p. 95.

[2] Davidson, A. B.: African Resistance and Rebellion against the Imposition of Colonial Rule. In: Ranger, T. O. (Ed): *Emerging Themes of African History.* Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1968, pp. 177—188.

At the end of the rebellion, Bunyoro was largely depopulated of men and beasts. Vast herds of cattle had been captured by and distributed among the white officers and their Sudanese and African forces. The invading army maintained itself "off land" and widely practised the policy of scorched earth. Known leaders of the rebellion who were captured were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, some resisters caught with arms in hand were hanged or court-marshalled and fired and Kabarega himself was exiled. Shortly, Bunyoro seems to have suffered to the last point the fate designed by Oliver and Fage to those African societies that chose to resist the invaders by force of arms: "If they were less far-sighted, less fortunate, or less well-advised, they would see their traditional enemies siding with the invader and would themselves assume an attitude of resistance, which could all too easily end in military defeat, the deposition of chiefs, the loss of land to the native allies of the occupying power, possibly even to the political fragmentation of the society or state."[3] In accord with this generalization, the Banyoro did see their traditional enemies, the Baganda, siding with the British invaders and themselves assumed an attitude of resistance which ended in military defeat, the deposition of their Omukama and other leading chiefs, the loss of a large part of their territory to the native allies of the occupying power and in a considerable weakening of the Kinyoro society caused by long years of resistance, decimating of the cattle, devastating and plundering of the country. "How does one balance these costs against the acts of heroism and determination of a king and his people struggling to retain their independence and their heritage?" asks E. Steinhart in his study of conflict and collaboration in the three western kingdoms of Uganda.[4] His overall conclusion seems to be only a step from the assumption held by Oliver and Fage, namely "that nothing was to be gained by resistance, and much by negotiation".[5] In such a way, it is held, collaborators such as the neighbouring Baganda, "by influencing the pattern of pacification, helped to determine the shape of colonial administration, and also gained a pathway to the future by exploiting the colonial situation".[6] Steinhart himself seems to believe that "the politics of confrontation themselves seemed to have been contrary to African cultural and political traditions".[7] "Perhaps, then", in his opinion, "at the deepest level, the root cause of the failure of African resistance and rebellion in western Uganda can be located, not in the inadequacy of their arms

---

[3] Oliver, R.—Fage, J. D.: *A Short History of Africa.* London, Penguin Books Ltd., Penguin African Library 1962, p. 203.

[4] Steinhart, E. I., op. cit., p. 95.

[5] Oliver, R.—Fage, J. D., op. cit, p. 203.

[6] An opinion held by a number of Western scholars, quoted and refuted by T. O. Ranger in 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.* London, Cambridge University Press 1969, pp. 302—303.

[7] Steinhart, E. I., op. cit., p. 267.

or martial virtues, but in the propensity within African society to schism and within African culture to pacific and indirect accommodation to potentially disruptive and explosive situations."[8] 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, freed in this conception from any derogatory connotations and nuances of moral corrruption associated with it, "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".[9] 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 the 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".[10]

A counter interpretation offered by the present author regards the early anti-colonial movement in Bunyoro as a just struggle for liberation supported by the overwhelming majority of the Banyoro people. It disagrees with the tendency to present such movements as a conservative and futile reaction of African political leaders to a new and historically progressive phenomenon represented by advanced capitalist Europe. A fact that should always be borne in mind is that for Africans such anti-colonial rebellions were wars of independence. Characteristic for such resistance movements were defensive strategies under the direction of historical leaders. Even though some segments of the ruling class were induced for a number of reasons to collaborate with the Europeans, resistance was the prevailing response of the Banyoro to British colonial encroachment. Such a conception does not imply an ignorance of the contradictory nature of the early anti-colonial resistance movements in Africa and of the inherent discrepancy of progressive and reactionary features in this complex phenomenon. Despite, however, certain regressive and retrograde tendencies and for all the differences and limitations in its methods, scopes and concrete political, economic and social aims, anti-colonial resistance even in its early stage was not only a just struggle for independence but also a historically progressive phenomenon.

A number of scholars have tried to give an answer to the question why did the Banyoro (and other African peoples) not mount more effective opposition to the

---

[8] Ibid., p. 268.

[9] Ibid., see Preface and p. 257.

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

invading British. The reasons for the failure of Kabarega and the Banyoro resistance to the imposition of colonial overrule are manifold. It is a generally well-known fact that in organization, tactics, military drill and equipment most African armies lagged behind the invading armies led by European officers. Not only did they use a variety of weapons ranging from firearms to spears, bows and arrows, also the arms of European provenance they had at their disposal, were more often than not most obsolete ones. Thus despite prevaling numbers, the firepower of the resisters could never equal that of the invading forces. Kabarega as virtually all African rulers of the time had to face the difficulty of obtaining supplies of European arms. Lugard and his successors considered it one of their first tasks to check the arms trade with the Arab and Swahili traders. The chief advantage of the invading Sudanese forces led by the British officers and strengthened by Baganda irregulars was their possession of superior weapons and the superior manipulation of such weapons based on a better system of drill and tactics devised to make maximum use of them. The failure of the leadership to arouse and sustain unanimous popular support encompassing all strata of the society constituted another critical shortcoming of the Banyoro insurrection. Kabarega did not adapt the traditional system and mechanics of waging war and of military recruitment. The chief method of Kabarega's resistance was not a well-organized struggle of the masses directed by a firm hand. Kabarega in his struggle against the invading British relied on the loyalty of his chiefs and military leaders and throughout his resistance continued to rally support to his cause through them, without any serious attempt to rally the general population to the resistance banner. The leadership did not make good use of the spontaneous discontent of the people and it ruined the resistance with its orientation not towards the masses but towards the upper strata of the society, chiefs and military leaders. Until the very last moment the monarch failed to grasp the opportunity to arouse and sustain popular support from the masses and thus transform the resistance into a mass insurrection or people's war. Peasants were naturally used to follow their traditional leaders — the chiefs. Without a patriotic challenge and some unifying symbols and slogans arousing the people's patriotic ardour and mass support, the defection, submission and eventual collaboration of the most important chiefs contributed to the defeat of the resistance.

The early stage of Kabarega's resistance can be classified as defensive. The campaigns against Kabarega started when Captain Lugard of the I. B. E. A. Co. made his famous expedition to western Uganda in April 1891.[11] The ambitious and thrusting Captain Lugard was hostile to any policy of tolerating Kabarega's empire. Despite Kabarega's overture, who had several times sent emissaries to treat for

[11]Perham, M. (Ed.): *The Diaries of Lord Lugard.* London, Faber and Faber 1959, Vol. II, pp. 162—166, 168—171, 278—285, etc.

peace,[12] Lugard initiated the military campaign against Bunyoro which in the next few years resulted in the military subjugation and conquest of Bunyoro. Bunyoro was never given a chance to negotiate for its future and was forced to defend its national cause in the field. Kabarega's dealings with the British and vice versa were so marked by mutual mistrust that it was always doubted in the British circles whether Kabarega's attempts at coexistence were seriously intended. Certainly, starting with Lugard, none of his successors ever contemplated opening up negotiations with Kabarega. During the first three years, Kabarega made several attempts to come to terms with his adversary. But the only terms offered were an unconditional surrender and a heavy indemnity for his alleged misdemeanour which, of course, he could not honourably accept.[13]

Contrary to Mwanga's anti-colonial protest in the neighbouring kingdom of Buganda, Kabarega's anti-colonial resistance to the establishment of colonial rule in Bunyoro-Kitara occurred in an area which had been little affected by Christianity and education. There were no missionaries to act as mediators between Kabarega and colonial officials. The long-drawn-out guerilla war was the culmination of many attempts on the part of Kabarega and his chiefs to retain their independence in the face of the British colonial encroachment through both military defensive tactics and peaceful means. They had been prepared to negotiate for their future but this was not consistent with the design of British colonial administration in Kampala which would accept only their submission. As a proud people long experienced in the arts of

---

[12] Nyakatura, J. W.: *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara.* St. Justin, P. Q., Canada 1947. English translation *Anatomy of an African Kingdom. A History of Bunyoro-Kitara.* Edited by G. N. Uzoige. New York, Anchor Press 1973, pp. 150—152; K. W. (Kabarega — Winyi, Sir Tito): *The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara,* Part III. Uganda Journal, *5,* 1973, No. 2, pp. 64—65; *Lugard Diaries,* op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 116, 117, 121—122; also Vol. III, pp. 120—121: "Envoys came from Kabarega yesterday, and I interviewed them today. They said they had come to beg for peace ... And now Kabarega. With him alone I don't desire peace — nor does he mean it. Constantly for years he has done the same thing. Always hostile, he sends to ask peace when he fears that vengeance is coming. This time last year he did the same, with the result that he has been hostile and fought against me ever since ... Being utterly beaten he now sues for peace. His strength is broken, the Badis have left him and joined me, his cattle are dead. Smallpox rages in his country. What restitution does he propose to make for all this? ... I would give them my answer bye and bye. That answer will be a hard one. He has, I believe, some 3000 to 4000 guns. I shall probably demand 1000. He would far sooner give me double the number of men, I dare say. 2ndly, I must be free to build a fort at his capital. 3rd, I must have the two sons of Karema whom he has. 4thly, a fine of ivory. Numbers 2 and 4 he would agree to Nos 1 and 3 I think *never.* Hence it is War. And I am not sorry, for when I have time there is nothing I would like better than to turn out the inhuman fiend. I would *like* (if it is feasible) to disarm the country, and make it unlawful for any Munyoro to carry a gun."

[13] For the attitude of Lugard's successors to Bunyoro and the reasons for the military conquest of Bunyoro see e. g. Vandeleur, S.: *Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger.* London, Methuen 1898, pp. 16—17; Colvile, H.: *The Land of the Nile Springs.* New Xork, Edward Arnold 1895, p. 69; also Colonel Colvile to Mr. Cracknall, Dec. 5, 1893, F. O., XXXVII, 1894 and enclosures in No. 69, F. O., 1894, Colonel Colvile to Kabarega, Son of Kamrasi, King of Unyoro and Mwanga to Kabarega, both of 5th December 1893; Nyakatura, op. cit., pp. 153—156.

warfare, Kabarega and the Banyoro were prepared to respond with war since this was the only means left to them to retain their independence.

At the time of Lugard's arrival, Bunyoro was occupied in re-building up its military power, establishing close ties with the Arab traders in arms and ammunition, defending itself against the neighbouring kingdom of Buganda on the one hand and the Egyptians on the other, and in extending its empire in Toro. Kabarega's abarusura were continuing to expand the areas tributary to Bunyoro and were intensifying their raids for cattle across the River Semliki, into Busongora and as far south as the salt lake at Katwe and the borders of Ankole. On the north, relieved of the earlier pressure of the Egyptians garrisons on the Victoria Nile, Kabarega was attempting to establish his control over chiefs formerly protected by Egyptian authority, and was beginning to exert an influence among the tribes and clans of Acholiland.

For military and strategic reasons Lugard felt it was necessary to protect his position in Buganda by checking the arms traffic from Karagwe through Ankole and Toro and by cutting off the expansion of the Bunyoro empire in Toro. Toro was severed from Bunyoro and Kasagama installed on its throne. A line of five forts was built running from north to south between Lakes Albert and George and stationed with the Sudanese troops to protect the kingdom of Toro from Kabarega's Bunyoro.[14]

Interests of the British in the early 1890s were focused on Buganda and the surrounding areas were largely viewed in terms of their relation to Buganda and according to how they were seen by the Baganda. Thus, the traditional Baganda hostility towards Bunyoro was adopted and perpetuated by the British administrators from Lugard onwards. Portal's policy of restricting the British administration to the kingdom of Buganda, of a mininum interference in local administration and peace with neighbouring states, was abandoned by his successors, Major Macdonald and Colonel Colvile, who returned to Lugard's policy of protecting the British position in Uganda by checking the power of Bunyoro.

The limitations of space do not allow us to give a full account of the interminable conflict which dragged on between Kabarega and the British; the most that a historian can do is to indicate the general course of events and describe some of the particularly significant episodes.

Within the general setting of British colonial imperialism the conquest of Bunyoro is remarkable on account of the autonomy enjoyed by the British officers who were responsible for the administration of the Uganda protectorate from 1890 onwards. Political measures and the general rhythm of military expansion were matters decided on the spot, the government in London being left to approve and ratify matters already decided.[15] After a short period of calm, truce and negotiations

---

[14] *Lugard Diaries*, Vol. II, especially pp. 350—351.

involving a successful reoccupation by Bunyoro of Toro and Busoga, eighteen months after Lugard's departure from Uganda, on 4 December 1893, the British from their base in Buganda formally declared war on Bunyoro. As it happened, the Baganda cooperated with the British in the conquest of its traditional rival Bunyoro. Colonel Colvile, instructed to send an expedition to the Nile basin to check an alleged Belgian advance from the Congo state and protect British interests on the Nile, had a good excuse to launch a military campaign against Bunyoro in December 1893. The Baganda readily provided some 20,000 men armed with guns, spears and bows.[16] They rightly conjectured that their long-wished aim to conquer Bunyoro at last might be realized. Soon after the British launched the offensive against Bunyoro of some 20,000 troops of Baganda and Sudanese armed with more than 4,000 firearms.[17] Apart from the standing army of barusura, Kabarega had at his disposal dispersed military troops organized and led by his territorial chiefs. It was obvious, of course, that his troops could never hope to occupy permanent positions and he had to make the most of their mobility if he was to avoid serious losses. Still he fought according to established traditions of warfare. Abarusura formed military units and had a reputation for belligerence. The 1893—1894 campaign was to produce the major clash between the two antagonists from both their points of view. The British wanted to strike right at the heart of the kingdom in order to provoke a major battle and so destroy Kabarega's power. The aim of the military expedition launched by Colonel Colvile in December 1893 was to inflict upon the Banyoro a defeat severe

---

[15] See e. g. Macdonald, J. R.: *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa 1891—1894.* London—New York, Edward Arnold 1897, pp. 307—308; there seems to have been a good deal of rivalry among young ambitious British officers charged with administration of Buganda, anxious to distinguish themselves and gain reputation and promotion, as is quite clear from Macdonald's own words commenting the arrival of Colonel Colvile's arrival in Uganda in November 1893: "Owen and I pushed on our work of organizing our small military force and planned our future expedition against Kabarega, who was unmistakably indicating that we need not expect peace proposals from him until we had shown our strength, we neither of us expected that a senior officer was already on his way from England to reap the advantages of our work." For the extension of the Protectorate to Bunyoro see e. g. Further Correspondence respecting East Africa (February 1895), C.6557, Part 37, April to June 1894, p. 206. A despatch from the Foreign Office dated June 1894 stated: "Any temporary and partial occupation of (B) Unyoro must be for purely defensive purposes, with the object of protecting (B) Uganda against aggression. Every effort is to be made with a view to establish friendly relations with Kabarega, and to prevent him from entering into an alliance with adherents of the Mahdi." The occupation of Bunyoro was, of course, later regularized by the F. O., see Despatch No. 59, F. O. to Berkely, July 17, 1896, and Inclosure in No. 59: Extract from the London Gazette of July 3, 1896. In: F. O. Correspondence, July—Dec. 1896, Part XLVI, p. 79.

[16] There are too many references in the Entebbe Secretariat Archives to the Bunyoro expeditions to give a meaningful selection of them, especially in A 4/1. There are also many contemporary accounts written by active participants and eyewitnesses, e. g. by Thruston, Colvile, Vandeleur, Nyakatura etc. See e. g. Thruston to Colvile, Dec. 16, 1893. E. S. A., A2/3.

[17] Thruston, A. B.: *African Incidents.* London, John Murray 1900, pp. 128—132.

enough to ensure that they would willingly accept British rule, in other words, to reduce Bunyoro to obedience. A British participant Thruston was even loath to call the invasion of Bunyoro by the British and their Baganda allies a war. He preferred to describe the warlike operations in a chapter of his book entitled Chasse aux Nègres based on the epigram of a French missionary "On ne fait pas la guerre en Afrique: ce qui s'y fait c'est la chasse aux nègres".[18]

On 18 December 1893, Colvile's force advanced into Bunyoro-Kitara and roughly a week later crossed the Kafu, meeting only a slight opposition from the Banyoro. The reason for the lack of more serious opposition was that Kabarega had divided his forces into four divisions, the first to guard Toro, the second to garrison Bunyara, the third to cover the frontier posts, and the fourth to form a general reserve.[19] Kabarega wisely evaded direct confrontation, sacrificed his capital at Mparo Hill and making his base in Budongo forest resorted to the hit-and-run tactics and the strategy of rearguard attacks.

The superiority of weapons as well as better systems of drill and tactics placed the odds in favour of the colonial régime. On 31 January 1894 the British and the Baganda managed to inflict on the Banyoro a severe defeat. Bunyoro was de facto occupied, half of his kingdom wrested from Kabarega, Kasagama was reinstated and the whole territory of western and southern Bunyoro was alienated and annexed by Toro, Ankole, and the largest part by the Baganda.[20]

However, the British were still unable to capture Kabarega. Throughout the war operations, Kabarega had remained a shadowy figure in the field reports. He was known to be on the scene directing operations against the British, but the always eluded them. The pattern of Banyoro resistance changed into a guerilla war. Kabarega himself directed the partisan resistance based on small unit actions. The British adopted the strategy of "scorched earth". The disruption of the country, famine, diseases, the harrassing of the general population and the submission and later active collaboration of some leading chiefs in mid-1895, all contributed to the slow collapse of the resistance.

Nevertheless, the following four years until Kabarega's capture and deportation was a period of "unceasing wars" between the Banyoro still loyal to Kabarega and the colonial régime. Though his country was ruined, Kabarega, his loyal chiefs and some bands of warriors abarusura still remained at large. The Banyoro military resistance shared several characteristics of contemporary guerilla movements. The

---

[18] Ibid. Chapter IV. The Unyoro Expedition or "Chasse aux Nègres", p. 125.

[19] Dunbar, A. R.: *A History of Bunyoro-Kitara*. Nairobi, Oxford University Press on behalf of the East African Institute of Social Research 1965, p. 85.

[20] See Thruston to Colvile, December 16, 1894. E. S. A., A2/3, 1894; F. O. (Bertie) to Berkely, August 8, 1896. F. O./XLVI, 1896; see also Berkely to F. O., Nov. 19, 1896. F. O./XLVIII, 1897. The arrangement was not reported to the F. O. at the time and was only confirmed by the F. O. in 1896.

supporters of the harassed Omukama had to face an enemy whose military potential and capability was far greater than their own. In order to neutralize the superior firepower of the British, the defeated rebels developed a strategy based on their mobility, intimate knowledge of the terrain, ability to initiate surprise attacks, raids on garrisons, supply columns, and access to friendly borders, in this case the Lango country, where they could obtain sanctuary and provisions and from where they could attack the British. Their success also depended on their having been able to win the support of the loyal peasantry making use of the widespread resentment against the British. All these advantages of guerilla fighters were, however, countered by the presence of African collaborators and by the use of local scouts and local troops.

Eventually the guerillas, like other anti-colonial movements of their day, were defeated. The British concentrated all their attention on the capture of Kabarega himself. They realized that the Omukama's hold on the imagination of his people was so strong that they would never be able to control the country while he was at large. Anti-colonial forces continued in their fight until 9 April 1899, when Kabarega with a handful of followers, betrayed by the Lango among whom they had taken refuge, were finally tracked down in a swampy country, rounded up and captured by the colonial troops. A force under Lieutenant-Colonel Evatt moved into the area where Kabarega was camping, the Omukama, although he had an infection of the eyes, resisted courageously. It was not until he was seriously wounded so that he had to drop his gun, that he was eventually captured. After the final defeat, Kabarega was first deported to Kisimayu and later to the Seychelles. He lived in exile until 1923, learned to read and write, was baptized and adopted a name John. In 1923 he was permitted to return to Bunyoro, but died at Jinga before reaching his home.[21]

It was not proposed here to describe in detail the series of military defeats which Bunyoro suffered at the hands of the British. In the last resort, no tactics, no personal gallantry, and no resistance would have prevailed since the invading British had the Maxim gun and the artillery, and the Banyoro had not. The profound difference in the state of socio-economic development between African societies such as Bunyoro and the invading capitalist Europe, represented in this case by Great Britain, and the technological advantage of the colonialists contributed to the destruction of Bunyoro. An additional factor which cannot be overlooked is the role of mercenaries and collaborators. Throughout the study of early anti-colonial resistance in Africa it is necessary to determine which social, economic and ethnic groups supported the colonialists and why. As we can see on the example of Bunyoro, the overwhelming military and technological superiority of the invading imperialist forces, plus the African leadership's inability to arouse and sustain unanimous popular support from

[21] K. W., op. cit., p. 67; Nyakatura, op. cit., p. 169; Ternan to Salisbury, April 15, 1899, with enclosure, F. O./LVII; also Ternan to Salisbury, May 11, 1899, F. O./LVIII; Johnston to Walker, March 15, 1900, E. S. A., A7/6, etc.

the commoners coupled with the defection, submission and eventual active collaboration of some important chiefs and the transformation of a part of population into a dependent ally of colonial power, ultimately undermined the military resistance and allowed for the establishment of the régime of collaboration. Among the collaborators were first of all those members of the ruling strata who actually benefited and prospered from the new system, those members of the political leadership who enjoyed relative status, power and affluence within the newly established colonial order. In return for their services the collaborators enjoyed a relatively privileged economic and social and political position. For such people there was little or no incentive to continue resistance.

In the study of early anti-colonial resistance it is also important to point out the disparity between the historically progressive content of resistance movements and the subjective social aims of their leaders reflecting the interests of the upper strata of the society and hence to stress the dual role played by traditional African ruling classes as leaders of the objectively progressive historical phenomenon and the subjectiveness and the relative narrowness of their immediate concerns.

In considering the quality of the Banyoro resistance, it must be made clear that many contemporary accounts were biased, including, and perhaps even particularly, those of Lugard. That those who opposed the British were fired with great personal gallantry in the face of overwhelming odds as represented primarily by Maxim and Hotchkins guns, cannot now be disputed by any reasonable man. Kabarega's military prowess had won him a grudging respect and admiration of his enemies, the British officers, such as was never granted to his neighbour-king Mwanga, even if they did on occasion misrepresent his actions and motives the worse to influence public opinion in Britain and justify their own actions. For this reason Kabarega was cast in the role of villain, and he found himself presented to the world as an inhuman fiend. In the current historiography of anti-colonial resistance and protest, he was presented to the world as a nationalist leader and has been fully rehabilitated. It is quite natural that Kabarega has been presented in such contradictory terms because he must have aroused the highest passions, for the British officers he was a thorn in the flesh blocking their imperial advance to the sources of the Nile, for the contemporary nationalist historians he symbolizes heroic and determined resistance to the British conquerors. Thus, even though Kabarega had already been politically active for some fifteen years before the arrival of Captain Lugard and due credit should be given to him for the consolidation of his country, it may be right to see Kabarega first and foremost as a military leader. It is by studying his relations with the British and with the problem of defensive and liberation war to their encroachment that the nature and significance of his undertaking can be properly appreciated.

The colonial administration's victory over Bunyoro had been achieved at the complete destruction of the Bunyoro countryside: the forces of "civilization" had demonstrated their worst aspect.

128

The establishment of effective occupation in Bunyoro was only a question of time. The Banyoro anti-colonial resistance was doomed to failure since it was a conflict between an African society lagging behind in its historical development and a highly developed capitalist state. One of the reasons why the British occupation of Bunyoro-Kitara took eight years was the ardour, tenacity and prowess of Banyoro resisters. Despite its failure, the Banyoro resistance nevertheless slowed down the rate of occupation since the British involuntarily had to work out each advance with regard to the scale of opposition likely to be encountered and to be overcome.

Kabarega as the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara played a crucial role in the history of early anti-colonial resistance to British colonial encroachment and the factor of resistance is of great importance in explaining Kabarega's political and military career and helps to achieve results and conclusions difficult to obtain in any other way.

# POLICY OF THE THIRD NIGERIAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND THE COUNTRY'S RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE

JÁN VODERADSKÝ, Bratislava

The present study intends to draw attention to the principal inner-political problems Nigeria had to face during the period 1975—1979 and to show how the government of the generals Mohammed and Obasanjo coped with them. Chronologically this work takes contact with the author's paper Inner Political Problems of Gowon's Government after the End of the Civil War in Nigeria, published in the preceding issue of this annual.

On 29 July 1975, while Y. Gowon attended a meeting of the heads of States of the OAU in Kampala, the Lagos radio announced that a military coup d'état had taken place and Gowon had been ousted,[1] and his place as head of State occupied by one of the members of the Federal Executive Council, Brigadier Murtala Mohammed.

Mohammed, a Hausa by origin, known already from the civil war when he commanded a division that took Benin, was considered to be the very opposite of Gowon's weakness and lack of decisiveness.[2] This was borne out also by the vigour with which his government set about from the very first days to tackle the most important problems outstanding from the times of Gowon's rule, such as questions of corruption, of new States, of census and of transfer to a civil government.

## 1. Fight against Corruption

The first decisive step along this line was the dismissal of all the twelve governors of States, with charges of corruption being brought against ten of them. By the end of 1975, a mass purge had been carried out in the army and the other departments of

---

[1] The coup d'état took place without bloodshed, credit for which undoubtedly goes also to Gowon's · sober reaction, perhaps unique in the history of military putsches. At a press conference in Kampala, organized following the news about the overthrow of his government in Nigeria, Gowon thanked all the inhabitants and friends of Nigeria for the help they had given him and called on them to cooperate with the new government "in the interest of peace, unity and stability of our dear country". He ended his interview, during which he replied calmly, often with a smile to the reporters' questions, with this quotation from Shakespeare:

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players:
They have their exits and their entrances.

[2] Africa Research Bulletin; Political, Social and Cultural Series, Exeter, July 1975, p. 3697.

the State apparatus and this on a scale without a precedent in Nigeria. Some ten thousand officials and functionaries of the former régime, accused of corruption and irresponsibility, were sacked.[3]

In a speech on 1st October 1975, in which Mohammed presented his government's programme, he promised that illegally acquired possessions would be confiscated. He further announced that a Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau as well as special tribunals and a Public Complaints Commission would be set up.[4] Corruption carried a sentence of seven and in the case of members of government offices of up to ten years of prison.[5]

In the energetic measures pursued by Mohammed's government in the anti-corruption offensive, we may also see one of the reasons for the attempt at reversing this progressive development.[6] On 13 February 1976, during an unsuccessful coup led by Lieut.-Col. Dimka, M. Mohammed was killed. This reactionary putsch was suppressed that same day and 39 members of the armed forces accused of having taken part in the insurrection were later executed. The investigation revealed that the aim of the unsuccessful coup had been a restoration of Gowon's régime. The Federal Government announced that it had evidence also of Gowon's own participation and asked Great Britain, where he had settled in July 1975, for his extradition. Gowon, however, denied the allegation and the Nigerian Government's request was not acceded to.

After Mohammed's death, his function was taken over by Lieutenant General Obasanjo, a Yoruba by origin, and until then holding the function of Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters. In a country where such considerable attention had to be devoted to a candidate's ethnic origin when nominated to a higher function, a Southerner's automatic advance to be the head of the State after a Northerner, was decisively a progressive element. At the same time, there was no change in the political line. Obasanjo in his very first speech the day after the unsuccessful coup, assured the country that he would carry on in the work of his predecessor.[7]

Although the mass purge of the State apparatus in the second half of 1975 had brought the most radical stage of the anticorruption struggle to an end, it does not mean that the third military government considered this problem to have been resolved and that it ceased to keep it in sight. A part of the Constitution elaborated

---

[3] Pribytkovskii, L. N.: *Sovremennyi etap sotsialno-politicheskogo razvitiya Nigerii* (Contemporary Stage of Socio-political Development of Nigeria). In: Gromyko, A. A. (Ed.): *Nigeriya, sovremennyi etap razvitiya* (Nigeria, Contemporary Stage of Development). Moscow, Nauka 1978, p. 257.

[4] Africa Research Bulletin, Oct. 1975, p. 3787.

[5] Pribytkovskii: *Sovremennyi ...*, p. 270.

[6] See Aziya i Afrika segodnya, Moscow, 1979, No. 3, p. 22.

[7] Text of Speech of the new Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo, broadcast to the nation on 14 February 1976, In: Arnold, G.: *Modern Nigeria*. London, Longman 1977, pp. 183—185.

before power had been handed over to the civilians was also the Code of Conduct of Civil Servants, stipulating conditions under which they may be released from their functions, where they may be employed after leaving the civil service, etc. Simultaneously, it binds them to declare their assets every four years.[8]

In the section General Principles, the Constitution anchors the obligation of the State to root out corruption and the abuse of power from public life.[9] From November 1975 onwards, top officials when taking over a function, had to take an oath of dedication to the interests of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, part of which was also the pledge "to eschew and expose corruption in the performance of official duties, ... not to corrupt others, nor aid and abet corruption in all its facets in and outside the Public Service".[10]

The leaders of the third military government, in contrast to their predecessors, immediately passed from anti-corruption declarations to concrete deeds, thereby creating a serious precondition for renewing confidence between the government and the people. Mohammed and Obasanjo understood that to be effective, the anti-corruption offensive must start from decisive personnel-political measures that would affect the highest spheres of government and State power. It is true that like all representatives of a new régime, they, too, having overthrown the old rule, could act in an atmosphere suitable to a radical change. Nevertheless, their efforts to institutionalize the anti-corruption designs of the Nigerian government also for the future (by anchoring the relevant principles in the new Constitution, setting up various authorities with competence to fight corruption), show that they did not intend to confine themselves to the obligatory post-overthrow purge of the State apparatus, but that their aims were of a long-term nature. Of course, a complete change in the people's way of thinking could not take place within four years; yet, by the executive and legislative measures put in the way of further proliferation of corruption and bribery, Mohammed's and also Obasanjo's government gave clear indications to their civil successors of the line of conduct they should pursue in future in order to rid Nigeria's political life of this abuse.

## 2. Creation of New States

The new military government considered the question of setting up further new States to be an acute one, as is attested to by the fact that Mohammed announced his intention to nominate a commission that would study this question, in his very first speech of 30 July 1975.[11] In his next public address on 1 October 1975, when

---

[8] Africa, London, No. 87, Nov. 1978, p. 33.

[9] West Africa, London, 18th Oct. 1976.

[10] Africa Research Bulletin, Nov. 1975, p. 3827.

[11] Arnold: Modern ..., p. 175.

presenting the political programme of his government, he made an explicit promise that new States would be created by April 1976 as part of the measures tending towards a transfer of power to a civilian government.[12] The promise had already become implemented in February which only goes to show the new régime's firm determination speedily, to resolve the principal, much neglected inner political problems of the country. Altogether seven new States were created, raising the total number to nineteen. The former North Eastern and Western States were each divided into three new States, while the East Central, North Western and Benue Plateau were each split into two States. Seven States (except for minor boundary adjustments) remained unaltered (see maps on p. 151). Besides the newly formed States, also those that had formerly been designated according to their geographical position, were now given new names.

At this juncture, ten of the nineteen States were in the northern regions of Nigeria and nine in the south. In the years before the coming to power of the military, such a disposition would have provoked strong resistance in the north. Breaking down into smaller States would then have been synonymous with a weakening of political power. But in the mid-seventies, the situation had somewhat changed. The division of the country into twelve States and some further measures taken by Gowon's government resulted in such a reinforcement of the Central Government that the danger of any one ethnic group's domination over the entire country had ceased to be actual. Even if it be granted that the rivalry between the North and the South continued to form an important background to many a political decisions, the way was now open for another factor to come to the foreground. When civilians come into power, that party will have more representatives in the Senate of the new Parliament which will be made up of more States. With a division into geographically equally large States, a considerable predominance of the North, which has a considerably larger territory and also more inhabitants than the South, would again loom large here. Hence, the reduction of the difference in the number of States in the North and South to a minimum, may — in view of the objectively existing disequilibrium — be ascribed to efforts at decreasing its potentially destabilizing effect. For example the division of the ethnically rather homogeneous Western State into three smaller ones appears to be the result of precisely such an effort.

Simultaneously with the increase in the number of States, it was also decided to move the capital from the excentrically situated and overcrowded Lagos into the centre of the country, to a specially reserved Federal Capital Territory with an area of some ten thousand square kilometres, sparsely populated, to which no claims are laid by any ethnic group of any importance.[13]

---

[12] Africa Research Bulletin, Oct. 1976, p. 3787.
[13] Ibid., Feb. 1976, p. 3923.

134

The third military government, mindful of the mistakes made by its predecessors, was fully aware that any haziness in the delicate matter of States might easily jeopardize the inner political stability of the country. Accordingly, in August 1976, O. Obasanjo made it clear that no further States would be formed and emphatically warned against all further agitation to that end.[14] The names of the existing States are also included in the new Constitution, worked out before power had been handed over to the civil government. The Constitution also determines the process permitting an eventual creation of a new State, or a change in the existing boundaries; this could take place solely after several rounds of voting at different levels authorizing a new State to be formed uniquely "in extremely essential cases".[15] Numerous other clauses of the new Constitution make it clear that in an endeavour to remove the danger of tragic conflicts that in the past had almost brought about a total disintegration of Nigeria, Obasanjo's government devoted serious attention to questions relating to a balanced regional structure and an inter-ethnic stability generally.

The process of centralizing political and economic power that was in full swing in the Nigerian Federation in the first half of the seventies,[16] did not slacken after the coming to power of the third military government. Alongside other centralizing measures, a significant role was also played by the creation of new States in February 1976 which, besides its striking political stabilizing effect, meant a further weakening of regional forces with regard to the Federation.

### 3. The Census Problem

Less constructive proved the third military government's approach to the solution of another of Nigeria's weighty problems, viz. that of determining the number of its population. In an address shortly after having come to power, M. Mohammed announced that the results of the 1973 census were abrogated and in future only the data deduced from the returns of the 1963 census would continue to be used.[17] From then on, this issue was avoided, bypassed in silence, thus intimating that neither Mohammed's nor Obasanjo's government had any intention to take it up. And yet it was clear that numerous other political and economic decisions concerned with distribution of values among the various States of the Nigerian Federation, including also such a burning problem as that of a definitive allotment of financial grants which each would receive from the federal budget, depended on it. True, the decree of

---

[14] New Nigerian, Kaduna, 16th Aug. 1976.

[15] Gboyega, E. A.: *The Making of the Nigerian Constitution.* In: Oyediran, O. (Ed.): *Nigerian Government and Politics under the Military Rule.* London and Basingstoke, Macmillan 1979, p. 255.

[16] Cf. Voderadský, J.: *Inner Political Problems of Gowon's Government after the End of the Civil War in Nigeria.* In: *Asian and African Studies, XVII,* Bratislava, Veda 1981, pp. 133—157.

[17] Arnold: *Modern ...,* p. 175.

Gowon's military government from the early seventies had basically resolved this problem, but without an exact census, factual values corresponding to reality could not be introduced into the distribution pattern (50 per cent of the distributable pool account was distributed on the basis of population and 50 per cent on equality of States).

Hence the question, how many Nigerians there are, still remains open. A group of UNO demographers surveying population growth in Nigeria in 1965—1966, found a yearly increase of 2.5—2.7 per cent. On this basis, UNO statistical reports estimate that in 1979 Nigeria had a population of 70.5 million. However, Nigerian official data had reported much higher figures several years before. Interesting data were provided by the registration of voters early in 1978. According to this source, Nigeria had at that time 47.7 million inhabitants over 18 years of age, which is twenty per cent higher than had been estimated on the basis of official data.[18] Some authors consider this figure to have been artificially increased and recall that as in the past, likewise in this registration certain political factors were at play.[19] However, the 1979 elections revealed that even after thirteen years of military government, the Nigerians are not so politically conscious as had often been claimed for them. In fact, participation in any one election round, including the presidential one, never exceeded 35 per cent of the registered voters.[20] If, therefore, any data, whether partial or total, referring to the number of inhabitants of Nigeria differs from that officially recognized, this may not, in our view, be ascribed at present uniquely to a distortion brought about by diverse political factors, but in a considerable measure also to a truly large number of inhabitants. The estimated number of the population based on data from the year 1963 or 1965—1966, may today be further from the true state than the "politically suspicious" returns from the year 1973[21] or 1978.

In any case, the reason why these and similar "ruminations" are gaining ground even at present is to be looked for in the reluctance on the part of the third military government (evidently in virtue of the deterring example of unsuccessful attempts in the past) to tackle this delicate problem. Nigeria has thus missed an opportunity that offered itself under her military governments. With a predominance of one or another ethno-regionally oriented political party in the government, any challenge of the genuineness of results in a future census, which the civil government will have to undertake sooner or later, will in fact have a far firmer foundation.

---

[18] Sitnik, V.: *Skolko Nigeriitsev?* (How many Nigerians are there?). In: Aziya i Afrika Segodnya, 1979, No. 3, p. 36.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Světový tisk: studie, dokumenty (World press: studies, documents), No. 94, Prague, ČTK 1979, p. 52.

[21] According to the census returns of Nov. 1973, subsequently annulled, Nigeria then counted 79.66 million inhabitants. For more details on the 1973 census see Voderadský, J.: *Inner Political ...*, pp. 143—145.

From the moment Mohammed's régime came into power, suspense ran high as to the stand the new military government would take towards the question of a return to a Constitutional system. Mohammed gave a definite answer to various conjectures in his speech on 1st October delivered on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of independence, when he presented his government's programme. A substantial part of it was devoted to the question of a transfer of power from the military into the hands of civilian politicians. Mohammed announced a detailed, logically consistent programme with definite dates, according to which the entire process was to be completed in five stages whose principal contents were as follows:

I. Creation of new States;
working out of a draft Constitution (by September 1976).

II. Reorganization of and elections into local governments;
deliberation on and approval of the draft Constitution by a partly elected, partly nominated Constitutional Assembly (by October 1978).

III. Preparation for elections, after removing the ban on the activity of political parties in October 1978.

IV, V. Elections into the Legislatures at State and Federal levels and handing over of power to the elected government on 1st October 1979 at the latest.[22]

Thus Mohammed's government gave to Nigeria a programme with a schedule that provided clear bearings to those interested in a return to a Constitutional system, and simultaneously ensured the possibility of a strict control over the implementation of the proclaimed promises.

And let us now look into the implementation of this programme from the viewpoint of its three principal designs — viz. drafting of a new Constitution, setting up of new political parties and carrying out of democratic elections.

a) Constitution

The first important step towards a fulfilment of this point was taken a mere fortnight following the announcement of the government programme of 1st October 1975. A 50-member Constitutional Draft Committee was set up under the direction of a Lagos lawyer R. Williams. It comprised two representatives from each of the 19 States, the rest being made up of some further prominent personalities.[23] When inaugurating the committee, M. Mohammed outlined what the new Constitution should embody. He said that in the view of the Supreme Military Council, it should ensure the federal system, whose structure ought to be reflected also in the composition of the highest government officials, the highest powers being in the

---

[22] According to Daily Times, Lagos, 1st Oct. 1975.
[23] West Africa, 13th Oct. 1975.

hands of the executive president; furthermore, it should guarantee the formation of truly national parties and limit their numbers, ensure basic human rights, prevent excessive centralization of power in the hands of a few, etc.[24] None of these recommendations can be said to be unsuitable to future Nigeria, nevertheless, the fact remains that such an intervention — not the last one on the part of the military government — implied that the new constitutional system would be strongly marked right from the beginning by authoritative decisions of the preceding military régime and consequently in its essence will not reflect quite democratically the will of the Nigerian people. It should also be noted that it was known beforehand that the final version of the Constitution was subject to approval by the Federal military government and from this visual angle Mohammed's "recommendations" sound far more imperative than might appear from the way they had been formulated.

As anticipated by the programme of transfer of power, the Constitutional Committee had worked out a draft of the Nigerian Constitution before September 1976. In October 1977, a 223-member Constituent Assembly made up of 203 elected and 20 nominated members, held its first session.[25] It had as its task to judge the various sections of the Draft Constitution and to submit the final version by October 1978 for approval by the Supreme Military Council.

As the scope of the present study precludes a more detailed analysis of the new Nigerian Constitution, a note will be made of at least some of its characteristic and eventually controversial parts.[26] The Constitution lays stress primarily on the indivisibility, unity and the federal character of the Republic. Assignment of federal functions to persons from a small number of States or ethnic groups must be prevented. The State must do everything to promote national integration; it should, for instance, "encourage inter-marriage among persons from different places of origin or of different religious, ethnic or linguistic associations or ties". A feeling of solidarity and loyalty should be fostered among the people. Numerous further provisions make it clear that the Constitutional Committee's principal guidelines

---

[24] Africa Research Bulletin, Oct. 1975, p. 3789.

[25] The twenty nominated members were to have represented the interests of women, labour, public service and traditional authorities, whose representation in the Constituent Assembly was not guaranteed by the electoral process. See Daily Times, 12 Sep. 1977. The Federal Government divided the 203 elected seats among the various States as follows: each of the 19 States was given five representative seats in the Constituent Assembly and the remaining 108 seats were allocated on the basis of the number of inhabitants (according to the 1963 census). The northern States had a total of 13 elected representatives more than the southern States. The manner in which Obasanjo's government decided to assign the number of seats in the Constituent Assembly to the various States is strongly reminiscent of Gowon's revenue distribution formula. It appears that this idea, thanks to which the economic and political impact of the disbelieved and misbelieved population differences was mitigated, is generally applicable in Nigeria when values are to be divided among the States.

[26] According to Africa Research Bulletin, Oct. 1976, pp. 4184—4188.

were efforts at working out a Constitution that would enable Nigeria to avoid in future serious crisis situations that in the sixties had brought it to the borders of disintegration.

The Constitution ensures a pluralist political system, but an important condition for registering a political party is that it must reflect the Federal structure of Nigeria. Its programme must conform to fundamental national objectives. Membership of all the parties must be open to all citizens and every party's headquarters must reside in the Federal capital. Members of the executive committee of each party must be drawn from at least two-thirds of the 19 States. The party's designation must be a national one and no religious or ethnic labels may be employed in its propagation. All these precautions limiting the setting up and activity of political parties clearly imply that the fear of a resurgence of regionally-based ethnic-separatist parties persisted very much alive in Nigeria even after a decade of "unification" efforts by military governments.

The Constitution provides for a bicameral national Assembly — the Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate consists of 96 senators (five from each State and one from the Federal Capital Territory) and there are 450 seats in the House of Representatives. Besides English, also Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo are admitted as official languages.

The principal legislative authority in the States is vested in State Assemblies. Their jurisdiction is limited, on the one hand, by exactly specified domains of competence of the Federal government and, on the other, by minimal functions of local governments.

The discussion around the draft of the new Constitution became focused on the decision to concentrate the principal political power in the hands of a single person — the executive president. Voices were heard, on the one hand, that an eventual strict division of power between the president and the premier might, in a situation where they would fail to find a common way out, lead to downright political paralysis, as had happened before the coming of the military to power. On the other hand, warnings were uttered against the danger inherent in unlimited powers of a potential dictator. The principal constitutional measure intended to reduce this danger was the mode of electing the president. To be elected, he requires, besides the absolute majority of the votes, also a minimum of one-quarter of votes in at least two-thirds of the States in the Federation. Essentially this means that no one may become a president solely on the basis of "ethnic", eventually of "northern" or "southern" votes.[27] Such a mode of election should guarantee that the president had a broad, nation-wide backing.[28] To forestall the president from unduly advancing his

---

[27] West Africa, 25th Oct. 1976.

[28] Many of the participants in the discussion on the draft constitution expressed doubt that any politician in Nigeria would succeed in winning such a wide support in Nigerian voters to enable him to meet the given

own personal or his ethnic interests in the execution of his office, there is a provision according to which his cabinet must include at least one representative from each of the 19 States, although these will be selected (similarly as the vice-president) by the president himself.

The decision to alter the political system of parliamentary democracy from the period of the first republic into one with an executive president may be ascribed to three factors. The first is that following the adverse experiences from the sixties, which were far from forgotten in Nigeria, the view prevailed that to ensure an effective government, the executive power should be centred in one person; in case of need, the latter can make decisions promptly and can also enforce his will, particularly if there is danger that discords in the cabinet might paralyze government activity.[29] The introduction of the presidential system was also affected by the fact that the new Constitution was elaborated while the army was in power. Its principal representatives strove to make the best of their historical opportunity and to embody in the Constitution of the future Nigerian State also some principles of their own political conviction concerning the priority of a unique command. But historical premises, too, may be adduced in favour of a centralized leadership in Nigeria. In West Africa, with few exceptions, power at all the levels of the political hierachy used to be traditionally centred in one person.[30] Naturally, one could hardly assume that Nigerians would today be ready to reconcile themselves with the government of a despotic dictator, yet the fact remains nonetheless, that under the specific conditions of Nigeria, a centralized leadership has its justification.

It is clearly evident from the decision to confide the supreme power into the hands of the executive president (as also from numerous provisions and clauses in the new Constitution) that members of the legislative bodies were ready to subordinate all the other criteria to the one major goal viz. to prevent at all cost a resurgence of national-disintegrating influences. Were we to name the new Nigerian Constitution according to its dominant characteristic, the most fitting designation would appear to be precisely that of a "Constitution of Unity".

Right from the beginning, October 1977, a very intensive and often sharp discussion went on in the Constituent Assembly which studied the Draft Constitution. The deepest conflict occurred in connection with the question of the degree of independence of the Moslim Sharia Law. When in April 1978, the Constituent Assembly refused to approve the special Federal Sharia Court of Appeal, which,

---

criteria. One of them was S. Shagari himself, who ultimately succeeded in this. See Legum, C. (Ed.): *Africa Contemporary Record.* London, Rex Collings 1978, p. B-731.

[29] Africa, No. 87, Nov. 1978, p. 28.

[30] See Schuster, A.: *Vers la fin des régimes militaires en Afrique occidentale? La voie suivie au Ghana, en Haute Volta, au Mali et au Nigéria.* In: Canadian Journal of African Studies, Ottawa, *12*, 1978, No. 2. p. 229.

according to the original proposal of the Constitutional Committee was to deal with cases sent in from the Sharia Court of Appeal of the State, 88 of the 223 members left the Assembly and the session had to be interrupted. This procedure met with a sharp criticism on the part of the press; it was stated that many members of the Constituent Assembly misuse this forum as a political platform where, in order to enforce their viewpoint, they descend to the lowest level of triviality and forget their principal mission — to look for solutions to the problems of millions of Nigerians.[31] Following O. Obasanjo's energetic intervention, when he addressed the members of the Constituent Assembly in a language reminiscent of that delivered by "an angry headmaster to a group of erring and delinquent school children",[32] the proceedings were resumed and the issue of the Sharia was not discussed any more.

The Constituent Assembly made changes also in further sections in the draft of the Constitution which it examined. Many conjectures and disputes arose around the date as from which conviction of corruption, unjust enrichment, or abuse of office meant a disqualification of the offender from the elections. The Draft Constitution proposed that this be limited to the period after 15th January 1966 (coming of the army to power), but the Constitutional Assembly pushed back this date to 1st October 1960 (achieving of independence).[33] This measure, through which the Constituent Assembly rightly endeavoured to prevent the return of compromised politicians bearing considerable responsibility for the distressing plight of independent Nigeria, must have been a deep disappointment to many serious candidates for high offices.[34] That meant that their strivings of many years and their long-term behind-the-scene preparations for political activity now came to naught. Their only hope now was that this proposed change would not be passed when the new Constitution would be finally approved by the military government.

The session of the Constituent Assembly ended in June 1978 and in August of the same year the new Constitution was submitted for approval to the head of State O. Obasanjo. The Supreme Military Council, chaired by Obasanjo, effected some final changes in the terms of the Constitution. The date decisive for the application of the criteria disqualifying would be candidates from political activity was again shifted to 15th January 1966 on the ground that the army felt responsible only for this period.[35] This decision on the part of the military government (although it was possibly but an expression of efforts of the head of State to save Awolowo, whose ethnic origin and

---

[31] Sunday Times, Lagos, 4th June 1978.

[32] Ibid.

[33] West Africa, 26th June 1978.

[34] It was clear that this measure would also affect O. Awolowo of whom it was generally felt that on the very first occasion he would throw all his indisputable political skill and experience into the electoral fight for the highest political office. At the same time, the memory of the 1963 process was alive, when Awolowo together with further representatives of his party had been sentenced to ten years of prison.

[35] New Nigerian, 25th Sep. 1978.

also certain political views were close to Obasanjo's own, for Nigerian politics) could be taken as a sort of an unofficial amnesty to the policy of the first half of the sixties; it certainly contributed in its measure to the fact that once the ban on politics had been lifted, the Nigerian political arena became crowded with representatives of the old régime, beside whom very little space was left to promising young leaders of the Nigerian people. Other amendments to the Constitution made by Obasanjo's government, particularly the inclusion in it of certain military decrees from the past few years, were of a more progressive character. Among them was the Land Use Decree which vested all land in Nigeria in the governments of the Federation, or the National Youths Service Corps Decree introducing a one-year long military service for all university graduates, which consisted, to a large extent, of work in agriculture, teaching etc. in various parts of the country and whose paramount aim is to strengthen a sense of discipline and the national consciousness in Nigerian intelligentsia. Legalizing of Public Complaints Commissions meant that the right to investigate abuses of public funds and similar transgressions by persons, government departments and ministries would not be left purely to legislative bodies only.[36] Although one may find a great number of progressive elements in the measures by which the army intervened right from the beginning into the process of working out a new Constitution, a certain handicap is that they carry with them the character of military octrois and their viability will depend on the measure in which the elected representatives of the Nigerian people in the new civil government succeed in identifying themselves with them.

In November 1978 a Decree was enacted, deciding on the definitive wording of the Constitution and stipulating that it would come into force on 1st October 1979. The Nigerian military government has thus brought to a successful end one of the most decisive stages in the transfer of power to a civil government. Everything was prepared for waging a political struggle for power in post-military Nigeria.

b) Political Parties
In a televised address on 21st September 1978, O. Obasanjo announced the lifting of the ban on political activity. Twenty-four hours had not elapsed and the first political parties were already known, thus corroborating what had been a public secret that for some time past the government had not been capable to eliminate entirely the proliferating non-legal political activity. Prospective candidates to various political posts had been preparing the ground for a successful start in the election fight within diverse social clubs, associations and other parapolitical organizations. There was little time left before the elections and all the political candidates were well aware that an early behind-the-scened campaign would mean a considerable advantage.

---

[36] Ibid.

By December 1978, when it had to be decided which of the political parties would succeed in meeting all the criteria of the Federal Electoral Commission conditioning official registration, there were some 50 of them. Nevertheless, it was clear beforehand that only the biggest and especially the wealthiest of them had a chance of passing the strict test of selection. To adhere to all the prescribed conditions ensuring a national character of the party was possible in so short a time to those parties that had in their ranks old experienced politicians, drawing support right from the beginning from their former voters; those parties that had well prepared their electoral campaign before the ban on political activity had been lifted (it had again been easier in illegal conditions to re-establish old contacts on a political platform agreed upon long ago, than to win over new adherents on the basis of a new ideology), but primarily the parties which had enough financial means to set up an extensive all-Nigeria party apparatus.

Immediately after Mohammed had announced his programme of transferring power to a civilian government, in October 1975, the press repeatedly drew attention to the fact that a delay in lifting the ban on politics would in itself be an advantage to former parties from the period of the first republic.[37] The military government, however, did not consider it necessary to make any changes whatever in its otherwise very successful political programme, and lifted the ban on politics only shortly before the start of the electoral campaign, as had originally been scheduled. And thus, less than three months were left for setting up a political party that would meet all the strict organizational and financial conditions for becoming registered.

Among such as could not assert themselves in a more telling manner, were also several progressively oriented parties, such as, for instance, the Nigerian Workers and Peasants Vanguard Movement (NWPVM) led by a veteran of the Nigerian Trade Union Movement, M. Imoudu,[38] the Socialist party of Workers, Farmers and Youths (SPWFY) headed by O. Oni,[39] or the Nigerian Advanced Party whose principal representative was a young Lagos lawyer T. Braithwaite.[40]

From the total number of the political associations (as the aspiring political parties were termed by the Federal Electoral Commission prior to their approval), only 19 applied for registration and ultimately no more than five succeeded in being entered on the lists. They were the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP), the Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) and the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP).

The NPN attracted attention right from the start particularly by grouping the largest number of former prominents of the Nigerian political life. At its head stood

---

[37] Daily Times, 3rd Oct. 1975.
[38] Ibid., 27th Oct.1978.
[39] Africa, No. 87, Nov. 1978.
[40] Sunday Times, 3rd Dec. 1978.

Shehu Shagari who had been a minister in A. T. Balewa's cabinet before the coming of the army to power and had held the important function of a Federal Commissioner for Finance also in Gowon's military government. Among the more prominent figures in the new party were R. Akinjide, former minister of education, Inua Wada, a high functionary in the former NPC party, A.Enahoro, a foremost representative of Awolowo's Action Group, J. Tarka, the leader of the UMBC party in the First Republic and until his resignation because of corruption, a Commissioner for communications in Gowon's government, A. Adebayo and Kam Salem, members of the Supreme Military Council under Gowon, and some further prominent personalities. The PNN could rely principally on votes from former adherents of the NPC, but names like J. Tarka, A. Enahoro and some others among its members implied that the representatives of the party grasped the altered situation and would endeavour to gain support also in the other regions of Nigeria. The NPN's programme betrays a strong procapitalist orientation. Even though it promises the promotion of education, health and housing, building of roads, etc., yet it lays stress on the creation of ideal conditions for foreign investors and the elimination of "unjustifiable limitations on drawing profits".[41]

The leader of the UPN party was O. Awolowo, a well-known figure in Nigerian political life — the leader of Federal opposition before the coming of the army to power and a Commissioner for Finance, until his resignation in 1971, in Gowon's Government. As the principal aims of his party he proclaimed free education at all levels, free health facilities, an integrated rural development scheme and full employment for all Nigerians. Awolowo's opponents designated his promises to be unreal and saw them merely as part of the electoral tactics.

Another political veteran stood at the head of the NPP — N. Azikiwe, former president of the First Nigerian Republic. He still considered himself to be the "Father of the Nation",[42] but those who knew his political past when he often changed his standpoint according to circumstances, could not put their faith even in his electoral promises to give Nigeria "a government that listens, that is truthful and honest".[43]On the one hand, he promised a nation-wide campaign against inflation, and on the other, his programme was full of projects whose implementation would only help it to grow. His promise to create further States, too, was evidently meant solely to win votes from some dissatisfied ethnic groups.

The GNPP was formed by breaking away from the NPP when it became clear that N. Azikiwe's adherents would insist on his nomination as candidate to the presidency. The dissatisfied faction, led by Ibrahim Waziri, a wealthy businessman and also a former minister from the times of the First Republic, broke away from the NPP

[41] Africa Research Bulletin, Jan. 1979, p. 5125.

[42] Africa, No. 88, Dec. 1978.

[43] Africa Research Bulletin, Jan. 1979, p. 5126.

144

and founded its own party. It looked for support mainly to the northern States of Nigeria, but its vague programme proved little attractive. Ibrahim Waziri was primarily concerned with advancing his business interests. From the forthcoming elections, he expected that it would be "a good gamble" and calculated how many votes he could canvass in each State. At the worst, he hoped to win in the State of Borno where he had the majority of his investments.[44] In reply to allegations that he was pouring enormous sums into the electoral campaign and that in fact he was buying votes, he declared rather unconvincingly that "the GNPP does not believe in money politics because we think that the people should support a party for the sake of its ideology" ...[45]

The fifth political party was the PRP. In addition to its leader A. Kano, a well-known radical critic of the Nigerian governments from the times of the First Republic when he headed the NEPU, and also from the period of Gowon's government where he held the post of Commissioner for Health, several other representatives of Nigerian Trade Union and socialist movements belonged to its leadership — M. Imoudu and O. Oni, heads of the NWPVM and SPWFY referred to above, which later joined with the PRP, S. Ikoku a famous socialist critic of the former civilian régime, and others. Among its political aims, the PRP includes the setting up of a new social and political order that would deliver the Nigerians from corruption, nepotism and disorderliness and which would guarantee the right to form Trade Unions and to fight for better wages and improved working conditions. Of the five parties officially admitted to the elections, the PRP had the most elaborated and the most leftist political programme.

Several interesting facts stand out from this brief analysis of the principal Nigerian political parties. The first one, already noted above, is the comeback en masse of politicians from the discredited period of parliamentary democracy during the First Republic. Many had assumed that they were long forgotten in Nigeria and that a return to the political system from before the first military coup was simply impossible;[46] nevertheless, such an assumption proved totally wrong. All four major political parties of Nigeria from before the military coups, the NPC, AG, NCNC and NEPU appeared again with minimum modifications in their programmes, adapted more or less to the new conditions and under new names — NPN, UPN, NPP and PRP. With the exception of the late Balewa, the same leaders stood at their head as in the past and by and large, the decisive part of their electoral base was made up of the same ethnic and eventually social group. The thesis on an ethnic background of the great majority of political parties in Tropical Africa[47] was once again proved in

---

[44] Sunday Times, 3rd Dec. 1978.

[45] Africa Research Bulletin, Jan. 1979, p. 5126.

[46] See, e. g. Schuster: Vers la fin ..., p. 221.

[47] Solodovnikov, V. G.: Politicheskie partii Afriki (Political Parties of Africa). Moscow, Nauka 1970, p. 29.

practice. The fact that one of the five new parties, the GNPP had no concrete predecessor from the times before the first military coup d'état, did not help to improve the situation. Its overall character and political pattern were apt to confirm rather than allay any fear from a return to the policy of the first half of the sixties. The experienced politicians coped adroitly with the constitutional restrictions designed to ensure a national character in all the political parties as they would with any casual organizational-technical obstacle, but those measures fell far short of substantially influencing the ideology and the overall character of the new parties.

c) Elections[48]

The organization and control of elections to Federal and State legislatures were in the hands of a 23-member Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) which included, besides one representative of each State, also four women for the Federation. Among its many tasks, it had that of determining the number and size of electoral wards, take a census of all Nigerian voters, decide on the registration of all the political parties, disqualify from the elections candidates who failed to meet all the stipulated conditions, etc.

In April 1979, the FEDECO chairman, M. Ani, made public the exact programme of the forthcoming elections which were to take place according to the following schedule: 7 July — elections to the Senate; 14 July — elections to the House of Representatives; 21 July — elections to the State Assemblies; 28 July — elections of governors of States (4 August — available for a possible run-off election of State Governors); 11 August — presidential elections (18 August — possible run-off election of the President).[49]

Right from the start, the greatest attention was centred on the election of the President. The differences among the programmes of the strongest Nigerian parties were inconspicuous and nothing prompted the Nigerian electorate to alter their old habit of voting for personalities rather than parties. Given such an electoral philosophy, the choice of the highest functionary naturally appears as decisive. Another important factor concentrating attention on the election of the highest representative was the fact that the future political system determined by the new Constitution was to be headed by an executive President whose power was considerably exaggerated among the public. Presidential candidates themselves, by their conduct, created the impression that the parties were "mere technical appendages to their drive to eminence".[50]

---

[48] Already towards the end of 1976 and in August 1977, local government elections took place in Nigeria and also elections to the Constituent Assembly, before political parties were formed; they ran in a relatively peaceful, even apathetic atmosphere. (See e. g. Africa Research Bulletin, Dec. 1976, p. 4275.) In this section, however, attention will be focused on the principal Federal and State elections in the summer of 1979, the culminating point of the election campaign of the newly formed parties.

[49] West Africa, 13th April 1979.

146

The results of the presidential elections only confirmed the new proportion of forces already indicated by the preceding four electoral rounds and they are good indicators of the division of power among the different parties and the various regions of Nigeria.

A total of 16,846,633 Nigerians took an active part in the elections and they cast their votes for the 5 candidates as follows:

| Shehu Shagari | NPN | 5,688,857 votes |
| Obafemi Awolowo | UPN | 4,916,651 votes |
| Nnamdi Azikiwe | NPP | 2,822,523 votes |
| Aminu Kano | PRP | 1,732,113 votes |
| Ibrahim Waziri | GNPP | 1,686,489 votes |

Data on the distribution of votes among candidates in each of the 19 States of Nigerian Federation are shown in Table 1.[51]

According to the new Nigerian Constitution, that candidate may become President who, besides the absolute majority, receives at least 25 per cent of votes in at least two-thirds of all the Federal States. In a country divided into 19 States, the president-elect should receive the required 25 per cent of votes in 13 or more States. As evident from Table 1, S. Shagari who carried the overall majority, received the necessary 25 % support in only 12 States and thus failed to satisfy the conditions for becoming president in the first round. However, FEDECO's intervention came to his aid in the form of the following statement: "FEDECO considers that in the absence of any legal explanation or guidance in the electoral decree, it has no alternative than to give the phrase 'at least 2/3 of all the States in the Federation' the ordinary meaning which applies to it.

In the circumstances, the candidate who scores at least 1/4 of the votes cast in twelve States and 1/4 of 2/3, that is at least 1/6 of the votes cast in the thirteenth State satisfies the requirement of the sub-section."[52] Shagari was thus given the benefit of 19.94 per cent of votes which he obtained in the Kano State and was thus elected directly in the first round to be President of Nigeria. FEDECO's intervention (although probably quite superfluous, for Shagari had every chance of carrying it off also in the run-off elections) provoked a wave of ill-will in adherents of the defeated parties and a conviction that the commission which had controlled the final stage of Nigeria's transition from a military to a civilian rule, had shown prejudice and bias. ·

Let us now look at certain facts deriving from the results of the presidential elections. One interesting feature is that despite the generally acknowledged numerical preponderance of the North, more Southerners turned out at the polls. Of

---

[50] Daily Times, 3rd Jan. 1979.
[51] According to Daily Times, 17th August 1979.
[52] Ibid.

Table 1

| | Total | Waziri | Awolowo | Shagari | Kano | Azikiwe | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | % | | | |
| Anambra | 1,209,038 | 1.67 | 0.75 | 13.50 | 1.20 | 82.88 | 100.0 |
| Bauchi | 998,683 | 15.44 | 3.00 | 62.48 | 14.34 | 4.74 | 100.0 |
| Bendel | 669,699 | 1.20 | 53.20 | 36.20 | 0.70 | 8.60 | 100.0 |
| Benue | 538,879 | 7.97 | 2.57 | 76.38 | 1.33 | 11.77 | 100.0 |
| Borno | 710,968 | 54.05 | 3.35 | 34.71 | 6.52 | 1.35 | 100.0 |
| Cross River | 661,103 | 15.15 | 11.76 | 64.40 | 1.01 | 7.66 | 100.0 |
| Gongola | 639,138 | 34.09 | 21.09 | 21.67 | 35.52 | 4.35 | 100.0 |
| Imo | 1,158,355 | 5.00 | 0.64 | 8.80 | 0.89 | 84.69 | 100.0 |
| Kaduna | 1,382,712 | 14.00 | 7.00 | 43.00 | 31.00 | 5.00 | 100.0 |
| Kano | 1,195,136 | 1.21 | 1.23 | 19.94 | 76.71 | 0.91 | 100.0 |
| Kwara | 354,605 | 5.71 | 37.48 | 53.62 | 0.67 | 0.52 | 100.0 |
| Lagos | 828,414 | 0.48 | 82.30 | 7.18 | 0.67 | 9.57 | 100.0 |
| Niger | 388,847 | 16.50 | 3.67 | 74.88 | 3.77 | 1.11 | 100.0 |
| Ogun | 744,668 | 0.53 | 92.61 | 6.23 | 0.31 | 0.32 | 100.0 |
| Ondo | 1,384,788 | 0.26 | 94.50 | 4.19 | 0.18 | 0.86 | 100.0 |
| Oyo | 1,396,547 | 0.58 | 85.78 | 12.75 | 0.32 | 0.55 | 100.0 |
| Plateau | 548,405 | 6.32 | 5.29 | 34.73 | 3.98 | 49.70 | 100.0 |
| Rivers | 687,951 | 2.19 | 10.33 | 72.65 | 0.46 | 14.35 | 100.0 |
| Sokoto | 1,348,697 | 26.63 | 2.52 | 66.38 | 3.33 | 0.92 | 100.0 |
| Total | 16,846,633 | 1,686,489 | 4,916,651 | 5,688,857 | 1,732,113 | 2,822,523 | |

the total of 16,846,633 votes cast, 8,740,563 were cast in the nine Southern States and only 8,106,070 in the ten States of the North. If in spite of this, a candidate from the North was elected, it goes to show that he had won confidence also among a considerable part of the Southerners. Among the thirteen States in which Shagari obtained the required minimum votes were, besides all the ten northern ones, also the south-eastern States Cross River, and Rivers, and the Bendel State; in the first two of these, he carried a clear majority, a success he achieved in only five northern States. Shagari won in nine States altogether, in contrast to his opponents Awolowo (in 5 States), Azikiwe (3), Kano (1) and Waziri (1). As in the past, so now the votes cast for these politicians were explicitly of an ethnic character and although their victory in the traditional regions may be said to have been crushing, in other States they obtained only minimum numbers of votes.

Awolowo was the only candidate to obtain a 90 per cent majority in one State, but with the exception of five States of south-western Nigeria where he won absolutely, he obtained the "at least one-quarter of votes" in only one neighbouring State, in which too, a considerable number of Yorubas are living.

"The father of the nation" Azikiwe obtained over 80 per cent of votes in two "Ibo" States, but with the exception of another one where he won, he failed to obtain the quarter of the votes in any one State, and in fourteen out of the nineteen States he did not achieve even a 10 percent support.

A. Kano, whose programme had seemed the most attractive to the people, was an evident case that the Nigerians voted also this time for personalities with their ethnic origin and not political parties with their ideologies. He won clearly in "his" State, received some votes also in two neighbouring States, but not even 5 per cent of voters in fifteen States would have him as President.

Waziri's votes were distributed more uniformly especially among the northern States, but he succeeded in fulfilling only his "minimum programme", i. e. to win in the Borno State where he had his major capital investments.

Another remarkable fact is that although the 100 per cent of votes cast in each State had to be divided among as many as five candidates, the particular winners obtained more than half the votes in sixteen out of the nineteen States and his opponents only a negligible percentage. The results of the elections have shown that despite an "all-national" façade of all the political parties, only a minimum shift occurred in the geopolitical distribution of forces in comparison with the period from before the coming of the military to power.

Conclusion

The third military government, despite certain drawbacks, proved to have been the most capable and the most progressive in Nigeria following her independence. In contrast to its predecessors, it became not only a nominal but a real leader of the

country.[53] Having taken over power, it succeeded in a decisive manner to resolve most of the problems left outstanding from the times of Gowon's régime. Its anticorruption offensive from the time immediately after the coup, supplemented by legislative measures, dealt a severe blow to representatives of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and proved a model of decisiveness and purposefulness with which to proceed in this question. The government proceeded in an exemplary manner in carrying out the fundamental task of its own programme — to prepare the country for handing over of power to a constitutional system. Taking the principal inner political problem of independent Nigeria as a starting point, viz. that of national unity, the third military government directed its efforts primarily to remove those influences that in the sixties had led the country to the edge of disintegration. A weakening of the ethnic-regionalist forces through a division of the country into smaller States, efforts at reinforcing national consciousness in the minds of all Nigerians, the government's active participation in preparing a new Nigerian "Constitution of Unity" — all that was meant to ensure that in future the country would avoid the most tragic errors of the past. Even though the political situation in the country before the transfer of power to civilians was in several respects rather dangerously reminiscent of that prevailing before the coming of the military to power, the contribution of the third military régime should be seen principally in the fact that the latter joined the process of a further deepening of national integration and stabilization with a gradual democratization of the political life, which it carried through up to the handing over of power to a constitutional government chosen in general elections.

---

[53] Pribytkovskii : *Sovremennyi* ..., p. 260.

## The division of Nigeria into States

### Before February 1976

1. Lagos
2. Western
3. Mid Western
4. Rivers
5. East Central
6. South Eastern
7. Kwara
8. North Western
9. Benue Plateau
10. North Central
11. Kano
12. North Eastern
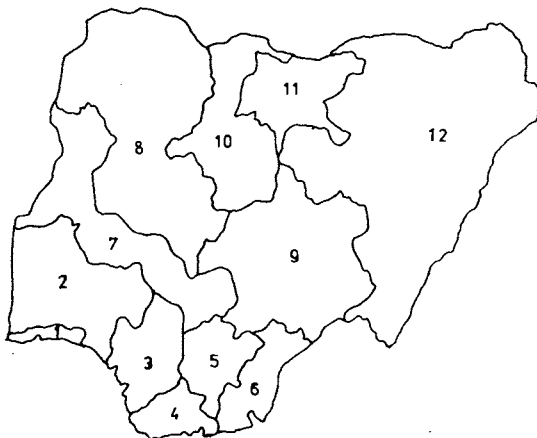
### After February 1976

1. Lagos
2. Ogun
3. Oyo
4. Ondo
5. Bendel
6. Rivers
7. Imo
8. Anambra
9. Cross River
10. Kwara
11. Niger
12. Benue
13. Plateau
14. Sokoto
15. Kaduna
16. Kano
17. Bauchi
18. Borno
19. Gongola
FCT — Federal Capital Territory

# SOME SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY IN AFRICA

JURAJ VÁMOS, Bratislava

The problem of understanding the ways of thinking and the values of various cultures, the implications of the process of communication among cultures has been raised at various international congresses of psychology. This paper reviews some of the opinions expressed at thes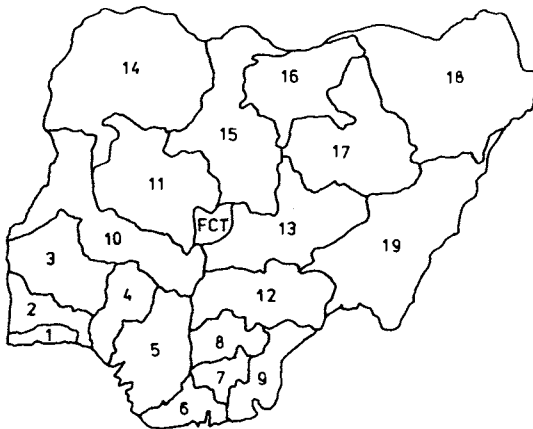e congresses and the contribution of the author to the discussion. Psychological issues are often decisive for the success or failure in economic and social life. The paper deals with new trends in social psychology and their possible contribution to the development in Africa.

At the XXIInd International Congress of Psychology at Leipzig, the Nigerian psychologist Dr. M. O. A. Durojaiye from the Faculty of Education, Lagos, made an appeal to the community of psychologists to devote more attention to African affairs. He said it was necessary that various cultures should understand the ways of their own and of other cultures from the psychological point of view, because this was important for mutual cooperation. Misunderstanding and damage may be caused by lack of reciprocal understanding. If this problem remained unsolved, he said, "not only the African psychologist will have failed, but the collective wisdom of psychologists will have failed".

The contribution by professor Durganand Sinha from the Department of Education, Allahabad University, India, specified some of the ideas suggested by the Nigerian scholar. He said that the cultural heritage of India was intensely practical and humanistic in its orientation and psychology should continue in this tradition doing something about the "pressing societal and national problems like poverty, socio-cultural deprivation, social conflicts, the building and functioning of organizations, leadership patterns, to mention only a few".[1]

During the Congress at Leipzig, the work of the late psychologist Vygotskii was often evoked. There seemed to exist general agreement as to his formulation: "Any function in the child's cultural development appears on the stage twice, on two planes, first on the social and then on the psychological plane, first among people as an intermental category and then within the child as an intramental category."[2] The

---

[1] Sinha, D: *Towards Outgrowing the Alien Frame: A Review of Researches in India.* XXIInd International Congress of Psychology, Abstract Guide. Leipzig, German Democratic Republic 1980, p. 22.

[2] Vygotskii, L. S.: *Development of the Higher Mental Functions.* In: *Psychological Research in the U.S.S.R.* Moscow, Progress Publishers 1966, p. 44.

153

spiritual life of the child is influenced by his culture and something similar may be said about the adult. How this takes place has been investigated on the levels of small and great structures by scholars in this country and abroad. The psychologist should have a thorough knowledge of the socio-cultural milieu to be able to interpret the meaning of his findings. The links between individual and group psychology, their socio-cultural milieu does not preclude individual variety. Each culture reveals a broad register of such varieties encouraging some and neglecting or suppressing others.

A psychologist working in a foreign culture has certain disadvantages but also some advantages: he may come with new insights and draw attention to phenomena which have escaped attention because they were so familiar that people did not even notice them. He may become an interpreter among cultures and a mediator of future cooperation. This contains a moral obligation to both cultures: his own and the host culture.

Early Stages of Personality Development in Africa

Paul Fraisse, president of the XXIst International Congress of Psychology, said about science in general: "every science is obviously a human construction, but it is more difficult in psychology than in natural sciences to separate scientific reasoning from anthropocentric contentions ..." He spoke about two ways of acting on the environment, one by direct circuits of motor behaviour which are elaborated in the relationship between subject and object, the other by symbolic circuits of verbal behaviour which develop in the course of social interactions between children and adults. These are two extreme types of processes that include numerous intermediary cases.[3]

In my contribution I drew attention to the particularities of early child-rearing practices in Africa, of social institutions and language resulting from the conditioning of these circuits. They contribute to personality formation and are integral parts of a culture.[4]

For an unborn child, the natural environment is the mother's body, it protects him, feeds him, creates conditions for the earliest patterns of interaction and communication. Birth is an experience which may be perceived differently in the industrial world than in the traditional one. M. Damborská in her article "What is Non-physiological in the Approach to Children at the Earliest Age" describes some of the traumatic experiences of the new-born child in a hospital: early separation from the mother,

[3] Fraisse, P.: *Psychology, Science of Man or Science of Behaviour?* Proceedings of the XXIst International Congress of Psychology, Paris 1976. Paris, Presses universitaires de France 1978.

[4] Vámos, J.: *Marginal Situations Arising from the Encounter between Traditional and Pragmatic Patterns of Thinking.* In: *Asian and African Studies, XV,* 1979, pp. 135—148.

154

impersonal handling, etc.[5] In the traditional world the child is warmly accepted, separation from the mother is postponed, the intimate contacts with the body of the mother last much longer. One psychologist remarked in this connection (Paris, 1979) that if he had a child now, he would let him grow the first year in Africa and later in Europe.[6]

During the first years of his life, the child in Europe learns how to interact with his caretaker and the environment. The intimate face-to-face interaction between mother and child provides the "security base" from which the child passes to triadic relationships including third persons and objects. Thus, the child can be stimulated by the mother to switch attention to an object or person and can learn to verbalize the process. The initiative may come from various directions as given in Fig. 1.[7]



Fig. 1.
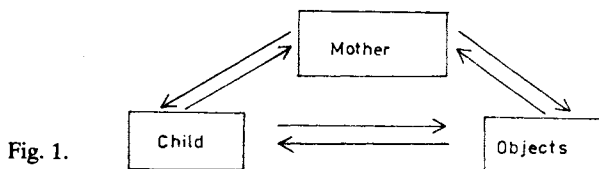
In Africa the situation is somewhat different. The child being strapped to the mother's back can hardly interact with objects using the first circuit. Direct contacts with the world are being mediated by the mother, the child can see and hear objects and voices, his activities are controlled by the mother (Fig. 2). The child perceives the world from a dyadic relationship. This may not remain without effect on further development. The African philosophy of life is deeply anthropomorphic and its elements permeate African languages. The attitudes from early childhood become an integral part of personality and play an important role in the formation of social institutions. That is why even if some of the early child-rearing practices changed, the residues would still play an important role as part of the cultural heritage.

It is useful to see Piaget's theories on the development of intellectual skills in the light of cultural variables. The African mother breastfeeds her child for years (3 years are customary in traditional African societies), breastfeeding is often accompa-

[5] Damborská, M.: *Co je nefyziologické v přístupu k dítěti nejútlejšího věku.* In: *Psychológia a patopsychológia dieťaťa.* Bratislava, Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1980.

[6] Congrès international de psychologie de l'enfant, Paris 1979. Dr. Durojaiye quoted the opinion of a psychologist whom he did not name. He agreed with this opinion.

[7] Colwyn, T.—Hubley, P.: *Secondary Intersubjectivity: Confidence, Confiding and Acts of Meaning in the First Year.* In: *Action, Gesture and Symbol. The Emergence of Language.* Edited by Andrew Lock. London, Academic Press 1978.
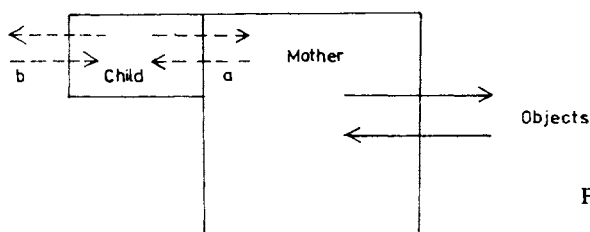
Fig. 2. a — interaction by bodily contact,
b — reduced interaction.

nied by post-natal taboos on sexual intercourse, sometimes in the form of temporary separation of husband and wife, she then moves to her kins. The emotional ties between mother and child are intense: their souls are geared to the same rhythm of movement, their bodies are in close contact. A careful analysis of popular festivals reveals that their main effect is in restoring and strengthening the harmony between groups and individuals, on the one hand, and the "social body", on the other. This is being achieved by rhythmic movements, dances, by constant allusions to tradition, by strengthening the ties to and the integration into the social body. This is not without effect, from the traditional point of view, on the mental health and coherence of the society.

We may raise the question why did such forms of child rearing and social institutions develop? There exists no one-way causal explanation, there have been only considerations which resulted in practices. Long breastfeeding is the best way to satisfy mother and child alike in an environment where hygienic conditions are difficult and protein-rich food often scarce. Weaning is therefore being postponed. To have a child is a matter of importance as the child raises the mother's status and social security. In traditional societies different forms of child-rearing practices developed, some tending to free the hands of the child for manipulating objects, e. g. among the Ibos in Nigeria, where the child is carried usually on the hip. The child is often left to the care of his siblings. Such habits codetermine personality development, social institutions and culture. There are many factors to be taken into consideration when cultural phenomena have to be explained: the nature of the environment, health, nutrition, historical events, skills and talents, as a whole it appears a rather complex stochastic system.

As the child grows, some important changes occur: his contacts with the environment become direct and frequent, the child is encouraged to develop them along lines given by tradition. Boys are encouraged to pursue activities which they learn from their fathers by observation and girls learn their duties from the mother. In a continent where wealth and prestige of the family depend on the number of wives and children, polygyny remains a social ideal not only of men but by tradition also of women. Where power and prestige tend to be centralized, a man of wealth is

156

likely to possess more wives (among the Yorubas) than in a society where authority is diffused (among the Ibos); among these the women are more self-confident and hard-working. Children interiorize both qualities of the father and the mother. From the mother the children learn what attitudes are to be adopted to the environment, the natural and the cultural one: loyalty, attachment, humility, industry and a certain self-reliance which is typical of African women and compensates their inferior social position. From fathers children learn cultural values, the concept of authority, professional skills.

The institutions described above proved their virtue throughout centuries even if they revealed some shortcomings. They produced stable societies able to surmount difficulties; at the same time, these societies were weak, and when they merged into higher units, the new body seldom lasted very long. One of the main problems of development is to create comprehensive dynamic structures complementary to the restricted, relatively closed circuits of the traditional society.

We may conceive these closed circuits as a sequence of interactions among individuals and groups within a certain setup and along largely preconceived lines of a cyclic repetition of the life-cycle, the cycle of changing seasons, the agricultural cycle, all accompanied by myth about moving from this life into a spiritual existence and return to this life in some of the next generations. Festivals linked to the agricultural cycle are regularly repeated each year and so are mythical events regularly invoked. In a traditional society all these are a source of emotional satisfaction and coherence, at the same time, these institutions may become a source of some frustrations and misconceptions. The balance turned sometimes in one, sometimes in another direction.

Language offers an interesting cue for an understanding of the traditional society. As a system of signs, language covers only part of the process of communication in the society. There exist many extraverbal skills that cannot be expressed by language used in a society and which can still be communicated by example, signs without words. Things are just being done without verbal comment, observed by others and copied. Often activities are kept secret not to be imitated by others. If we conceive the processes of interaction and communication as relatively closed processes within a setup, the language is linked to them in the form of a transactional link (Fig. 3). Language and myth enter into the circuit whenever necessary and for a certain time only to achieve an objective. Interaction between subject and object can be conceived of on the real plane and on the plane of intentions, objectives, motivation. When language and mythological conceptions enter into the circuit, they have a deep impact.

Figure 3 reflects some of the ideas developed by Wilhelm Wundt, the founder of experimental psychology, in his works on popular psychology.[8] To him the XXIInd International Congress of Psychology paid tribute commemorating the centenary of the foundation of his laboratory at Leipzig. At the same time, Wundt's work proves

that laboratories cannot replace the study of psychological phenomena in their natural setting.

I have dwelt on traditional societies longer because any educational endeavour, development, must be based on a thorough familiarity with traditional institutions. A warning should be given against any simplification of the rich forms of life in the traditional world. This richness and variety may have been a source of weakness, yet this variety provides the basis for selecting those qualities which are worth being developed.
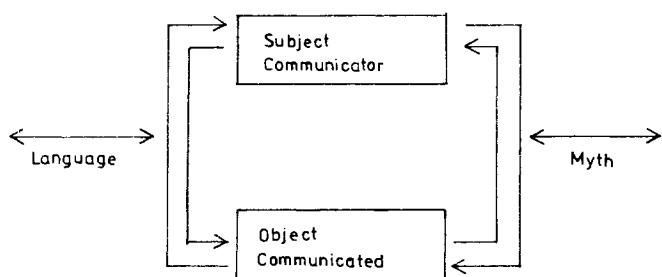


Fig. 3.

Educational Psychology in Africa

In a traditional society, education means the process of gradual integration of the young generation into the customs, skills and institutions of the society along patterns outlined by tradition. Men deeply committed to tradition pass their wisdom and lifestyle to the young. The Islamic schools taught the skill of reading the holy books, repeating main passages by heart during religious services and as guidelines for daily life, and to write. Their aim has been to integrate the individual into the universal community of Islam. The Christian missionary schools followed their European models though the situation in Africa was different. There are many indices in African literature revealing how these schools have become in the eyes of the local population some sort of "guardians of a secret" which opened the road to status and power. Unfortunately, the missionary schools neglected some of the vital elements of modern education: technical skills and some related social skills. After independence, the educational system expanded rapidly without having been geared adequately to the new tasks of economic and social development of the society. Schools were in the popular mind considered as channels to power and status which fascinated the youth. But status and power have become accessible only to few. After independen-

---

[8] Wundt, W.: *Völkerpsychologie. Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythus und Sitte.* Leipzig, Verlag W. Engelmann 1900. Wundt, W.: *Probleme der Völkerpsychologie.* Stuttgart, Alfred Körner Verlag 1921.

ce, the educational systems started to produce a limited amount of top specialists along with the bulk of school leavers and dropouts who had been motivated into the wrong direction and doomed to failure. The effects are serious and the consequences have been felt for some time in Africa in the form of social unrest; they may turn even more serious in the future with effects far beyond Africa.

During the last decade, the amount of dropouts from schools moved around two thirds of the school population in Nigeria, meant are primary schools. The statistical data about unemployed school-leavers are staggering, while there is a shortage of qualified man-power. All these indicate that the huge sums of money which the States spend on education are not always used effectively and efforts sometimes move into the wrong direction. The best traditions of European education seem to have been sometimes passed to Africa in a truncated form, sometimes with negative effects.

The European educational tradition can by no means be considered as a ready-made body, a panacea for all. It contains some valuable principles which have to be adequately used for the benefit of various cultures. Some of these traditions have been formulated by J. A. Comenius who conceived schools as places of fruitful life, where useful things are being done and learnt. It is interesting to note that indigenous demands for educational reform e. g. in Nigeria in the thirties, moved along similar lines. These considered the best form of education one which mediated skills required by the local community and on higher levels. Such skills were those required by farming, crafts, local administration, business. The idea was to make a better use of the material and human resources of the country. This type of schools has been largely rejected at that time and schools continued to inculcate religious duties and motivated towards lower level white collar jobs. The mainstream of educational efforts moved into this direction and attempts to promote technical education, business schools, vocational schools had only limited success, the points having been set in a direction which was difficult to change.

Schools have opened the gates for social mobility in various directions. They opened vistas to higher status, possibilities to move from one region into another, to various professional careers. Unfortunately the young often became alienated from their traditional society without finding their place in the emerging structures, many became urban unemployed, frustrated, sometimes on the margin of crime.

It is the task of psychology to analyse situations where failure and difficulties have been caused by miscalculation, false expectations, improper motivation, conflict and other phenomena related to spiritual life in the pragmatic sense. It has always been the virtue of schools that they were able to create an environment, the classroom, the workshop, experimental fields and gardens, where skills could be trained and interests developed which seemed useful to the society. The effort of several educational institutions in Africa, among them the pilot project in Lagos in which I participated, moved in this direction.

In the previous chapter I have tried to characterize some of the differences in child rearing practices, early socialization of the child, and personality formation between traditional societies and industrial countries. In the latter case, coordination of the activities of the hand, the attention of the eyes and ears, the language, are closely integrated into a system and interact with the environment by exploring it, handling it along certain designs which are flexible and tend to rising standards. In a traditional society there is the tendency to approach reality by traditional conceptions, with deep loyalty, reverence to them, predetermined attitudes to the environment, instead of exploring, experimenting, managing things; the trend is to follow examples and to integrate into society along traditional lines. This does not mean students were unable to achieve success, on the contrary, but it is necessary to put more emphasis on setting personal examples which can be emulated, to make extensive use of synthetic thinking, make plausible the practical implications of school activities for the community and the society.

The school has a double obligation: to preserve values and to develop new skills and attitudes. To find the proper balance between a stable and a dynamic society is by no means easy. Nor is it easy in school and in various walks of life. Schools mediate certain patterns of interaction, communication, and behaviour. In these language plays an important role. The language used by learners in Africa has often become for many weighty reasons also the language of the State. It is in the nature of things that this language conceives somewhat differently the student's identity than the languages of traditional cultures do. Differences of language and cultural background may lead to crises of identity and to splits within the community, among communities and the social macrostructures. Language and cultural background imply philosophies of life, values, ways of conceiving ideas, perceiving reality. Certain behavioural patterns are shaped by schools, they are placed between the student's cultural background and the possible requirements of his future gainful occupation. When the chances of making a living fail and alienation to the community broadens, a crisis is likely. The efforts of the educational system may result in dysfunction.

A careful analysis of what is really being done during the process of instruction in schools reveals that technical and scientific knowledge and expertise are necessarily linked to social skills. Both technical and social skills should therefore be of equal concern to schools. Certain patterns of authority, social control, relationships within groups and to those who stand beyond the group, forms of motivation, expectations, even relationships between male and female are involved. There exists the danger that the standards of the traditional society will clash with those inculcated by school and disagree with those required in the pursuit of gainful activities. Attitudes to authority, to hygiene, to traditional customs and beliefs suggested by schools may diverge from the standards of the community, cause conflicts and misunderstandings

on all levels: the learner feels alienated from his family, the family from its member. The problem is often intensely perceived.

In a traditional society human contacts are close and the primary school is a matter of concern to the whole local community. Adults have often shown interest in getting themselves useful instruction and they wanted to know what happens to their children at school. If the school becomes alienated from the community, the parents expect the school would pass onto their children some strange power initiating them into another world beyond their understanding which would ultimately make the community thrive. The most realistic attitude is to consider schools as mediators between tradition and modern ways. In practical terms, this means to introduce into schools the principle of functional learning on all levels, a kind of literacy which encourages its use in daily life and work, mathematics which is meaningful in the traditional society, habits and skills useful to a farmer and a craftsman. Most valuable are the ability to make decisions with insight and responsibility, execute useful designs, a certain flexibility and efficiency of the mind, the ambition to continue learning and improving. Schools on higher levels impart skills which are necessary for increased social mobility and broader responsibilities.

Given the various traditions and ecological conditions in Africa, what is most needed in farming, crafts, science may differ. It is hardly possible to outline a unified educational system in terms of law, regulations, study plans. The issue of improving the yields of farms is pressing and feasible, the ways how to achieve the aim is still a matter of scientific investigation given the particular conditions in Africa, its soil, climate, water supplies, etc. There is the need of skilled labour, but only experience can give an answer as to the particular ways how to solve the problem. It seems reasonable that schools should cooperate closely with research institutions. At the present stage, schools often look by themselves for the best solution, some being innovative, others continuing in beaten tracks. There is the feeling that this may at least serve as a test and the best results may later be used on a larger scale. If some of the experiments prove fruitful, they may become of great benefit to the whole continent. In Europe it has lasted for whole centuries for educational structures to develop; in the meantime dysfunctions in the system caused, e. g. in the nineteenth century, many social unrests. Even now, there is a feeling that not all is definite. A similar process is taking place in Africa where it has been realized that a mechanical transplantation of a foreign educational body, whatever its qualities may be, into a traditional society or into a different society may cause a lot of harm. A system is needed which adjusts itself in a very sensitive way to the society which it is meant to develop.

The role of the educational psychologist in Africa is an important one. He has to investigate how the various educational problems relate to the "mental plane". He is interested in the particular talents of students and staff, the learning difficulties of

students and how to overcome them, the motivation of students. Some psychological testing has been made in African schools and results have been compared with those achieved in industrialized countries. Unfortunately the results of tests can be interpreted in various ways: from the aspect of the individual or the culture, or still better from that of the position of the individual in his culture. To compare results from two different cultures by the same standards is misleading, the same test has a different meaning in another culture, various cultures encourage different skills. Some cultures for example reward speed, others caution. It seems often more appropriate to measure by tests the ability and willingness to learn; these are important in a developing society, while in a saturated society the qualities already existing for a required task seem more relevant.

Some of the difficulties of administering tests consists in their inherent verbal nature and even if they are administered in a non-verbal form, the transactional impact of the language on the margin of consciousness still plays an important role. All these remind us that utmost care is needed in using and interpreting tests.

Every human being possesses a particular quality which is unique to him — the ability to understand by empathy and participant observation — something no device can register. Opinion may be subjective, but often there is nothing which could replace genuine human understanding of the position of another being and values of another culture. It suffices to live for some time in a different culture in order to get the feel of those aspects that can hardly be put into words as languages and standards differ — and for many aspects there are no adequate verbal expressions. The words and notions will then come from a deeper understanding which, at the initial stage, is largely extraverbal. To make a developing country understand the spirit of an industrialized one requires more than a mediated experience.

Some Psychological Aspects of Development in Africa

Development is an organic process which takes place within a span of time in an environment. The process is also determined by a spiritual atmosphere which encourages or slows down the process. An organism is to be considered as a whole, self-regulating, self-adjusting body. In technical sciences it is often easier to control the chain of causes and consequences than in the case of organisms which react to impulses in a particular way: the analytic, causal approach has to be validated by an enquiry as to the integrative, synthetic reactions of the organism. The same impulse is being perceived and integrated in different ways and the reactions of the organism vary.

A historical retrospective is useful in any psychological investigation; it offers the opportunity to follow how an organism has reacted to various impulses in the past. This contributes to an understanding of the working of the system. The history of the

African continent is still largely unexplored, though there are indications that traces of past historical events have remained in the popular mind and institutions. Not very much is known about the climatic changes in the Sahara, its dessication which led to vast migrations to the bordering areas and to the south. These must have had destructive effects on cultural development. We know little about those people whom Homer mentions in his Odyssey, people of the "dark skins" (the Aethiopians) who "live in two groups separately at the end of the world, one where the sun sets and the other where it rises".[9] They received the sea-god Poseidonius amidst feasts and festivities. For the Greeks of antiquity these people were generous, devout and worthy to be visited by a god.

Africa used to be the seat of great empires, of Egypt and Carthage. Much of their past has been unrecorded, especially the spread of their cultures into the rest of Africa. There are few records about the conquest of the tropical forest, the history of economic and other contacts with the cultures of the Mediterranean area, the Near East. It is necessary to understand how history has been retained in a particular way in the minds of the Africans themselves. Their emphasis seems to have been put on stable face-to-face relationships constantly renewing reminiscences from the past and patterns of life with intense emotional participation. It is surprising what complexity of forms has been preserved pointing to a rich past of each of these communities. The absence of a written language in the non-Islamic cultures, with rare exceptions to the south of the Sahara, has been noted. Instead, there were several systems of signs which served for communication besides spoken language: the "talking drum", the gestures, the "idols" which consist of condensed ideas to be conveyed, remembered, proclaimed, various signs and designs. There existed variety, particularity, while where literate languages developed, a general, abstract, and coherent system of signs emerged which was able to express ideas, events, proceedings with precision.

The impact of Islam was deep and lasting in Africa. Islamic art, contrary to traditional Africa, did not portray the human face and body, it conceived the human being along universalistic lines and all races were equal. A chain of trading towns was set up, they were simultaneously military strongholds, seats of worship and learning, production centres, resting places. They observed similar laws and rites. In so far as the traditional culture accepted Islam as a religion, this proved tolerant to local customs and beliefs.

Contacts with Europe must have existed long before the Portuguese set foot to the shores of Africa in the fifteenth century. Since then, African cultures tried to find an arrangement with the new ways and it will last for some time till the new experience from the contacts with industrialized countries is fully integrated. The very idea of

---

[9] Homer: Werke in zwei Bänden. Zweiter Band: *Odyssee*. Berlin—Weimar, Aufbau Verlag 1971, p. 7.

development in the modern sense is a new concept. The emphasis on survival, growth in numbers and power, loyalty to tradition, are replaced by a new ideal, one of rising standards of living by producing more goods and offering more services, improved health, educational facilities, a society where the individual can move freely in an impersonal, large-scale society protected by law, relying on his skill and ingenuity. To achieve this aim, the individual would have to find the great society of a nation as offering him safety, sympathy, understanding in a way these are given by the local community. Up till now, the African has found, very often, the local society as the main centre of appeal, the locus of control, the safe haven, something which weakened the great structures of the State and Nation.

From the psychological point of view, there have been several strategies of development. There was the attempt to "break" the ties with tradition in towns and plantations: as a result, the ties of tradition were renewed again and harm has been done. There was the attempt to split the community and gain over the underprivileged and the youth. Still another way is to find the spiritual link between tradition and modern ways. The local community can thus see best the beneficient effects of efforts toward an improved administration, richer markets, better production techniques, less fear, more safety from diseases, less victimization. All these are slow and sometimes even painful processes as they bring many changes of current habits, loss of prestige for some, even insecurities of new ways.

Psychology is a biological and social science and in both cases it has to deal with organisms and their minds. To investigate the mental reactions is symptomatic for the reactions of the organism, whether biological or social. The psychologist tends to adopt an integrative, synthetic attitude which may be useful to complement some analytical preferences of technicians, lawyers, administrators. Instead of the causal or casuistic argumentation, he adopts a holistic point of view investigating how a phenomenon may be perceived and reacted upon by the organism and social body; he can participate in the choice of objectives to achieve both development and mental comfort, create conditions for both performance and satisfaction.

There is a trend toward specialization among psychologists; there are experts in education, law, economics, technologies, management who approach the problems from the psychological point of view. Development deserves particular attention of psychologists as well when characteristic features of the problem are being investigated, its implications, the organic nature of the process, its driving forces, motivation, psychologically realistic strategies. Psychologists thus become often either engaged in another science related to their own, or they become members of teams to solve complex problems.

I have found that there was considerable interest in psychology among the African intelligentsia. There is a widespread tendency to consider psychological processes as unchangeable, given once and for all, something which tends to be supernatural. Those who try to change and develop some old traditions are eager to know more

about adequate strategies to achieve the goal in the popular mind and to explain things to themselves. When various traditional societies draw nearer into a nation, they are interested to know what goes on in the minds of those whom they had not even tried to understand in the past.

Development is largely a spontaneous process of which preconditions have to be created. In the history of Africa, such have been given during various historical periods and thus large social bodies with prosperous economies came into existence. The particular feature of the present forms of development is its support by a lot of modern technical expertise, by the example set by technically advanced countries, their values and ideas. The process of adjustment, adaptation, of gaining insight and skills, of creating adequate forms and preserving an identity, is what causes difficulties. Population pressures from the rise in numbers of citizens, their mobility and a demand for higher standards make structural changes inevitable. These structural modifications, the creation of new structures, often result in what may be called dysfunctions. The causes and consequences of such dysfunctions, as they are being manifested on the mental plane, deserve particular attention from the psychological point of view, though they can hardly be separated from socio-economic aspects.

During my stay in Nigeria, I was interested in issues of language and communication, the problems of an encounter of traditional ways with the urban and industrial world, the problem of divergent values. They are causing a considerable psychological stress, their impact is sometimes underestimated, sometimes completely ignored, and people are confronted with a situation which they can hardly understand and cope with.

Issues of language have been in the past regarded often in isolation from a broader cultural context. Bilingualism and multilingualism are common in Africa, there are ethnic tongues, there are idioms such as the Swahili and Hausa which are interethnic, then there are European languages which have been accepted by various States as national languages. All these languages are linked to a certain pattern of life and a life style. Interpretation among them involves problems of identity, motivation, values. Mutual contacts can serve for the benefit of all, but they can also result in conflicts, insecurities, a state of the mind described by some psychologists as marginal.[10] Psychological insight and a sensitive approach may be of great help to an understanding of the nature of the problem and to coping with it.

In some regions, African cultures come into contact with the industrialized world more closely, in others, contacts are fewer. These contacts are often considered from the economic point of view and the psychological effect is left aside. These contacts

---

[10] Stonequist, E. V.: *The Marginal Man. A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict.* New York, Russel and Russel Inc. 1961.

are most intensive in the big towns and it is there where the indigenous population is most likely lose old securities and be exposed to new stresses.

From the psychological point of view, the very important projects in the field of development are those which can be understood and mastered by the population themselves with possibly minimal aid. In the African context these include, among others, water supplies, wells, piping, storage, etc. They are most likely to find response in areas which are exposed to the dangers of water shortage, inferior quality of water, and the devastating effects of calamities. Then there are projects to achieve higher yields from farms, to set up industries based on agriculture and the natural resources, the economic infrastructure in towns and the countryside. Africa is still largely a rural continent and the countryside is where the people's heart clings. Big towns in Africa are interesting, their structure is heterogeneous indicating the various grades of assimilation of the urban pattern: there are business and administrative areas, industrial and residential areas, areas where the skilled, the unskilled, and the unemployed live separately or mixing in extended families. People coming to towns renew some of the ancient ethnic loyalties and create associations to develop particular interests; towns by their mere appearance reveal the problem of assembling bits of various worlds and making the whole functional.

Some of the problems have become even more serious in recent years. Development cannot be viewed and achieved without psychological insight as to its effects on the people and on their reactions. To deal with development as if it were merely a matter of economy or technical expertise, business may have disastrous consequences. More than issues of power are at stake. Power alone can hardly solve most of the problems: it is the organism which has to grow into a balanced, properly integrated whole from parts which are by now rather varied and sometimes operating along different lines. On the success of this endeavour much of the future depends.

Conclusion

At international congresses some psychologists from various developing countries reported about successes achieved by using indigenous methods, or methods derived from these, in a traditional society. Others reported on the successes of modern psychology in coping with some problems in urban, industrialized settings. Also important is a field which lies in between.

In recent years, cross-cultural psychology has attracted increasing attention. The problems of development are often treated without taking into proper account the cultural and cross-cultural aspects of the problem. This paper has tried to draw attention to the specific nature of a psychology dealing with issues of development, which is one of the most important problems of the contemporary era.

166

Sometimes objections are raised to an organic conception of development out of fear that the idea may lead to closed and strictly regulated systems. This would contradict with the spontaneous conception of organic growth in which various parts of the society participate. The multiple contributions and reactions have to be taken into account, carefully avoiding degeneration and disintegration.

The main suggestion of the paper is a way of looking at the problem.

# REVIEW ARTICLES

# CONTROVERSIES ABOUT CONFUCIUS
# AND CONFUCIANISM IN CHINA (1898—1978)

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

For over twenty-four centuries now China has been interested in and affected by the work of Confucius (541—479), one of the greatest and the most influential philosophers of the world. By the fall of the monarchy in 1911, Confucianism was repudiated as a State doctrine, but it became evident that the "uncrowned king", the "sage", the "everlasting teacher" has left his shadow on numerous institutions of Chinese life.

During the course of two millennia Confucianism held sway in China as the ruling or predominatly the ruling ideological system. Only certain periods characterized by weakness of the central government or by political disunity proved favourable opportunities for those dissatisfied critics or adherents of other teachings to stand up against the authority wielded by Confucianism. The encounter between the European-American world and China provoked very violent reactions among Chinese scholars of the end of the last and the first two decades of the present century. It became clearly evident already during the first twenty years of the period forming the subject of the present discussion, that despite efforts on the part of capable personalities, philosophers, reformers, promoters of the Confucian doctrine, Confucianism as a system of political, legal, moral, aesthetic and religious views is not able within its sphere, to resolve the problems deriving from this fateful meeting. Although at the turn of the last and the early years of the present century the contest went on undecided, the issues relating to a modernization of the life in general, to China's taking contact with the global events in the political, economic and cultural domain demanded no longer a reformist approach (within the Confucian system as such), but a radical revolutionary solution involving its substitution by another, more suitable system. Likewise, to do away with the semifeudal and semicolonial economic-political system prevailing in China and brought about by China's backward, delayed progress and the interventions of European-American capitalism and imperialism (and from the end of the nineteenth century also the rapidly rising Japan) required the help of an ideology quite different from that of Confucianism. The latter always had a conservative character. The preservation of a *status quo* had always been the most characteristic trait of Confucianist endeavours.

1

One of the most momentous philosophical questions of the end of the last century in China was formulated as follows: What to do with Confucianism and what attitude to take towards Confucius himself? Before the impending final fall of the imperial system and renouncement of Confucian ideology as a "field of force" for the entire political, economic and cultural life, eminent Chinese scholars who were very anxious about the future of their country, strove to adapt Confucian doctrines to the conditions of a new world, to its norms. This involved primarily an attempt at conciliating Confucian orthodoxy, outside of which no major act of a political, economic or cultural nature could be executed, with the requirements of modern life that could eventually be enforced with the aid of certain reforms. The most eminent of these reformers, K'ang Yu-wei (1858—1927) started from the right premise and personal conviction that the Confucian teaching had lost its original character.[1] He looked upon efforts at reforming the Confucian doctrine as an endeavour to return to its former face. As a matter of fact, however, he was doing something quite different. He did not point to original sources (or rather original source which is the book *Lun-yü — Analects*) but chose such works[2] into which he could introduce many of his political and social views that he had acquired from reading Western writings or meeting European Protestant missionaries. In his work entitled *K'ung-tzu kai-chih k'ao* (A Study of Confucius as a Reformer) he made of Confucius a son of the legendary Black Emperor. His mission had allegedly been to do away with misery from the world, to become a spiritual leader of mankind, its protector and its high priest.[3]

After the publication of this book in 1898 describing Confucius as a thinker and socio-political visionary showing the way, allegedly, up to a constitutional monarchy and democracy, K'ang Yu-wei had an opportunity of influencing the emperor Kuang-hsü and paving the way for the proclamation of certain reforms in the domain of State examinations, schools and education, construction of railways, the army and navy. Very few of them came to be implemented because of opposition of conservative forces at the imperial court. K'ang Yu-wei and his adherents had to flee abroad and the emperor spent the rest of his life in house confinement. K'ang Yu-wei's subsequent book from the year 1902 *Ta-t'ung shu* (The One-World Philosophy) proved far more radical.[4] In it he showed the Utopia of the future,

---

[1] For example in his book *Hsin hsüeh wei-ching k'ao* (On the Forged Classics of the Hsin Period) from the year 1891 and presented to the throne in 1898.

[2] Especially *Li-chi* (Book of Rites), a Confucian compilation probably from the Former Han dynasty.

[3] Peking 1958, p. 7.

[4] This book has been translated and analysed by L. G. Thompson in *Ta T'ung Shu: The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei*. London 1958.

a harmonic society of people without frontiers between States, nations, classes, sexes, families, without racial prejudices and without suffering and hardships. It cannot be denied but that this Utopia, oriented not to the future but rather to an ideal past, can be found in its embryonic stage in one of Confucian works, in the book *Li-chi* (Book of Rites); but K'ang Yu-wei's work contains also many ideas from European Utopians — for instance, he mentions the Englishman Fu, who most certainly is the Frenchman Fourier. In any case, this book, as far as its mission was concerned, was doomed to failure. The Chinese with their sense for social practice, could not be induced to care for remote visions, but were solely concerned with concrete negotiations in their unenviable plight.

In general, the conception of preserving the Chinese "essence" (hence, Confucianism and its expressions in the most diverse walks of life, and particularly in its ideological superstructure) and of utilizing the gains of European-American science and technology for practical application in military matters, the industry, foreign trade and elsewhere, proved untenable and unpracticable; a different "essence" had to be found, one philosophically and ideologically more effective, that would suit socio-politically, economically and culturally the advocated modernizing efforts. On that condition only could China become an equivalent partner within the "family of nations" of the then world.

The endeavours of Confucian reformers were not crowned with success. Their efforts were conducive rather at discrediting Confucianism than at enhancing its reputation in the eyes of Chinese scholars. Such was the effect, for instance, on Liang Chi'i-ch'ao (1873—1929), the most outstanding of K'ang Yu-wei's disciples who is alleged to have proclaimed that he indeed liked Confucius, but liked truth even more, thus intimating clearly that there are serious drawbacks in the teachings of the old "sage".[5]

Confucius and his teaching came in for an attack by Chinese students in Japan already at the beginning of this century, but their works were little known in China proper.[6] The situation became substantially altered after the year 1915 when Confucian teaching began to be subjected to a relatively extensive criticism, that a few years later was also scientifically well founded. The May Fourth Movement was of antifeudal and anti-imperialist orientation and in the cultural sphere had for its aim to create democratic literature and art based on relatively broad, popular foundations. The great majority of these "new people", promoters of this movement, had studied originally abroad, at Japanese, American and European universi-

---

[5] Quoted according to Chow Tse-tsung: *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China.* Stanford, Stanford University Press 1967, p. 300.

[6] For instance, in Su Man-shu's (1884—1918) partial translation-adaptation of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables,* the teaching of Confucius is compared to dogshit (*kou-p'i*). Cf. *Su Man-shu i-tso chi* (Su Man-shu's Translations). In: *Su Man-shu ch'üan-chi* (The Complete Works of Su Man-shu). Vol. 4. Shanghai, Chung-yang shu-tien 1936, p. 40.

ties and with the aid of the influential magazine New Youth (Hsin ch'ing-nien), and later also of others, they endeavoured to make accessible in China numerous ideological and literary-artistic movements and trends, modern or of an earlier date, but generally recognized. Many of these unusually capable enthusiasts and pioneers of the "new culture", such as Lu Hsün (1881—1936), Ch'en Tu-hsiu (1879—1942), Li Ta-chao (1889—1927), Hu Shih (1891—1962) and others, were convinced evolutionists and believed in the progress of social, philosophical and cultural development. They became the mediators of the most diverse -isms from the various domains of social sciences and the entire cultural sphere, from the European Renaissance up to the second decade of our century, from Italian humanism up to Russian bolshevism. They endeavoured, however, to split the hard core of Confucian teaching with the aid of the then new, or relatively new philosophical -isms. Such were, for instance, British utilitarianism (J. S. Mill), the evolutional theory (C. Darwin, T. Huxley, E. Haeckel), philosophical neorealism (B. Russell), pragmatism (W. James) and Marxism-Leninism (first K. Marx and F. Engels, then in the early twenties also V. I. Lenin). Marxism-Leninism became a victorious doctrine in China towards the end of the twenties. It asserted itself in the ideological strife principally against Dewey's instrumentalism, but also against the Confucian teaching.[7]

From later Chinese communists, a foremost critic of Confucianism was Ch'en Tu-hsiu, in 1921—1927 Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party. He saw in it a teaching unsuitable to modern times particularly from the social and ethical point of view.[8] Confucianism could satisfy and probably did satisfy as an ideological instrument of Chinese feudalism, but was absolutely inadequate to China in which the foundations of capitalism were being laid and where consideration was being given to a socialist way of its future development. One of the most prominent and vehement critics of Confucianism was Lu Hsün, a well-known writer and thinker. In his short stories and essays he condemned in particular the practical morale of the Confucian governing strata during the course of two millennia. He called it "Cannibalist morale" despite the fact that Confucian theoretical ethics was humanistic, as borne out by its fundamental postulate: human-heartedness (jen), later to become the most discussed concept of Confucian ethics.[9] Another philosopher and lawyer Wu Yü (1872—1949) refuted in unusually hard terms the conception of the so-called li, i. e. the traditional system of behaviour in social and political life, not controlled and therefore not adequately protected by efficient laws appropriate to modern times.[10] Otherwise, the concept li — terminus a quo of the political and

---

[7] Chow Tse-tsung: op. cit., pp. 289—313.

[8] Ibid., pp. 302—303.

[9] Much was written about Lu Hsün's ideas on the Confucian "cannibalist morale". E. g. Sorokin, V. F.: Formirovanie mirovozzreniya Lu Sinya (The Formation of Lu Hsün's World-View). Moscow 1958, pp. 98—116.

[10] Chow Tse-tsung: op. cit., pp. 303—306.

moral-legal domain of Confucianism — acted also on literary theory and culture generally.[11]

The iconoclastic efforts of this type were but short-lived. In the twenties and also later, problems concerning Confucianism came to be studied with the aid of scientific methods influenced for the most part (though by no means always) by American instrumentalism. The topics that became a subject of investigation concerned the life of Confucius (Ku Chieh-kang),[12] the sources of his teaching (Hu Shih and his collaborator Ch'ien Hsün-t ung),[13] the social system of the time when he lived and of those centuries in which his teaching had a decisive impact on the ideological pattern of China (Mei Ssu-p'ing, Ch'eng Ching, Fu Ssu-nien).[14] Its ideological views, however, have never and especially not in recent years, been subjected to a thorough systemic and genetic analysis, its essence (and the essence of Confucian ideology generally) has never been investigated against the background of weighty facts in Chinese history.

Neither the iconoclasts, nor social scholars realized that ideological systems that exerted a sufficient influence on political, legal, moral, aesthetic, religious and philosophical order of the society and its most diverse establishments, are often endowed with a considerable capacity of resistance. This naturally applies also to Confucianism which, during the preponderant part of China's historical development, had been the decisive factor in the ideological struggle of antagonistic classes or strata in the old Chinese society. A relative independence of ideology is supported by experiences of Marxist philosophy. The development of ideology is conditioned by that of production forces and relationships in a society, but a certain disequilibrium has to be assumed and if necessary also recognized, for the ideological development is ruled by specific laws and these are affected also by extra-economic factors, e. g. tradition, education, kindred ideologies, etc. The iconoclasts set out to

---

[11] Lisevich, I. S.: *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, pp. 17, 22, 214, and Liu, J. J. Y.: *Chinese Theories of Literature*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1975, pp. 108, 113. Also *The T'ang Code. Volume I. General Principles*. Translated with an Introduction by Wallace Johnson. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press 1979, pp. 11, 54, and Leimbigler, P.: *Der Begriff li als Grundlage des politischen Denkens in China. Ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte ethisch-politischer Termini*. In: *China. Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft. Festschrift für Alfred Hoffmann zum 65. Geburtstag*. Tübingen—Basel, Horst Erdmann Verlag 1976, pp. 199—209.

[12] Ku Chieh-kang (Ed.): *Ku-shih pien* (Critiques of Ancient History). Vol. 2. Shanghai 1926.

[13] Hu Shih: *The Problem of Confucius*. In: *The Development of the Logical Method in China*. Shanghai 1922, pp. 22—27. Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung's letters to Ku Chieh-kang dated 23rd March, 1921 and 25th May, 1923. In: *Critiques of Ancient History*. Vol. 1, 1926, pp. 31 and 70.

[14] Mei Ssu-p'ing: *Ch'un-ch'iu shih-tai cheng-chih ho K'ung-tzu-ti cheng-chih ssu-hsiang* (The Politics of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Political Ideology of Confucius). In: *Critiques of Ancient History*. Vol. 2, 1926, pp. 161 ff.; Ch'eng Ching's letter to Ku Chieh-kang, ibid., pp. 145—146 and Fu Ssu-nien's letter to Ku chieh-kang, ibid., pp. 152—154.

propagate for the most part new, in their view more suitable ideological systems,[15] while social scholars were satisfied with a solution of the academic problems around Confucius and Confucianism.[16] In the thirties, members of the Kuomintang endeavoured to exploit certain aspects of Confucian ethics, but they picked from it only the so-called civil virtues which, as they assumed, would help them maintain political power. Chiang Kai-shek had a very skewed understanding of Confucian virtues when, e. g. in 1934 he set Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy as examples to China.[17]

2

During the anti-Japanese war and the civil strifes in the years 1937—1949, China's attention was focused on the present, on the fight against Japanese imperialism, for unification and democracy. Very little was then written on questions of old Chinese history and Confucius or Confucianism remained, with rare exceptions, outside the attention of historians, philosophers and scholarly study in general.

The situation became altered following the foundation of the People's Republic of China, particularly after the first half of the fifties. Gradually, a base was set up for a broader scientific study in the domain of social sciences. New journals began to appear, including Philosophical Studies (Che-hsüeh yen-chiu), or Historical Studies (Li-shih yen-chiu). As goal, these organs set themselves to fight for the victory of Marxist philosophy and historiography, although it should be observed that since the end of the fifties, Maoists were primarily concerned with a victory of Mao Tse-tung's "thoughts" which had been accepted in 1945 at the VIIth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party as the "ideological base" of the party's activity.

During the fifties and the sixties, neither Confucius, and even less Confucianism became a subject of specific discussions or campaigns. Nevertheless, they were a frequent by-product of other similar events. One may get an idea on the amount of such material from the incomplete bibliographies that are available and that include some 20 book titles and some 160 articles and studies of varying extent and quality.[18]

A large-scale campaign was started in 1954 against Hu Shih, the father of Chinese philosophical instrumentalism and an opponent of Marxism-Leninism. As Hu Shih

---

[15] Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao propagated Marxism-Leninism. Lu Hsün believed in the evolutionism of Haeckelian orientation at first and later (in the year 1927) the facts taught him that "the future belongs solely to the rising proletariat" (*Selected Works of Lu Hsün.* Vol. 3. Peking 1959, p. 152).

[16] Cf. Schneider, L. A.: *Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History.* Berkeley—London, University of California Press 1971, pp. 18—84, and Staiger, B.: *Das Konfuzius-Bild in kommunistischen China.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1969, pp. 23—33.

[17] Kubešová, M.: *Čankajšek* (Chiang Kai-shek). Praha, Svoboda 1969, p. 99.

[18] Cf. Staiger, B.: op. cit., pp. 110—124, and Kam Louie: *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China.* Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980, pp. 159—181. Here are included also the materials from the "cultural revolution" and later period up to 1978. On pp. 155—159 there are the bibliographical data on the works (articles and collections) translated into English.

was simultaneously a stubborn enemy of Confucianism it was fairly obvious that his antitraditionalism was rejected.[19] It never even occurred to anybody that the critique's edge should be turned against Confucius and his ideological teaching. Decidedly, a smaller ideological enemy was seen in Confucianism than in American pragmatism. On the contrary, in connection with the criticism of Dewey's pragmatic pedagogy, which had taken root to some extent during the interwar period in China, Confucius' views on education came in for a goodly share of positive evaluation and comments.[20] A less favourable response was elicited by Confucius' ethical teachings in the analyses, particularly his postulate of "human-heartedness". A point was made of the class content of this concept. Human-heartedness did not involve any expression of a humane relationship to other people — whether of men or mankind, but to the then ruling stratum.[21] On the whole, three different mutually contradictory views came to be formed in the question of Confucius' class appurtenance and class conviction. According to the first, Confucius was the representative of a new progressive class of land owners (the future feudal lords) that had began to be formed in the fifth century B. C. According to the second version, he represented the interests of reactionary slave owners, and according to the third group, those of new land owners who had previously been slave owners and therefore Confucius in his teaching combined progressive and reactionary elements.[22] All these three deductions had allegedly been made on the basis of the same material.

Articles on Confucius, his teaching, but also on other great figures and important problems in Chinese history and philosophy have shown that in a study of history or philosophy, the significance of the class principle should not be hyperbolized — a practice typical of Maoist historiography and the philosophical study of those and the subsequent years; what is needed is a deeper knowledge also of other components that had made possible for the relevant personality and its teaching to come into prominence. As was shown later by Soviet sinologists, Chinese historiographic scholarship violated the dialectical relationship between the class principle and the principle of Marxist-Leninist historicism, i. e. of such a principle as would permit to encompass the "entire *objective* content of the historical process" (Lenin),[23] primarily the character of the phenomenon itself, its genetic roots, contact relations, the process of its origin, development and gradual changes. In order that the objective content of a historical process could be elucidated, it was necessary to reexamine, within the framework of "historicism", the basic terms used in older works, analytically to assess them and make them more precise, to resolve questions

---

[19] Hou Wai-lu's article in the journal Philosophical Studies, 2, 1955, pp. 92—116.

[20] Kam Louie : op. cit., pp. 37—44.

[21] Ibid., pp. 32—37.

[22] Staiger, B.: op. cit., pp. 39—40.

[23] Lenin, V. I.: *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (The Complete Works). Vol. 26. Moscow 1961, p. 139.

relating to historical periodization and the character of production forces on the basis of real facts and a deep knowledge, and not *a priori* or speculatively, arbitrarily, or even in conformity with the wishes of the then party leadership. A Marxist interpretation of historicism and its concrete application to the most diverse issues of Chinese history were most consistently defended by the historian Chien Po-tsan,[24] later a victim of the "cultural revolution". In his numerous articles to the questions of historical methodology, he showed that a hypertrophic and thereby also biased interpretation of the class principle leads to a non-Marxist explication of the historical process. Although other Chinese historians and philosophers (Wu Han or Ning K'o)[25] likewise spoke against a vulgarizing misuse of the class principle, they failed to assert their views against the mighty pressure of those who had either identified themselves totally with or excessively stressed the class aspect. This procedure led to "adjustments" of historical facts, as a rule, to an idealization that suited the political course of Maoists. Thus, for instance, importance was ascribed to the "liberating" role of Genghis Khan and his successors in Asia and Europe, their forays and marauding robberies were considered as stimuli of progress and cultural exchange.[26]

An exaggerated stress on class character was part of the official Maoist policy from September 1962. Mao Tse-tung, in an effort at achieving an ideological preponderance of his own "thoughts" and their practical application in Chinese political, economic and cultural life, launched the slogan: "Never forget the class struggle!"[27] This did not involve a class struggle in the Marxist interpretation, but an enforcement of Maoist power and ideological interests. Historical events and personalities, their acts and teachings were studied in broader historical perspectives in response to the wishes of the Maoist leadership, particularly its ultraleftist element, centring around Ch'en Po-ta and Yao Wen-yüan, the future ideologists of the "cultural revolution".

The dichotomy of "progressiveness" and "reactionarism" in connection with class appurtenance or class conviction, constituted fetters to a scientific and thereby

---

[24] Chien Po-tsan: *Tui ch'u-li jo-kan wen-t'i-ti ch'u-ku i-chien* (Preliminary Opinions concerning the Handling of Certain Historical Questions). KMJP, 2nd December, 1961. I have followed the Russian translation. In: Vyatkin, R. V. (Ed.): *Istoricheskaya nauka v KNR* (Historical Scholarship in the PRC). Moscow, Nauka 1971, pp. 246—255.

[25] Wu Han: *Yu-kuan li-shih jen-wu p'ing-chia ho li-shih p'u-chi-ti wen-t'i* (On the Problem of Evaluation of Historical Personalities and the Popularization of Historical Knowledge). KMJP, 5th December, 1961, and Ning K'o: *Lun li-shih-chu-i ho chieh-chi kuan-tien* (On Historicism and Class Attitude). Historical Studies, 4, 1963, pp. 1—26, and *Lun ma-k'o-ssu-chu-i-ti li-shih-chu-i* (On the Marxist Historicism), ibid., 3, 1964, pp. 1—38.

[26] Cf. Han Ju-lin: *Lun Ch'eng-chi-ssu-han* (On Genghis Khan). Historical Studies, 2, 1962, pp. 1—10. Also Vyatkin, R. V. (Ed.): op. cit., p. 47.

[27] For more about the situation in cultural policy see in 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, pp. 219—254.

genuine elucidation of historical facts. Such was also the case in determining the character of the most important and fundamental concept of Chinese ethical-political way of thinking, i.e. *li*, hence, of the traditional system of behaving in the social and political life. Here, a hyperbolization of the class significance repressed and suppressed the historical component of its origin and development, its traits and essence. A "return to the norm *li*" (in Chinese *fu li*) was often wrongly explained as a return to etiquette, rites, meaning thereby a return to the old slave system, slave production relationships. In reality nothing of the sort was involved. The return advocated by Confucius demanded an ethical-political reform, an introduction of a style of life and behaviour as reflects an individual's or a group's conscious responsibility towards the society. In other words, *li* in the original meaning of the word pointed to the bright side of the social reality, to ideal behaviour, *decorum*, good deeds, morally approved acts as an antithesis to the dark side placed under strict social control, delinquency, bad deeds, crimes that had to be punished in order to comply with the requirements of *li*. In time, but certainly before Confucius' times, *li* as a universal norm of social, ethical-political behaviour, became inwardly divided and created norms or postulates, one of which was the most frequently discussed "human-heartedness". As shown by the Japanese scholar Katō Yōken, the concept *li* originated before class society.[28] According to Kuo Mo-jo (1892—1978), the Chinese word for "human-heartedness" (*jen*) had not existed prior to the year 722 B.C.,[29] according to the Maoist philosopher Yang Jung-kuo, the Chinese knew it by then,[30] but Yang Jung-kuo fails to adduce any evidence in support of his statement. In short, both the historical and philosophical research lacks "historical concreteness", a determination of the uniqueness of a fact, event, personality, a genuine historical value. The concept "human-heartedness" in China is probably a product of a class society, but we are ignorant of the true class essence of this society. Then the argument that "human-heartedness" had brought about liberation of slaves as claimed by Kuo Mo-jo[31] is as creditable as Yang Jung-kuo's asserting (without supporting evidence) that it "reinforced the rule of slave-holding aristocracy".[32]

But Confucius's other views, or his teaching as a whole, did not escape the dichotomy referred to above. In the early sixties sporadic efforts still appeared to show that Confucius doubted the existence of spirits, or that he was a pantheist and had thus laid down in his teaching the foundations for a possible development of.

---

[28] Katō Jōken : *Chūgoku shisō shi* (A History of Chinese Thought), Tōkyo 1970.

[29] Kuo Mo-jo : *Shih p'i-p'an shu* (Ten Critiques). Peking 1954, p. 85.

[30] Yang Jung-kuo: *K'ung-tzu — wan-ku-ti wei-hu nu-k'ang chih-ti ssu-hsiang-chia* (Confucius — a Thinker Who Stubbornly Supported the Slave System). In: *P'i Lin p'i K'ung wen-chang hui-pien* (Selected Articles Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius). Vol. 1. Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she 1974, p. 5.

[31] Kuo Mo-jo : op. cit., pp. 85—88.

[32] Yang Jung-kuo : op. cit., p. 7.

materialist and atheist views;[33] However, later, it became unambiguously asserted that he belonged to the idealist trend of Chinese philosophy and his ethical principles began to be generally condemned.[34] No account was made of the historical development of Chinese philosophy in Confucius' times, nor of the inadequately developed standard of its epistemological and ontological components whereby it had relatively little possibility of categorization insofar as the basic question of philosophy is concerned.

It seems that besides this dichotomy, only Confucius' educational views were included in the "cultural revolution". This was probably related to the reinforcement of nationalist tendencies in the Chinese political life after 1960, with reliance, on "our own strength" and the readjustment of the political-economic line following the failure of the "Great Leap Forward" from the end of the fifties. Ch'en I (at that time China's foreign minister) exhorted Chinese students in 1961 to be like Confucius who, he said, studied so diligently that he even forgot to eat.[35] And those who had a negative stand towards Confucius as a politician and thinker, highly praised his merits as a teacher, historian and scholar. But neither was this attitude correct, for it lacked historical critical spirit. In reality, Confucius never created any rounded pedagogical system, although he came to be a paradigm of pedagogical efforts in old Chinese society. It would decidedly be difficult to compare him to Comenius and Comenius' significance to the subsequent development of pedagogy, as was done in China in the fifties.[36]

3

During the first, the most violent stage of the "cultural revolution" (1966—1969), Confucius was almost totally ignored by the "red guards" and professional historians

---

[33] T'ang I-chieh: *K'ung-tzu ssu-hsiang tsai Ch'un-ch'iu mo-ch'i-ti tso-yung* (The Function of Confucius' Ideas at the End of the Spring and Autumn Period). In: *K'ung-tzu che-hsüeh t'ao-lun chi* (Discussions about Confucius' Philosophy). Peking 1963, p. 56. Also Feng Yu-lan: *Lun K'ung-tzu* (On Confucius). Ibid., p. 85.

[34] Jen Chi-yü: *K'ung-tzu cheng-chih shang-ti pao-shou li-ch'ang ho che-hsüeh shang-ti wei-hsin-chu-i* (Confucius' Political Conservative Platform and Philosophical Idealism). Ibid., pp. 147—161. Also Feng Yu-lan: *Lun K'ung-tzu* (On Confucius). Peking 1975, pp. 90—99. The last mentioned is different from that in note 33.

[35] Ch'en I: *Tui Pei-ching-shih kao-teng yüan-hsiao yin-chieh pi-yeh hsüeh-sheng-ti chiang-hua* (Speech to the Graduates from the Higher Institutions of Peking). Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien (Chinese Youth), *17*, 1961, p. 3. But Confucius had something different in mind. In the *Analects* we read: "The Master said, 'I have been the whole day without eating, and the whole night without sleeping: — occupied with thinking. It was of no use. The better plan is to learn'." (Legge, J.: *The Chinese Classics.* Vols 1, 2. Taipei, Chin-hsüeh shu-chü 1969, pp. 302—303.)

[36] Ch'u Shu-sen: *Tui yen-chiu K'ung-tzu chiao-yü ssu-hsiang-ti chi-tien i-chien* (A Few Ideas Concerning the Study of the Educational Thought of Confucius). KMJP, 9th August, 1954.

and philosophers. Two papers written by "red guards" from the Peking University appeared in 1967 in which it was claimed that contemporary China has no place for Confucian concepts, nor for bourgeois and revisionist thinking.[37] Confucian teaching began to be dichotomously opposed by Mao Tse-tung's "thoughts", the Confucian ideal of a "human government" (*jen cheng*) by the principle of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" (in a Maoist interpretation), the Confucian idealist view by a dialectical-materialist world outlook (the way it has been enunciated by Mao Tse-tung in his writings). These two articles and the editorial commentary of the daily Jen-min jih-pao in which they appeared were enough to trigger off further measures against Confucius, his teaching and against Confucianism as an ideology inimical to Maoism. In 1969, several anti-Confucian articles appeared in Shanghai, then the centre of ultraleftist Maoists.[38] Confucius was criticized in them in connection with Liu Shao-ch'i, the first deposed successor to Mao Tse-tung. It was alleged that Liu's book *How to Be a Good Communist* had been written under the influence of Confucian philosophic ideas. His deed was viewed in this light not only with regard to Confucian teaching, but also in relation to Chiang Kai-shek's efforts from the first half of the thirties.[39]

In 1971 Mao Tse-tung's designated successor Lin Piao was physically liquidated. Shortly after the Xth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in August of 1973 at which Lin Piao's name was removed from the party statutes, a magazine was launched in Shanghai — Study and Criticism (Hsüeh-hsi yü p'an), the organ of ultraleftist Maoists. The first issue carried several articles on the struggle between Confucianism and the Legalists[40] — adherents of a complex of philosophical schools that stressed the importance of laws (*fa*), the criminal law (*hsing*), methods of absolutist government (*shu*) and indivisible power (*shih*). On the publication of these articles it became clear that the struggle against Confucianism as an ideology inimical to Maoism would not be a simple matter. Maoists had not turned against Confucianism directly face to face. Because of the situation prevailing at that time in China, the development and state of the Maoist ideology, the struggle for the victory of Mao Tse-tung's "thoughts", for the preservation of the "gains" of the so-called cultural revolution and its continuation in Mao Tse-tung's intentions, for power within the party, control over the army, for the general inner, economic and foreign policy,

---

[37] "*K'ung-tzu t'ao-lun-hui*" *shih niu-kui she-shen hsiang tang ching-kung-ti hei hui* ("The Forum on Confucius" Was a Black Company of Monsters and Demons for Attacking the Party), and *Niu-kui she-shen tsai "K'ung-tzu t'ao-lun-hui" shang fang la hsieh shen-mo tu?* (What Poison Was Spread by the Monsters and Demons at "The Forum of Confucius"). JMJP, 10th January, 1967. Also K a m L o u i e : op. cit., pp. 90—93.

[38] K a m L o u i e : op. cit., p. 98.

[39] Ibid., pp. 97—98.

[40] E. g. S h i h L u n : *Lun tsu-ju fan-fa* (On Confucian Veneration and Anti-Legalism). Study and Criticism, *1*, 1973, pp. 44—52.

came to be summarized and incorporated in the campaign called "the Anti-Lin-Piao and Confucius Campaign" which officially began in January 1974, and unofficially some time earlier. What has just been said constituted a synchronous component of this very broadly designed campaign involving professional and lay strata of the political, economic and cultural life of China, individuals, but especially groups or collectives from the ranks of the "working masses". The diachronous component of this criticism affected primarily the domain of political history and ethical and political ideology: veneration (*tsun*) of legalism and opposition against (*fan*) Confucianism. This also applied to various representatives of these teachings, less account being made of their appurtenance than of their views — of these, those which suited the Maoists were approved of, the rest were rejected. All "legalist" was considered as progressive, and all "Confucian" as reactionary. The entire history of the Chinese nation was simplified, schematized and vulgarized.

Among historical personages, Maoists devoted special attention to Ch'in Shih huang-ti, the first emperor and the unifier of China.[41] As in the mid-sixties, so also now the study of historical facts had no scientific character; it was designedly aimed against Marxist historicism and pursued narrow Maoist ideological and political interests. The citizens of the PRC were given to know indirectly, yet very insistently, that Mao Tse-tung is the modern Ch'in Shih huang-ti, not only as the "unifier" of contemporary China, but also as the heir of the legalist methods of government. Maoists made no secret of their sympathies for the "burning of books" and the massacres of Confucian scholars in the year 213 B.C. By analogy, these events were to justify and vindicate similar barbarous deeds perpetrated by the "cultural revolution". The spate of the most diverse articles strongly suggests that there is a close connection between the theory and practice of legalism and Chairman Mao's "revolutionary line".

An essentially different strategy was adopted in the case of Confucius and Confucianism. Here, Mao Tse-tung and those controlling the discussion decided to fight not against reactionary remnants, anachronism of Confucianism in the consciousness of the masses, against its survivals in Chinese life, but against the alleged Confucianism in Lin Piao's ideological legacy. The latter, however, was practically nil, if we exclude the notorious "red book" containing quotations from Mao Tse-tung's works.[42] However, Lin Piao became a victim because besides other things, Mao Tse-tung wished to divert attention from Confucian elements in his works in Chinese life, particularly in social psychology where they were utilized abundantly by Maoism. It may be said with absolute certainty that Confucian legacy

---

[41] Burning books and burying of the Confucian scholars alive was supposed to be a revolution. Cf. Hung Shih-ti: *Ch'in Shih-huang* (Ch'in Shih huang-ti). 2nd ed. Shanghai 1973, pp. 59—68. From May 1972 up to December 1973 1,850,000 copies were printed.

[42] In 1966 Lin Piao wrote a *Preface* to the second edition of this booklet.

figures high in the work of Mao Tse-tung. V. Holubnychy has calculated that of all the quotations in the four volumes of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, 22 per cent go to Confucius and neo-Confucians,[43] and according to A. M. Rumyantsev only about four per cent refer to Marx and Engels.[44] Feng Yu-lan,[45] or F. Wakeman, Jr.[46] have shown this influencing directly on Mao Tse-tung's teaching, and V. A. Krivtsov[47] on social psychology of contemporary Chinese.

Mao Tse-tung was evidently aware of what he owed to the extensive work of neo-Confucian philosophers, particularly to Wang Yang-ming (1472—1528) and Wang Fu-chih (1619—1692). He minded less Confucian elements than the personality of Confucius, legendary in many respects and hyperbolized, but still acknowledged in the PRC and often even venerated. When, for instance, Confucius' birthplace in Ch'ü-fu (Shan-tung Province) was made accessible to the public in 1962, a daily stream of up to 30,000 visitors was recorded.[48] Mao Tse-tung combined his criticism of his "predecessor" (Confucius) with that of his "successor" (Lin Piao) but in such a way that this undertaking would prove a boon to his personality and work, his adherents and their common political line. Criticism of some Confucian views that ran counter to his conviction, was carried out within the framework of the Legalist ideological heritage. Under the cloak of distorted Legalism, attacks were made against the Confucian postulates of "human-heartedness", "filial piety" (hsiao), "brotherly love" (t'i), against the relations among members of a family. The reasons — because those postulates had allegedly been originally class instruments of slave-holders,[49] but particularly because Maoists were primarily concerned with isolating individuals as members, elements in the overall system of social relations and thereby facilitating manipulation with them within the political events. This became clearly evident mainly during the "cultural revolution".

The various studies from the domain of history and philosophy of the second half of the sixties and the first half of the seventies differ from those of the early sixties in that they make no reference at all to historicism, however, the class principle in a Maoist interpretation is all-pervading. "That man Confucius" as he was written

---

[43] Holubnychy, V.: *Mao Tse-tung's Materialistic Dialectics.* China Quarterly, *19*, 1964, p. 16.

[44] Rumyantsev, A. M.: *Istoki i evolyutsiya "idei Mao Tse-duna"* (The Sources and Evolution of "Mao Tse-tung's Thought"). Moscow, Nauka 1972, p. 18.

[45] Fung Yu-lan: *Mao Tse-tung et la philosophie chinoise.* La Pensée, *55*, 1954, pp. 79—87.

[46] Wakeman, F., Jr.: *History and Will. Philosophical Perspectives of Mao Tse-tung's Thought.* Berkeley—London, University of California Press 1973, pp. 238—273.

[47] Krivtsov, V. A.: *Maoizm i konfutsianstvo* (Maoism and Confucianism). Problemy Dalnego Vostoka (Far Eastern Problems), *3*, 1973, pp. 73—86.

[48] Kam Louie: op. cit., p. 51.

[49] Yang Jung-kuo: *Fan-tung chieh-chi-ti "sheng-jen" — K'ung-tzu* (Confucius — "Sage" of the Reactionary Classes). In: Selected Articles Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. Vol. 2. Peking 1974, pp. 25—38.

about in 1976,[50] as a representative of the slave aristocracy, was but an analogy first of Liu Shao-ch'i, then of Lin Piao, and finally of Chou En-lai. According to Ku Chieh-kang, Confucius' "metamorphoses" reached from an educated man, one of many, who lived in the fifth century B. C., through a sage in the subsequent centuries, a holy man in the next two centuries B. C., and again a sage during the next two thousand years.[51] In the twenties of our century, legends about him and his veneration ceased to be considered as necessary requisites of his image. And this held, with minor exceptions, until the sixties. During the "cultural revolution" all respect towards this great man, the best known in the world from old Chinese history, became lost. Works were written denouncing his personality and work, disparaging him, speaking of him with disrespect, condemning him on the basis of doubtful or unprovable arguments; and even books were published pointing out the "crimes" of his descendants up to the year 1949.[52]

Neither Mao Tse-tung, nor those responsible for the various aspects of the cultural policy in practice, took note of Chien Po-tsan's statement: "There is no need of analogies; historical analogies are for the most part dangerous."[53] Chien Po-tsan drew support from the opinion of Sismondi and Marx.[54] The use of analogies and parallels became rampant during the "cultural revolution". Their allusive possibilities had already previously been utilized by anti-Maoist oriented playwrights (e. g. T'ien Han,[55] Wu Han,[56] and others); but although a literary work may use a historical fact in a creative processing, a historical work must describe acts, events and personalities in conformity with historical truth. Analogies and parallels resulted in objective history being replaced by subjective views and speculation, and even downright falsifications and lies.

A criticism of Confucianism as an ideology spoken of at the beginning of the "cultural revolution" yielded no results at all. Were it consistent, it should have turned against Mao Tse-tung himself and his work. In addition, the influence of Confucianism on Chinese life manifested itself in politico-moral relations, in the regulation and manipulation of human behaviour. The one and the other admirably suited Maoism and still do today.

---

[50] JMJP, 24th February, 1976.

[51] Cf. S t a i g e r, B.: op. cit., pp. 26—27.

[52] E.g. *Tsui-o lei-lei-ti K'ung fu* (The House of Confucius is Full of Crime and Evil). Peking 1974.

[53] KMJP, 2nd December, 1961.

[54] Loc. cit. Chien Po-tsan quoted the opinion of Marx and Sismondi concerned with the difference between Roman and modern proletariat from the *Preface to the Second Edition of the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1869). In: Marx—Engels: *Werke.* Vol. 16. Berlin, Dietz Verlag 1962, pp. 359—360.

[55] T'i e n  H a n : *Hsieh Yao-huan* (a historical drama), 1962.

[56] W u  H a n : *Hai Jui pa kuan* (Hai Jui Dismissed from the Office) (a historical drama), 1960.

In Confucian theory, considerable attention is devoted to man; he is the centre of all endeavours. Theoretically, every one may attain the highest evaluation in the moral, ethical or political sphere on condition that, as an individual, he willingly renounces his "ego", that is, his own personal aspirations for the sake of "higher aims". The latter have always been related to society — whether a close one, or a wide one, members of one's family, clan, and even the whole State. Man in practically his entire being and thinking just became "disintegrated" in the social group to which he belonged.[57] Certain moral postulates which he fulfilled as member of a group, have been spoken of earlier. He fulfilled them not as a free man, nor as a private person, but as member of the group, collective that protected and supported him in return. He fulfilled them as an individual who could not claim the principle of equality, for Confucian society was a hierarchical one. We have not as yet mentioned the postulate of 'righteousness" (*i*). This postulate represented acting in the name of the correct, right relations that man, as a member of the group, had to respect so that society might go on functioning. It was primarily concerned with an individual's obligations towards the society, its institutions.[58] Maoists never speak about this postulate, but Maoist "heroes" from the sixties and seventies, especially Lei Feng — the never-rusting screw of Chairman Mao[59] — were the fruit of a Maoist interpretation of the postulate of "righteousness".

The criticisms of Confucius and Confucianism in the "anti-Lin Piao and Confucius Campaign" had no scholarly goals. This has been indirectly admitted also by its Maoist organizers.[60] Despite its intensity and the quantity of materials, it brought nothing new to our knowledge of Confucius, his times, teaching and the later Confucianism. And no wonder, for the political atmosphere of the second half of the sixties and the first half of the seventies was hardly conducive to any constructive scholarly work.

---

[57] Vasilev, L. S.: *Nekotorye osobennosti systemy myshleniya, povedeniya i psikhologii v traditsionnom Kitae* (Some Peculiar Features of the System of Thought, Behaviour and Psychology in Traditional China). In: Delyusin, L. P. (Ed.): *Kitai: Traditsii i sovremennost* (China: Traditions and the Present). Moscow, Nauka 1976, pp. 52—82, esp. 72—75.

[58] Ibid. and Krivtsov, V. A.: op. cit., pp. 80—81.

[59] Chomczyńska, E.: *Chinese Youth Personality Models in the Sixties.* In: *Asian and African Studies, XV,* 1979, pp. 101—117.

[60] E. g. KMJP, 11th January, 1975. Cf. also Kam Louie, op. cit., p. 136. According to L. S. Perelomov the aims of the "Anti-Lin Piao and Confucius Campaign" were as follows: to overcome the negative attitude towards the "cultural revolution", to strengthen the control of the centre (i.e. party and government) over the whole country, to promote the "young cadres" — adherents of the "cultural revolution", to use the "case of Lin Piao" against those who disagree with "Mao Tse-tung's thought", to inflame anti-sovietism and finally to broaden the ideological basis of Maoism. Cf. *Kitaiskaya narodnaya respublika. Politika, ekonomika, ideologiya* (The People's Republic of China. Politics, Economics, Ideology). Moscow, Nauka 1977, p. 225.

●

Following the fall of the Gang of Four (Chiang Ch'ing widow after Mao Tse-tung, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yüan) in October 1976, the magazine Study and Criticism which in 1973 had carried the first articles indicating the forthcoming campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius, ceased to be published. The campaign came to an end in 1975. Nevertheless, even at the end of 1976 and later, articles appeared on Confucius and Confucianism, but these condemned only the conceptions of ultra-leftist critics expressed in the previous campaign.

In 1978, where our study ends, the dominant features that could be observed were uncertainty and an effort at compromise. The eighty-five year old Ku Chieh-kang who had attempted in the past a critical, but also scholarly assessment of Confucius' personality, now compared the father of Confucianism to K. Marx.[61] It is not easy to say why he proposed such an analogy to the Chinese reader. But he certainly wished to point out one thing: Confucian tradition embodies certain ideas that can be critically taken over, just as does European tradition with which the founder of Marxism took contact.

Eighty years of efforts at a revaluation and criticism of Confucius have not been without results. However, as has been shown, they were unsystematic, inconsistent and were often misused politically and ideologically. A thorough reassessment remains one of the important tasks of the future. But to be adequate, it must be carried out in a different manner from the one followed up to now.

---

[61] Ku Chieh-kang: *Pi-hsü ch'e-ti p'i-p'an "pang shih-hsüeh"* (It is Necessary Thoroughly to Criticize the "Historiography of the Gang of Four"). KMJP, 11th March, 1978.

# BÉLA BARTÓK'S CONTRIBUTION TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF TURKISH FOLK MUSIC

JITKA ZAMRAZILOVÁ–WELTMAN, Lund

The composer Béla Bartók is not widely known to have also been an ethnomusicologist and author of several ethnomusicological studies. Most of these studies were unpublished until the New York Bartók Archive undertook their posthumous publication, the volume on Turkish folk music[1] following that of his major work on Rumanian folk music. We welcome the efforts of the New York Bartók's Archive and look forward to eventual publication of all his other ethnomusicological studies.

The editor of the series, Benjamin Suchoff, deserves high praise for his remarkable work of editing of this volume. His Preface clarifies the circumstances under which Bartók visited Turkey in 1936 and conducted his field work in Southeastern Turkey and how he later wrote his essay which he began in 1936 and completed while in exile in the U.S.A. in 1943. A bit inconveniently, events are covered chronologically designated by the months they occur in without adequate reference to the year. The Preface reveals Bartók's utter seriousness and personal involvement in tackling an area quite alien to him, attempting to learn Turkish and make his own translations of the texts of the songs. Suchoff's review of existing manuscripts and the Addenda and Corrigenda are models of editorial work.

An Afterword by Kurt Reinhard follows Bartók's study. It places Bartók's work in the context of research in the area of Turkish folk music and demonstrates its impact on the subsequent development of the research. K.Reinhard answers some questions put by Bartók on subjects he was unable to pursue during his eight day field trip (as, for example, concerning singing by women). Reinhard also supplements and occasionally corrects some concepts and terms used by Bartók who obviously was unfamiliar with the general situation.

This book provides appendices including a computer-derived index of musical themes, comprehensible mainly to musicologists.

Very few parts of Bartók's essay are inaccessible to non-musicologists. The work is of great value and interest to Turcologists, especially those interested in Turkish

---

[1] Bartók, Béla: *Turkish Folk Music from Asia Minor.* Ed. by Benjamin Suchoff. With an Afterword by Kurt Reinhard. 288 pp., 6 pl. The New York Bartók Archive. Studies in Musicology, No. 7. Princeton University Press 1976. Further cited as TFM.

folklore. This review article is written from the point of view of a Turkologist with only limited musical background and therefore one who has little to say on the subject of strictly musicological issues. What makes Bartók's work so important for us Turkologists is that his starting point is so radically different from ours, that it opens new awarenesses for us. His achievement is all the more remarkable when we consider his limitations in the time of the field work and his knowledge of the culture. His work shows him to be an authority on folk culture in general with deep insight even into the folklore of a culture quite unfamiliar to him. Some passages in the chapter Text as Expression of Ideas[2] provide outstanding examples of this assessment.

Whereas students of Turkish folk songs are usually presented with collections of texts only,[3] Bartók gives us a complete musical notation of 78 vocal and 9 instrumental pieces with details about location of recording and performers, many notes, variants and explanations regarding the songs, and separate texts and their English translations. The material was recorded near Osmaniye at the winter quarters of Yürük tribes.

Bartók had great expertise in Hungarian, Rumanian, Serbo-Croatian and also Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Slovak and Czech folk music. Approaching Turkish folk music from this background, he tended to seek parallels to that of Eastern Europe and tended to regard Persian and Arabic influence as something additional, artificial and alien to genuine rural folk music. His approach led to some rather astonishing results, as when he established that one of the most popular types of Turkish folk songs was parallel musicologically to some Hungarian songs. It is useful for Turcologists to be confronted with this viewpoint as we customarily regard and deal with Turkish folk music almost exclusively from the Near Eastern musical frame. Bartók's viewpoint is most illuminating in revealing many new aspects of Turkish rural music and its history. Bartók did not, of course, conclude that Turkish rural music belongs to the Eastern European cultural area. To have done so would have been quite mistaken. Despite some probable reciprocal relationships and historical contacts with Eastern Europe, Turkish folk music is part of the Eastern musical heritage. Its sources lie in ancient Central Asia and it was influenced undoubtedly by the music of the Islamic cultural sphere, even if that (varied) impact was alien to Turkish culture.

Bartók's visit to Turkey was at the invitation of the then ruling Republican People's Party. His assignments included a lecture, a concert and demonstration of

---

[2] TFM, pp. 204—211.

[3] A few of many possible examples: Kúnos, Ignác: *Oszmán-török népköltési gyűjtemény*, Budapest 1889; Reinhard, Ursula: *Vor seinen Häusern eine Weide, Volksliedtexte aus der Süd-Türkei*, Berlin 1965; Reinhard, Ursula und Kurt: *Auf der Fiedel mein, Volkslieder von der osttürkischen Schwarzmeerküste*, Berlin 1968; Öztelli, Cahit: *Evlerinin önü* (Bütün Halk Türküleri). Istanbul 1972.

model field work of collecting folk music, so as to promote scientific collecting thereafter.

Official Turkish cultural policy of that time was to move away from the Near Eastern models and perhaps even to de-emphasize their historical role. The attempt was to find the ancient roots of an independent Turkish culture. That is why one of the tasks presented to Bartók was to try to establish any possible relationship between Old Turkish and old Hungarian folk music. Since such a relationship would have developed many centuries ago, when the ancestors of both nations lived in close proximity, such establishment would strengthen claims for the antiquity of an independent Turkish culture. This was of interest to Bartók since he had already managed to determine a relationship between Old Hungarian folk music and the music of the Kazan Tatars and Cheremis people (the latter Finno-Ugrians subjected to a great Old Turkic cultural impact some 1200—1500 years ago).[4]

Bartók's comparison was based only on material he collected during his eight-day period of field work. It is likely that his sample of collected material was too small and unrepresentative to prove any hypothesis beyond doubt. However, Bartók was able to find a definite relationship between the Turkish and Hungarian songs. He established that the most common type of Turkish folk songs in his collection, the *parlando* type of song with 8-syllable sections (21% of his collected material), was almost identical typologically with the Old Hungarian melodies of that type.[5] He even found decided Hungarian variants in most of the Turkish melodies of this type in his collection.[6]

This similarity, even identity of material proved to Bartók that this musical style was common to both nations and that it dated back to the sixth or seventh centuries A. D. when the ancestors of the Anatolian Turks and Hungarians lived in close vicinity. They later moved apart to distant territories. He regarded his claim supported by the similarities in Hungarian, Cheremis and Kazan Tatar music. Bartók considered his finding as internationally important and unique evidence of the antiquity of the musical style of these peoples.[7] He does not make clear whether the similarities in the Hungarian—Kazan Tatar—Cheremis folk music concerned the same type of melodies as the similarities in the Hungarian—Turkish folk music.

Bartók inferred additional confirmations for his hypothesis from a less apparent similarity between the two folk musics with respect to the next most common type of songs in his collection, the *parlando* type based on 11-syllable sections.[8]

The "dotted" rhythm of some songs in *tempo giusto* resembles Hungarian songs in

---

[4] TFM, p. 29.

[5] Ibid., p. 38.

[6] Ibid., p. 39.

[7] Ibid., p. 40.

[8] Ibid., pp. 42, 212.

"dotted" rhythm, but this parallel was scarce in his material and so was taken only tentatively as evidence by him.[9]

Still further evidence was found by Bartók in the poetic structure of the Turkish and Hungarian songs. He showed how in folk poetry of both nations the first two lines of a song often serve as a decorative device not contextually connected with the main text. He did not find this device in the folk poetry of any other East European people (with rare exceptions in those of the Slovaks and Rumanians, which he attributed to Hungarian influence). He concluded therefore that this device was common to Old Turkish and Old Hungarian folk poetry.[10] However, such introductory "decorative" lines are used often in Czech folk songs and are much more common in Slovak folk songs than Bartók thought, casting some doubt on Bartók's view of this particular matter.

Bartók stated that it is possible to argue that all of these similarities discussed were simply the result of the long Ottoman occupation of Hungary, but he argued quite convincingly why this could not be so.[11]

Bartók was then working with limited Turkish material while much of the Hungarian materials needed for comparison was in Budapest and thereby inaccessible to him in his exile. His hypothesis deserves futher investigation by comparative musicologists. My own view is that his hypothesis is supported by general acceptance that in Turkic folk poetry short lines (in Bartók's examples the 8-syllable lines) go back further in time than poetry with long lines.

The book includes much more than the issues discussed so far. Bartók made a deep analysis of his collected material in all respects.

He divided the melodies into 20 classes and gave their detailed musicological description. He also described the peculiarities of their performance. He detailed the characteristics of the performers. All of these should be of interest to Turcologists.

Bartók paid much attention to the texts, too, and proved to be a knowledgeable folklorist. As previously indicated, he showed deep understanding of the spirit of the songs, e. g. his passages about the obscurity and abstract character of the texts, about treatment of erotic subjects, and his ingenious interpretation of some of the obscure texts.[12]

Without detracting from the overall value of his contribution, it must be observed that Bartók did make some errors in his descriptions of the texts. For example, his concept of stanza is not always correct,[13] as a result of his limited experience with the structure of Turkish folk poetry.

He overlooked or was unaware of the existence of the *redif* (rhymed words

---

[9] Ibid., p. 43.

[10] Ibid., pp. 206—207.

[11] Ibid., pp. 40—41.

[12] Ibid., pp. 204—211.

[13] Ibid., pp. 196—198 and in the texts; see also TFM, K. Reinhard's Afterword, p. 266.

followed by a repeating word or group of words at the end of the line), when dealing with rhyme. Instead, he thought that the rhyme was a repeat of the same word and therefore viewed Turkish folk rhyme as primitive.[14]

Refrains and line repeats happened to occur relatively less commonly in Bartók's material than they do generally. He cóncluded that they are not characteristic of the genuine rural songs and he doubted the genuineness of the material collected by I. Kúnos wherein refrains were common.[15] Refrains are, however, frequent in other collections[16] as well, and are thus undoubtedly typical of Turkish folk songs. But this typicality does not apply to the songs of the minstrels (âşıks) where refrains (but not line repeats) are generally absent and Bartók failed to assess that these songs were genuine.

It was a pity that Bartók out of unfamiliarity and judging from a frame of reference of other cultures did not evaluate the songs of the âşıks. He viewed the âşıks and their creations with mistrust.[17] He was interested in genuine rural folk music and suspected that âşık production was influenced by urban culture. This was generally not the case. These professional or semi-professional poets produce "high style folk poetry",[18] more elaborate than and not so anonymous as is the folkloric repertoire. They are a firm part of the folk tradition. They can become part of the folkloric repertoire, and Bartók recorded some of them as such. Besides, the *uzun hava* melodies of the âşıks contain elements dating back to the old times in Central Asia, but transformed later under Near Eastern influence.[19] Bartók apparently did not realize this.

Bartók was right in observing that the âşıks' poems, described by him as "artificial", are generally easier to understand than anonymous folkloric poems. This is because their texts are viewed as more important than the melodies, whereas it is generally the opposite in folkloric songs.

Both the music examples and the texts with their translations are reproduced in Bartók's careful handwriting. The texts were translated into English by Mrs. G. Kresz from French and Hungarian translations. The translations are literal and therefore not especially poetic. Many difficult and obscure passages were translated undoubtedly with skill and ingenuity. Some unclear translations reflect the obscurity of the original texts.

Bartók's study stimulates discussion and new ideas. I regard his work as a most valuable contribution not only to Turkish ethnomusicology but also Turkish folklore.

---

[14] TFM, p. 204.

[15] Ibid., pp. 198—200; Kúnos, I.: *Oszmán-török népköltési gyűjtemény*. Budapest 1889.

[16] E. g. Öztelli, C.: *Evlerinin önü*. Istanbul 1972.

[17] TFM, pp. 5, 58, 207.

[18] See TFM, K. Reihard's Afterword, pp. 262—263.

[19] Reinhard, Kurt et Ursula: *Turquie. Les traditions musicals IV*. Paris 1969, pp. 208—211.

# THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN LITERATURES

ANNA DOLEŽALOVÁ, Bratislava

The international conferences of the socialist countries on the Theoretical problems of African and Asian Literatures already possess a certain tradition.

The first of these conferences of literary scholars from the socialist countries investigating Asian and African literatures was held in Moscow in 1966, the second in Warsaw and Cracow in 1972, and the third in Weimar in 1976. The fourth conference on this topic was organized by the Department of Oriental Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of its foundation and was held on 25th—28th March, 1980 at the Home of Scientific Workers of the Slovak Academy of Sciences at the Smolenice Castle near Bratislava.

The conference was attended by 81 specialists from six European socialist countries. The most numerous group was that of Soviet orientalists numbering 36 members from orientalist centres in Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Baku and Alma-Ata. Seventeen specialists came from the German Democratic Republic — from Berlin, Leipzig and Halle, ten from the university of Warsaw and Cracow, three from the university of Sofia and one from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. Czechoslovakia was represented by fourteen orientalist scholars from Charles University in Prague, the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Department of Oriental Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Among the participants were several foremost, well known and internationally acknowledged orientalists — literary scholars.

As set down by the international organizational committee of the conference, the proceedings were focused on three basic problem circuits:

(1) Relationship between ideology and literature in contemporary Asian and African literatures,

(2) National and international affinities in Asian and African literatures,

(3) Relation between tradition and innovation in Asian and African literatures.

The conference was opened by the Director of the Department of Oriental Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Ivan Doležal, who underlined the principal aims of this scholarly meeting. The introductory address on behalf of the Presidency of the Czechoslovak and the Slovak Academy of Sciences was delivered by Ján Dekan who laid due emphasis on the importance of a study of Asian and African literatures. At this plenary session, three papers were presented on the above fundamental problem

circuits of the conference: E. P. Chelyshev (Moscow) — Ideological struggle and the literary process in Eastern Countries; F. Gruner (Berlin) — On the Dialectics of National and International Features in Some of the Asian Literatures, and W. Tyloch (Warsaw) — Progressive Traditions and Contemporaneity in the Literatures of Asia and Africa. The papers provoked an abundant and stimulating discussion.

The conference then proceeded in territorially-oriented sections and subsections. There were four such sections, each of which held three sessions, and four subsections, each of which met once for deliberations. In sections and subsections, a total of 67 papers were presented with over two hundred individual comments by discussers.

In the Far East Section, the greatest number of papers were concerned with problems of contemporary Chinese literature, particularly the influence of ideology and politics in this literature and literary criticism. These papers dealt with literary criticism and poetry after Mao Tse-tung's death, the conception of "ideal hero" during the decade of the "cultural revolution", the role of historical topics in contemporary literature. Further speakers dwelt on the relation between national and international elements in portraying the working class in modern Chinese fiction, and elucidated fundamental trends in modern and contemporary drama and destinies of national minorities' literatures in the People's Republic of China. This section also discussed Li Po's poetry and the Chinese fourteenth century novel. Four papers were devoted to the Japanese literary domain and discussed the following theoretical issues: 'political novel', development of Japanese post-war and working-class literature, the nature of contemporary mass literature, and the causes and consequences of the ideological crisis of young Japanese writers.

All the papers presented in the subsection Mongolian literature were focused on an analysis of the role of popular traditions and folklore in modern Mongolian literature.

The subsection Korean literature discussed in particular the role of heroines in Korean literature, the manner of portraying Japan and the West in modern Korean literature and the use of mythology in this literature.

In the section South and Southeast Asia, two thirds, i.e. twelve papers, were concerned with the literatures of India. They deal with a broad range of weighty issues relating to the study of its ancient and modern literature, including, for instance, such topics as essential problems of India's literary history in the seventh—thirteenth centuries, the position of Sanskrit literature within the cultural heritage of India, the relation of the Bhakti poetry towards the enlightening Hindi literature, questions of historical elements in the Riti poetry, sources of Urdu drama, problems of traditionalism in Kabira writings, active employment of indigenous aesthetic criteria. Further papers analysed the place of Tulsídás's poetry in the ongoing ideological struggle, the influence of humanist tendencies in modern literature, questions of specific traits in modern Hindi short story, influences of Soviet literature

on English-written Indian literature. The only paper devoted to Pakistani literature pointed out the action of progressive traditions in contemporary Urdu literature in Pakistan.

Besides Indian literatures, this section discussed also Vietnamese and Burmese literature. Papers on Vietnamese literature were focused exclusively on the modern and contemporary period, on the origins and characteristic signs of modern novel and on portraying man in contemporary story from the period of the anti-American war. Likewise the papers on Burmese literature analysed problems relating to the modern period from the aspect of a development of realism and the position of Buddhism in the new Burmese literature.

The greatest number of papers were presented in the section The Near East and its subsections. Some of them involved global issues, such as innovation in the literature of the socialist associations of this region, or the influence of classical literature in the education of the young. Three papers dealt with Afghan literature — ancient and contemporary, viz. on the position of women in the society and literature of the seventeenth century, reflection of popular and democratic ideals in Afghan literature and on the influence of these traditions in modern society and literature. This section devoted considerable attention also to Iranian literature. The papers analysed the structure of the epic tales, the process of the origin of literary criticism, educational traits in enlightenment literature. Problems of contemporary Iranian literature were discussed from the aspect of its reflecting socio-political questions and the laws of development of culture and literature in the seventies of this century. Further papers spoke of the role played by the poetry of the Persian poet Nízámi in the interliterary relationships of the Near East, of the epopee and historical truth on the basis of Shah-náme history, of the history of Georgian-Persian literary contacts, of the representation of farmers in contemporary Persian prose. Two papers on earlier Turkish literature characterized early Ottoman-Turkish epics and progressive tendencies in the cultural heritage of the Turkic people.

The discussions in the subsection Turkish literature was focused on modern and contemporary literature. The seven papers spoke of Gagaus literature, of the shaping and developmental stages of socialist realism, of the writer's world outlook as the basis of a socialist accent in his work, of portraying social reality in modern poetry, of the image of Turkish village in Nevzat Üstün's stories, of the image of man in the works by Orhan Kemal.

Arab literature was discussed in a special subsection where only two papers were presented. They dealt with the dialectics of the national and international and the actual understanding of literature by the Arabic Baath, as well as with the problem of female emancipation as reflected in the works of some Arab women writers.

The section African Literature held three sessions, with a total of ten papers being presented. Two dealt with tendencies and typologies in the development of realism in literatures of Tropical Africa, two analysed Egyptian literature from the aspect of

195

the relationship between literature and folklore, and ideological struggle in literary criticism of the fifties and sixties of this century. Two further papers were devoted to French-written literature in Africa and treated of questions of a comparative-typological study of Maghribian literatures and of the expression of the relation 'colonizer-colonized' in French colonial literature. The remaining papers discussed South Africa's antiracist literature, topical criticism of African literatures, West African theatre roots and traditions and modernity in Tunesian poetry of the middle generation.

Alongside analyses of works of various writers and of literary movements in the light of the three aspects set down for the conference, the papers and discussions were also concerned with a number of methodological and theoretical problems relating to the study of Asian and African literatures and pointed to new problems and new aspects of this study. This bore particularly on questions of the relation between literature and history, the impact of cultural and literary traditions, religion, folklore in modern literatures, the relation between originality and epigonism, interliterary relations, the role of nationalism, the specificity of creative procedures, structure of a literary work, reflection of social transformations in literature and conditions of development of contemporary literatures and literary criticism.

As stressed at the closing plenary session, the conference showed again the need of an intensive study of Asian and African literatures, as also the usefulness of international cooperation and coordination of efforts in this domain. A proposal was passed for a common processing of the literary heritage of Asian and African nations in its action on contemporary literatures, as also of interliterary relations among literatures of the Near East. Furthermore, it was decided to continue with organizing international conferences of the socialist countries on theoretical problems of Asian and African literatures, which have proved to be stimulating, scientifically fruitful and enriching meetings of specialists united by common or similar methodological and theoretical issues and tasks.

The Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of the Socialist Countries: Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures are to be published in English as a separate volume.

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Language and Society. Anthropological Issues.* Edited by William C. McCormack—Stephen A. Wurm. The Hague—Paris—New York, Mouton Publishers 1979. 772 pp.

This bulky volume appears, alongside with three others (Language and Man, Language and Thought, Approaches to Language), in the series World Anthropology edited by Sol Tax and patronized by Claude Lévi-Strauss, late Margaret Mead, Laila Shukry El-Hamamsy and M. N. Srinivas. This editorial board indicates that the scope of the publication is remarkably wide. Such an impression is confirmed by the contents of the volume comprising more than forty contributions by authors from all parts of the world, including East Europe and the developing countries.

With the exception of the introductory and final chapters, the papers are divided into four sections, i. e., Social Meaning of Language (pp. 27—133), Survey Techniques (pp. 137—305), Language and Cultural Identity (pp. 309—459), and Modernization (pp. 463—723). The variety of problems discussed is really impressive.

The first section concentrates upon the question of bilingualism in relation to various social factors. J. B. Pride in his paper (pp. 27—54) expresses an opinion that sociolinguistics has so far not been able to give a functional explanation of codeswitching. Carol Myers Scotton, however, finds that the social-exchange model still serves for her theoretical explanation of codeswitching in East Africa (pp. 71—88). Jacqueline Lindenfeld is inclined to apply experimental methods from social psychology that have been used in studying Japanese-English codeswitching (pp. 127—133). Another study written by Emy M. Pascasio and Araceli Hidalgo (pp. 111—126) deals with the influence of role, domain and speech situation upon the linguistic behaviour of bilinguals. Anthony L. Vanek's contribution (pp. 55—60) proves the correctness of the sociological teaching according to which linguistic meaning is learnt socially and rejects the notion of the autonomy of syntax.

The next section contains two papers criticizing sociolinguistic methods upon the material of American English. Their authors, R. B. Smith (pp. 137—144) and R. I. McDavid Jr. (pp. 249—262) discuss the question of the so-called white and black English. A similar problem, that of correlation between caste and language, is

investigated by P. B. Pandit (pp. 171—182). Lachman M. Khubchandani (pp. 183—194) questions the validity of census data on language because an individual's allegiance to and esteem for a particular language sometimes contradicts his actual speech habits. Jean Ure (pp. 263—284) makes a research into the linguistic situation in Ghanaian schools. J. Ornstein analyses the bilingualism of Americans of Mexican extraction (pp. 285—305). The correlation between sex and speech is analysed by Lewis Levin and Harry J. Crockett Jr. (pp. 207—220) as well as by Diana Worthman Warshay (pp. 221—230); in both instances the data are taken from American English.

In another section devoted to language and cultural identity, the contributors describe mainly such socially inferior groups that are not willing to give up their language despite various administrative pressures, breakdowns of isolation or other demographic factors, e.g., migrations, changes of political boundaries and wars. Xavier Albó investigates the prospects of oppressed Indian languages in the South-American Andes (pp. 309—330). E. Glynn Lewis compares Wales with the USSR as far as the impact of migrations upon the linguistic situation is concerned (pp. 331—358). Mahadev L. Apte (pp. 367—376), M. Guboglo (pp. 359—366) and Jürgen Heye (pp. 401—422) examine the fate of immigrant groups in various parts of the world. The position of Swahili in Kenya versus English is described by Joseph Muthiani (pp. 377—388); linguistic problems of Africa are dealt with by Robert G. Armstrong (pp. 445—459). Finally, Regna Darnell (pp. 389—400) and William Pulte (pp. 423—432) consider the situation of Indian languages in the United States of America.

The last section is dedicated to problems of modernization, standardization and language planning, i.e., questions that are of a great interest to developing countries and that also have political aspects. Fosco Maraini considers advantages of ideographic script that have contributed to its preservation (pp. 579—588). Questions of language unification in Taiwan are discussed by Robert L. Cheng (pp. 541—578). Complicated linguistic problems of developing countries, especially those of India, are the subject of papers by J. S. Yadava (pp. 627—636), C. Lakshmanna (pp. 637—656), Bh. Krishnamurti (pp. 673—692). Two papers, one by C. M. B. Brann (pp. 463—508) and one by A. Verdoodt (pp. 509—532) are concerned with Africa while Gyula Décsy writes about the linguistic situation in the Danube region (former Hungarian monarchy) and arrives at a conclusion that this area is lacking a supranational vehicle of communication (pp. 533—540). V. A. Kumanev appreciates remarkable successes of the alphabetization of a variety of formerly backward nationalities after the October revolution (pp. 617—626). Language planning will derive much use from the joint study by C. A. Ferguson and Anwar S. Dil (pp. 693—702) who summarize some general assumptions and conclusions. J. A. Fishman's paper (pp. 703—723) is likewise of a general character.

The volume is complemented with a summary of discussion by S. A. Wurm (pp. 727—742), biographical notes on the contributors (pp. 743—755), indices of names and subjects (pp. 757—761 and 763—771).

Notwithstanding the fact that the volume is dedicated chiefly to applied sociolinguistics, it does not ignore theoretical problems. Due to a critical attitude toward present-day techniques and methods, as well as to a complex approach to its subject, it may no doubt be regarded as an important stimulus to a further development of linguistics.

*Viktor Krupa*


Nalimov, V. V.: *Veroyatnostnaya model yazyka* (A. Probabilistic Model of Language). Moscow, Nauka 1979. 304 pp.

Nalimov's book is essentially an attempt to find a common denominator for a wide range of communication and information vehicles such as natural language, languages of science, mathematics and logic, abstract painting, genetic code, etc.

The author regards the investigation of language as one of the possible approaches to the essence of thought. He characterizes language above all as a means of communication, but he is also aware of the fact that language preserves and reproduces information when necessary (p. 41). At the same time language is viewed as one of those notions of which we can talk but which cannot be strictly defined (p. 47). On the whole, Nalimov distinguishes rigid and soft approaches to the structure of language, preferring the soft alternative. He is right when maintaining that grammar is inseparable from the semantic content of signs (p. 48). This is no doubt true because grammar is the formalized semantic content of the lexicon. The hierarchical structure of language reflects the process of thought. To be sure, one must carefully distinguish language from metalanguage. The former as a part of objective reality is continuous, while the latter is discrete.

A sign system is characterized by Nalimov as a language if it can be interpreted in another language. The author believes that a translation is virtually impossible; we have always to do with an interpretation (p. 59).

Nalimov tries to construct a probabilistic theory of meaning that is a central notion in his system. As has been stated repeatedly, polymorphism is the most basic feature of natural languages (p. 69). This means that human thought is richer than its linguistic vehicle and than its deductive form (p. 72). Of course, formal logic is utilized in the process of communication, but it must not make our thought too rigid. Each sign is in a probabilistic way associated with a variety of meanings, and different people can appreciate the probability of occurrence of these meanings in different

ways (p. 79). This amounts to saying that sense cannot be ascribed to a sign in isolation from the text in which it occurs. A word is interpreted both upon the basis of its use and upon the basis of an aprioristic knowledge of its distribution function. Without the latter, no text could be read through; a logically correct use of words does not betray their sense (pp. 82—83). The probabilistic model of language can also explain some peculiarities of the speech of mentally ill people (p. 92).

The author discusses some philosophical, especially cognitive problems. He believes that classical logic is insufficient for the description of reality and appreciates the role of contradictory statements, arriving finally at the role of metaphor in cognition (pp. 102—105).

Languages are classified in terms of the role played by the probabilistic structure of meaning into rigid and soft languages. Our natural languages are somewhere in the middle between these extremes (pp. 105—106). Although deduction is typical for the language of mathematics, it is induction that warrants the progress of cognition (p. 109), while logic is a means of communication, language polymorphism is rather a means of overcoming problems in the logically construed system of communication (p. 109). The aprioristic distribution function of sense is only a tendency to the realization of the sense of a word. A text sense results from the probabilistic description of the interaction between a readiness to understand and a speech experiment aiming at understanding (p. 110). Thought is potentially richer than language, which is a result of the continuous nature of thought versus the discrete nature of language (or, we might say, the continuous nature of content, semantics, versus the discrete nature of its carriers). The main contradiction of language is not that between the continuous nature of language as a part of objective reality and the discrete nature of language as a means of reflection, but that between the continuous nature of thought content and the discrete nature of its carriers.

Nalimov stresses the importance of metaphor; even the language of science is metaphorical (p. 119). Metaphor is the only means of penetrating into the essence of phenomena. Metaphorical structure is responsible not only for the polymorphism of language but also for its tension (p. 121) and even mathematical models are merely metaphors (p. 123).

The author mentions also the problem of progress in language about which there are contradictory opinions. The progress of verbal thought consists in the transition from thought in images to logical thought, which finds a reflection in human language (p. 154).

Mathematization of knowledge is defined first of all as an extensive utilization of the language of mathematics for the description of external reality. However, the similarity with pure mathematics may be superficial. The latter is notable for its laconic formulations, rich in logical consequences (p. 158).

A separate chapter deals with the so-called soft languages (pp. 177—195) illustrated with examples from the language of abstract painting and ancient Indian

philosophy. Their opposite is the genetic code which is described in the next chapter (pp. 196—201).

The remainder of the book may be characterized as a philosophy or, to be more precise, as a complex examination of the psychological and philosophical aspects of cognition. Nalimov is not afraid of daring suggestions and surprising conclusions. His book gives a lot of inspiration to all those who are able to read carefully and who, in accordance with what has been said above, are aware of numerous connotations and fuzzy limits of words.

*Viktor Krupa*

Mathiot, Madeleine: *Ethnolinguistics.* Boas, Sapir and Whorf Revisited. The Hague—Paris—New York, Mouton Publishers 1979. 324 pp.

M. Mathiot, a well-known American ethnolinguist, has prepared and edited this collective volume in an effort to renew the discussion opened by B. L. Whorf, the author of the so-called theory of linguistic relativity. This theory, or rather hypothesis continues to attract general attention, which is less due to its validity than to its accentuation of the key problem of language, i. e., of its relation to thought and reality as well as of its part in the cognitive process. Linguistics (especially in America) has too long dwelt upon formal aspects of language. However, the pendulum is coming back and today everybody would agree that the essence and functioning of language cannot be properly understood without the interpretation of language system, without meaning and utilization. The growing interest in semantics is paralleled by a no smaller interest in such branches of linguistics as, e.g., sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and ethnolinguistics.

The volume comprises nine contributions by several authors and consists of two parts, i. e., (1) Analysis of Grammatical Meaning (pp. 1—120) and (2) Analysis of Lexical Meaning (pp. 121—314).

According to M. Mathiot, the grammatical meanings differ from the lexical meanings in their relation to reference. While in grammar reference is obligatory and largely subconscious, it is optional and largely deliberate in vocabulary. The referential function, and consequently referential meaning manifests itself as a culture's categorization of the "world" through language (p. ix).

The grammatical section of the book concentrates upon an analysis of gender, pronouns and classifications. The lexical section represents, naturally enough, a more complex picture. In addition to the study of folk-definitions, there are papers on the class inclusion in American English and on the semantic classification of words in a Yucatec game.

In conclusion, the editor discusses advances in the field of empirical semantics since the days of Boas, Sapir and Whorf. First, the usefulness of translation, paraphrase, and folk explanation has been confirmed. Second, the systematic investigation of lexical meaning has been added to that of grammatical meaning. Third, further insights have been gained regarding how referential meaning reflects world view and how it relates to the rest of culture. And, fourth, a more flexible theoretical frame of reference is in the process of development, in which the whole range of phenomena between the universal and the language-and-culture specific find their place (p. 315).

The method used by the contributors is elaborate; it is based upon distinguishing a semantic and a cognitive analysis. These are two interrelated levels but the cognitive level is deeper and need not be manifested upon the surface level. This procedure is much more complicated than the componential analysis and seems to lead to more convincing results since it endeavours to remove arbitrariness in setting up the framework for the distinctive semantic features.

*Viktor Krupa*

Prokopczuk, Jerzy: *Polityka zagraniczna krajów rozwijających się. Niektóre problemy teoretyczne* (La politique étrangère des pays en voie de développement. Quelques problèmes théoriques). Varsovie, Institut Polonais pour les Relations Internationales 1979. 116 pp.

Le professeur Prokopczuk a divisé sa monographie en deux parts. Dans la première part de son livre il s'occupe de l'objet, de catégories et d'idées dans les relations internationales des pays en voie de développement. Ce sont les facteurs agissant sur la formation de leur politique extérieur qui sont l'objet de l'attention de l'auteur dans la deuxième part de la monographie.

Tout d'abord l'auteur caractérise l'objet et le domaine des recherches sur les relations internationales des pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et de l'Amérique Latine. Il constate que les relations internationales furent établies au niveau d'une discipline scientifique seulement après la deuxième guerre mondiale, au temps d'une croissance constante de relations internationales dans le domaine économique, militaire, politico-juridique, diplomatique, idéologique, culturel et scientifico-technique. L'auteur caractérise les différences de la politique extérieure de trois groupes principaux de pays (les pays socialistes, capitalistes et les pays en voie de développement) sur une base de classe.

Et c'est ici que l'auteur polonais constate l'existence des facteurs importants dans le domaine des relations internationales : „Ce sont de même les facteurs suivants

comme le facteur géographique (l'étendue du territoire, son caractère, l'importance économique et stratégique, les réserves de la richesse minérale, le climat et autres), le facteur économique (le caractère des relations productives, le développement des forces productives, l'infrastructure, le commerce extérieur et ainsi de suite), le facteur démographique (la densité de la population, la migration, les relations ethniques et linguistiques, l'accroissement naturel etc.), le facteur militaire-stratégique (la valeur stratégique du territoire de l'État, le potentiel militaire, les doctrines stratégiques et autres), le facteur religieux (par exemple le rôle d'islam), le rôle d'individu dans les relations internationales et autres qui influencent — auprès du facteur de la classe — la politique extérieure" (p. 12).

Ensuite l'auteur familiarise le lecteur avec le point de vue léniniste qui concerne d'une part le droit des nations sur la libre disposition et d'autre part la paix démocratique et juste comme cela était caractérisé dans le Décret pour la paix, édité le 8 novembre 1917. Ensuite il cite la contradiction entre le capitalisme et le socialisme comme l'axe de relations internationales contemporaines au point de vue de la classe. Mais simultanément l'auteur constate que l'activité diplomatique pour la détente dans les relations internationales a pris une place importante dans la politique extérieure de beaucoup de pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et de l'Amérique Latine et à cette occasion „les forces progressives de l'Ouest avaient présenté leur appui à cette affaire" (p. 15).

L'auteur continue de faire des analyses de catégories et d'idées des relations internationales des pays en voie de développement („le tiers monde", la révolution nationale libératrice, les voies de développement, les intérêts nationaux et le nationalisme dans la politique extérieure, le globalisme et le régionalisme dans la politique des pays en voie de développement, le néo-colonialisme, le rapport du non-alignement et de l'antiimpérialisme). Ses considérations et remarques sont très valables. Cela concerne, par exemple, son analyse de l'idée „le tiers monde", une expression couramment utilisée pour désigner les pays d'Asie, d'Afrique et de l'Amérique Latine faiblement développés (p. 22). Ces pays avaient été dans le passé désignés comme pays „sous-développés", „faiblement développés" ou „rétardés au point de vue économique". Mais ces termes devinrent un objet de la critique de la part des théoriciens et des leaders politiques „du tiers monde". „Beaucoup d'entre eux orientent l'attention à la réalité que les pays „arriérés" sont habités par plus de deux tiers de la population de la Terre. Cela signifie que le niveau de développement atteint par eux est celui qui est caractéristique pour la plupart des territoires du monde. Dans ces conditions il n'est pas possible — selon eux — de parler d'une arriération" (p. 23). Et ainsi aujourd'hui on utilise plus généralement un terme de toute façon un peu neutre — „les pays en voie de développement" — qui naturellement évoque le point d'interrogation logique en ce qui concerne le développement contemporain et futur des pays développés, parce que la vérité est qu'aussi dans ces derniers sont encore quelques régions „sousdéveloppées" qui ont

205

besoin „du développement" (comme l'a constaté récemment la Communauté économique européenne). L'auteur parle de l'utilisation du terme „Tiers Monde" dans la littérature occidentale (les conceptions de la division du monde entier en „premier monde", „deuxième monde", „tiers monde" et d'autres). Dans la conclusion l'auteur enregistre la polarisation du „tiers monde" tantôt dans la direction du développement capitaliste, tantôt dans la celle du développement socialiste.

Prof. Prokopczuk fait une différence entre les terms „la révolution de la libération nationale" et „la décolonisation", parce que „ce n'est pas toujours que le procès de la décolonisation forme la partie composante de la révolution de libération nationale" (p. 29). En support de sa thèse il fait des comparaisons entre le combat armé de la population de pays d'Asie contre le colonialisme, la décolonisation négociée en Afrique Noire et les combats partisans en Amérique Latine (pp. 29—32).

L'auteur continue par sa caractéristique du néo-colonialisme qui „est une forme nouvelle du colonialisme. a) Le néo-colonialisme a cessé d'être le terme définissant exclusivement le caractère des relations économiques; b) Le néo-colonialisme a cessé d'être le terme fixant une des méthodes de l'administration indirecte de l'économie des pays dépendants du côté de la grande puissance fixée. Dans l'arrangement des forces contemporaines dans le monde, le néocolonialisme a pris un caractère universel et forme la substance des relations entre le monde impérialiste comme un ensemble d'une part et les pays nouvellement formés d'autre part... c) Le néo-colonialisme est devenu une catégorie historique qui est liée au stade des victoires de révolutions de la libération nationale et de la naissance des États nouveaux... le néo-colonialisme c'est une réaction du monde capitaliste sur le procès de la liquidation du colonialisme et de leurs conséquences économiques et politiques. Le néo-colonialisme se développa particulièrement vite dans les années cinquantes et soixantes, quand la liquidation du système colonial traditionnel est arrivée" (pp. 68—69).

Dans la deuxième part de sa monographie l'auteur spécifie les facteurs économiques, politico-idéologiques, historiques et géographiques ainsi que la population, dont le résumé général forme ces facteurs qui influencent la formation de la politique extérieure des pays en voie de développement. L'auteur souligne l'importance du marxisme dans les facteurs politico-idéologiques et il écrit: „Le marxisme ne surestime pas le rôle de la personnalité dans la société, mais en même temps il ne la sous-estime pas nonplus. Dans les conditions des pays en voie de développement il est nécessaire de prendre cette vérité en considération" (p. 98). L'auteur s'occupe aussi de la question du nationalisme dans le „Tiers Monde" et il maintient que le nationalisme est ici encore très souvent accompagné de l'anticolonialisme et l'antiimpérialisme. Mais il est naturellement nécessaire d'ajouter que dans le monde de développement il faut toujours faire la valorisation du nationalisme dans un pays

206

concret et dans un temps concret. C'est la seule possibilité de trouver une réponse rigoureuse à la question du caractère de nationalisme dans un pays en voie de développement concret.

L'auteur allègue — et il a raison — qu'entre les facteurs politico-idéologiques et historiques il existe souvent une très étroite connexion qui influence la formation des relations internationales du pays fixé en voie de développement (l'auteur cite ici une série d'exemples surtout de l'Afrique (pp. 99—102)).

Et ce sont les régions de l'Océan Indien et du golfe Persique du Proche-Orient, du Moyen-Orient, de l'Afrique du Nord, de l'Afrique Occidentale et de l'Afrique du Sud, la région des Caraïbes qui sont d'une importance militaire-stratégique extraordinaire (p. 107).

La bibliographie thématique compréhensive forme un complément très utile de la monographie polonaise. L'œuvre scientifique du prof. Prokopczuk fait un apport essentiel pour l'élaboration des relations internationales des pays en voie de développement au point de vue scientifique du marxisme-léninisme.

*Josef Poláček*


*Genezis romana v literaturakh Azii i Afriki. Natsionalnye istoki zhanra* (Genesis of the Novel in the Literatures of Asia and Africa. National Beginnings of Genre). Moscow, Nauka 1980. 286 pp.

This publication consists of a set of twelve independent studies, thematically unified, by authors who have long pursued the theoretical problems of the literatures of Asia and Africa and have achieved remarkable successes in their solution. It should be noted right at the start that the book under review also belongs to this successful series. The authors are: P. A. Grintser, I. D. Serebryakov, I. A. Boronina, B. J. Shidfar, B. B. Parnikel, B. L. Riftin, S. J. Neklyudov, N. I. Nikulin, S. D. Serebryanyi, I. D. Nikiforova, E. A. Ryauzova, G. Y. Dzhugashvili. This is then a collective work, and it should be underlined, that it is the first complex research into the genesis of the Eastern novel studied in a double comparative relation: in correlation with mediaeval home narrative genres, on the one hand, and with the European novel, on the other.

Each study is devoted to the common problems of the origin and development of the novel in the relevant national literature (of Asian and African countries) and while preserving certain specific national aspects, each study may be said to excel by the author's well-grounded point of view. This involves in a considerable measure pioneering theoretical works with a sense of continuity and historicity. The development of the novel as a genre appears to the authors as an unbroken, continuous process in which quantitative changes condition changes in the nature of the work. The entire movement in the development of the novel is related to the

historical advance of the society and is influenced by it. The authors investigate the mutual conditioning between the historical type of society and the type of novel as a permanent interaction.

The prevailing view in literary scholarship is that the Eastern novel originated in the nineteenth century, but simultaneously there exists the well-known thesis that also the European novel appeared only in the modern era. In both cases, the novel is taken in the narrower sense as genre whose origin is associated with the specific conditions of the coming of capitalism. If, however, the novel is understood in the wider meaning of the word, then a fairly substantial difference appears between the European and the Eastern novel: "Only in Europe the novel, having no direct predecessors, had to fight out its right to existence..., but in the East, thanks to taking-over from outside, it took roots as a 'ready-made' genre, although its first models were of course, willy-nilly, far from artistic perfection" (P. A. Grintser, *Two Epochs of the Novel*, pp. 4—5).

In the literary process, the novel as an epic genre replaced classical epos. The universal, integrated even into a mythical image of the world, became replaced by the specific of the private, the individual, the partial. This did not occur as a result of a change or transformation of some genre form, but the novel originated as an essentially new genre (although it did utilize or take over certain signs and properties of the preceding narrative form), satisfying primarily the ideological and literary needs of the given period. It is then a genre formally independent, of a syncretic character that documents its typological affinity with the preceding genres, but on the other hand, reshapes it in accordance with the requirements of its own constructive principles of a novel narration. This is also borne out indirectly by the fact that continuity, connecting types of novels and authors of a different orientation, exists also in the subsequent development of the novel despite permanent changes.

The authors of the various studies are clearly conscious of the specificity of problems relating to the novel within the framework of the literary art, some sort of an independent tendency of the novel to preserve its given structure, hence, this involves a certain trait of conservatism of this genre in comparison with other types of the literary art. In relation to the preceding narrative genres, the authors of the present publication bring support not of a divergence or a refusal on the part of the novel, but of an overcoming in the sense of a higher perfection, a higher quality while preserving continuity.

As implied by the present publication, there exists a certain parallelism in the development of the novel as a genre (e. g. the ancient novel and the Sanskrit novel) as evidenced by similar genre forms (the adventure-love novel, the pseudohistorical novel, etc.) — this is a typological concordance in the fundamental trends of the development of the novel. It is further manifest in the cyclization of the various novels within the common frame of reference of the plot at the time of the formation of the novel (both in the West and in the East). In virtue of the authors' results certain

parallels may be plausibly stated to exist between the European knight-type of novel on the one hand, and the national genres of Eastern countries on the other (Central-Asian dastans, Vietnamese truyens, Thai chans, Arab "biographies", Chinese novel-epopees, Malay hikayats, and others). In a similar manner, the Eastern lyrical novel became the prototype of the psychological novel.

As implied by this collective publication, the origin of the present form of the Eastern novel was closely related to the impact of the already developed European novel with which Eastern intellectuals became acquainted also directly in its original and through translations. P. A. Grintser writes this about it: "As always in the history of the novel, its need was conditioned by inner stimuli... but it cannot be denied that the European novel has served as a model to Eastern litterati for a long time..." As Eastern literatures already had before that their own novel, or pre-novel genres, the influence of the European novel passed through the filter of home tradition, it underwent certain transformations which, in the subsequent stages of development, may have been of decisive significance in the process of acceptance of foreign artistic values.

What is of importance is that even the first attempts of the Eastern novel tended to restore life reality that had an adhesive impact on their structure, so that the novel originated here as a special genre. Its aesthetic function overlapped with the cognitive one and was subordinated to it.

The authors succeeded in arriving at scientific conclusions: the Eastern traditional and the new novel are not two genres, but two types of the same genre; the line between them is not a strictly dividing lie and is only relative from the typological and chronological aspect. That is what imparts to the authors significance as pioneers of literary orientalist research and through this publication they have assured themselves an important place on the world literary scene.

*Ján Múčka*

*Yazyki Yugo-vostochnoi Azii. Problemy povtorov* (Languages of Southeast Asia. Problems of Reduplication). Edited by N. F. Alieva. Moscow, Nauka 1980. 272 pp.

This collective volume edited by N. F. Alieva includes papers devoted to reduplication. Altogether there are sixteen articles dealing with various aspects of reduplication which is a widespread feature of the word structure in most Southeast Asian languages.

In her introductory study N. F. Alieva defines reduplication as a major means of word formation charged with a wide variety of additional meanings. She distinquishes reduplication from repetition and tries to solve the maze of terminological problems. Although a set of unified terms has been suggested here, the terminologi-

209

cal unity is not complete because some authors (Gorgoniev, Glebova and Sitnikova) have preferred to conform to the traditions of the particular languages with which they are concerned.

The editor summarizes questions which deserve the attention of linguists. They are as follows:

1. Is reduplication a morphological means of word formation?

2. What is the correlation between reduplication on the one hand and such devices as affixation or composition on the other?

3. Is the reduplicative to be regarded as a grammatical form of the word?

4. How does partial reduplication agree with the concept of the morpheme as a minimum stable meaningful unit?

5. What are the ways of abstracting and formalizing meanings expressed by reduplication?

All these questions are of a considerable interest to theoretical linguistics. Besides, the present volume contains a wealth of new data on the ways reduplication functions in a variety of Southeast Asian languages such as Malagasy, Vietnamese, Mon-Khmer, Chinese, Indonesian, Tibetan, Papuan, Thai, Madurese, and Burmese. The contributors (V. D. Arakin, I. I. Glebova, A. N. Sitnikova, Y. A. Gorgoniev, L. G. Zubkova, I. N. Komarova, A. A. Leontiev, Long Seam, L. N. Morev, A. K. Ogloblin, N. V. Omelyanovich, I. I. Revzin, Y. K. Sirk) discuss phonological, grammatical as well as semantic aspects of reduplication; some of the papers are also concerned with general linguistic problems (especially that by I. I. Revzin).

Reduplication is a productive device in many linguistic areas and its functions are essentially identical, which is probably due to its iconic character. Thus, the present book may become the starting point for a truly universal description and evaluation of reduplication in the languages of the world.

*Viktor Krupa*

*Novaya istoriya Vietnama* (Modern History of Vietnam). Edited by S. A. Mkhita-ryan. Moscow, Nauka 1980. 717 pp.

The long and victorious anti-imperialist struggle of the Vietnamese nation has kindled enhanced interest also in Vietnamese history. After the year 1945, works on the Vietnamese question occasionally appeared also in European languages but were generally concerned with the most recent period only. Reflections on the fountainheads of the dynamism and perseverance, the tenacity of the Vietnamese national liberation movement, however, have gradually elicited interest also in the preceding, equally rich stages of Vietnamese history. Its latest expression in the

USSR is the voluminous work by Soviet historians-vietnamists *Novaya istoriya Vietnama*, published under the editorship of S. A. Mkhitaryan and covering the period from the mid-seventeenth century up to the end of the First World War, for the most recent period and the contemporary stage have been processed in the Soviet Union in numerous scientific treatises, studies and other materials.

The team of authors have made good their design to process the selected time lapse on the basis of source materials, to a large extent unpublished so far. Existing historical works on the same period, published in the West, principally in France, likewise drew primarily on former colonial archives, but by their selection of material and tendentiousness took up positions in defence of colonialism. Nevertheless, this Soviet work mentions with recognition those among French authors who maintained an objective and correct attitude towards Indochinese nations. The Soviet team of authors profited by the gradually extending opportunities of an international scientific cooperation, studied Vietnamese chronicles and investigated at first hand the most essential material not only in Vietnamese archives but also in various French ones. They have also become acquainted with the results of the successfully developing historiography of independent Vietnam and by the method of scientific polemics, refuted the views of Western, principally French bourgeois historians and politicians on Vietnam, which had been a key country in colonial Indochina.

The book is made up of six parts. The first five correspond to the five stages of Vietnam's modern history, while the sixth one reflects the values of contemporary Vietnamese culture.

The chapters in the first part throw light on the situation of the Vietnamese nation under the feudal systems, the causes of its crises and the significant role of peasant revolts. The whole of the second part is devoted to the most important of them — the Tay-son Movement. The authors look for the causes of the fall of the Tay-son insurgent government within its own internal strifes. The third part comprises chapters on the process of a socio-economic development of the country and on the significance of the formation of a centralized feudal State governed by an absolute monarchy. Here again, the authors deal in more detail with the nature and importance of peasant revolts and evaluate also the ideological progress tending against feudalism. The coming of colonialism and the degradation of a cultured country into a part, with no rights of its own, of the French imperialist dominions, forms the subject of the fourth section. Here, a general analysis is given of the course and significance of French colonization and this is directly connected with the response of the Vietnamese society that reacted with the setting up and an increasing activity of the patriotic movement and let in an influx of new progressive views. The comprehensive fifth part follows up the practice of the imperialist colonial policy and its consequences, one of which was also the origin of the bourgeois revolutionary movement. The authors have enriched their explication with data on the fates of the most outstanding personalities of this movement. They assess the national liberation

movement against the background of awakening Asia from the beginnings of this century and take note of the conditions for the rise of the new proletariat.

The closing sixth part is devoted to Vietnamese culture. This is neither a continuation of the text, nor yet an illustrative supplement. Here too, the authors investigate the topic independently, predominantly on the basis of Vietnamese materials. They follow up the principal domains of culture as an organic part and parcel of the overall development of the Vietnamese society in the struggle for preserving national existence and home progressive traditions against foreign impact.

The work presents a rounded view of an important sector of Vietnamese history and testifies to the serious interest on the part of Soviet scholars in the life problems of a brotherly country. The authors did not stay on the surface of the movement, rich in events and situational changes, but devoted considerable attention to the decisive inner processes of the Vietnamese society. The text is supplemented with contemporary illustrations and photographs.

*Ivan Doležal*


Truong-Chinh : *Ecrits 1946—1975.* Hanoï, Editions en langues étrangères 1977. 897 p.

A la suite de l'unification victorieuse du Vietnam, on a publié à Hanoï les écrits de personnalités politiques éminentes, comprenant leurs articles et allocutions d'importance majeure, datant de la période de la lutte pour l'indépendance après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Des revues de trois livres de cette série — à savoir les *Ecrits* de Le-Duan, Pham Van Dong et Vo Nguyen Giap — sont déjà parues dans Asian and African Studies, volumes XIV, XVI et XVII.

La présente collection comprend 11 études écrites pendant la période de la lutte anti-impérialiste des années 1946—1975. Quelques unes des adresses parurent originellement dans le journal Su That et pour les buts de cette publication ont été révisées, complétées ou remaniées. La plupart des articles ont été présentés aux congrès ou conférences des communistes vietnamiens ou à d'autres occasions officielles.

La base de départ de la collection est donnée par les réflexions de l'auteur sur la révolution d'Août 1945, qui a rétabli l'indépendance vietnamienne après près d'un siècle de domination coloniale. Truong-Chinh ne l'évalue pas comme un événement isolé, mais en examine la nature, cherche à découvrir ses forces motrices de base et réfléchit sur sa signification au point de vue de l'étape ultérieure de la lutte nationale-libératrice vietnamienne. Dès l'abord, dans l'introduction même à la première étude, il réfute les opinions des antagonistes politiques impliquant que sa

victoire avait été un cas purement fortuit, et montre de quelle manière réfléchie les marxistes vietnamiens avaient organisé la résistance patriotique et avec quelle décision résolue et habileté tactique ils ont assuré la saisie du pouvoir et la déclaration de l'indépendance. L'auteur souligne que le soulèvement général de tout le peuple qui permit de mener la révolution d'Août victorieusement jusqu'au bout, avait évolué à partir de circonstances extrèmement compliquées et enrichit l'histoire vietnamienne d'expériences d'une valeur particulière, qui feront l'objet d'études et d'évaluations ultérieures. Quant à l'explication propre de ce phénomène, il en traite de manière à clarifier, partant d'un matériel concret, le programme des communistes et les méthodes d'agitation marxistes-léninistes au Vietnam.

La seconde étude traite de la résistance vietnamienne contre les tentatives françaises de rétablir une Indochine coloniale et fait cas tant des traditions militaires et morales, que de l'apprentissage ressortant des erreurs et faiblesses qui se sont manifestées d'une manière si frappante, par exemple, dans la lutte éthiopienne contre les agresseurs fascistes.

Les rapports entre le marxisme et la culture vietnamienne font l'objet de la troisième étude qui formule la position marxiste-léniniste envers les questions de la culture nationale et de ses traditions progressives, mais y sont comprises aussi bon nombre de données concrètes sur les relations des artistes et hommes de science envers les questions vitales du peuple, de la politique et de la lutte pour l'indépendance.

L'étude Sur la Révolution au Vietnam comprenant 190 pages, revêt un caractère d'analyse théorique et politique du processus qui transformait la société vietnamienne au cours de la lutte contre l'impérialisme et amena cette nation aux premiers rangs du mouvement révolutionnaire global. L'auteur montre en termes persuasifs comment, en dépit des conditions difficiles de la lutte, la révolution vietnamienne s'en tint strictement aux principes de l'internationalisme prolétarien dans sa politique intérieure et étrangère, étant consciente tout au long de son rôle international.

Les deux études suivantes s'occupent de problèmes concrets de la politique du front national uni, comme appliquée par les communistes vietnamiens, et de la réforme agraire qui était une question économique et politique décisive dans la lutte contre le colonialisme français.

La septième étude intitulée Sur la voie tracée par Karl Marx était écrite à l'occasion du 150e anniversaire de la naissance du fondateur de marxisme. Sur plus de 130 pages l'auteur montre comment les communistes vietnamiens appliquaient d'une manière créative l'enseignement du marxisme-léninisme aux conditions de leur pays et quels buts ils se sont tracés. Il en découle du texte, qu'ils abordaient toujours les questions théoriques de la révolution dans une liaison étroite avec la situation concrète, ayant en vue les tâches pressantes et les besoins de la lutte antiimpérialiste.

Dans la partie liminaire de l'étude Pour le centenaire de Lénine l'auteur évalue la signification de la personnalité de Lénine et met l'accent sur le problème de l'acceptation et de la réalisation de ses idées au Vietnam. Il souligne que les communistes vietnamiens faisaient preuve d'un esprit révolutionnaire, d'invention et de fidélité au marxisme-léninisme.

Dans les trois dernières études l'auteur éclaircit la politique du Front de la Patrie du Vietnam au début des années 70, évalue le rôle patriotique et révolutionnaire du premier président Ho Chi Minh et esquisse les tâches politiques de base après l'unification victorieuse finale du pays. Il exprime l'opinion que deux révolutions ont eu lieu au Vietnam: la révolution nationale démocratique populaire et la révolution socialiste, la seconde étant directement liée à la première en sautant l'étape de développement capitaliste.

Ce recueil d'études par Truong-Chinh est pour l'historien et le lecteur aux intérêts politiques une source précieuse d'informations concrètes sur le cours et le caractère de la révolution vietnamienne. Il exprime le point de vue vietnamien authentique sur les questions diverses de la politique internationale et rapporte des expériences, vérifiées par une participation personnelle, à partir de la pratique politique et d'une élaboration créative des sources idéologiques du parti communiste vietnamien.

*Ivan Doležal*


Phong Le—Vu Tuan Anh—Tat Thang—Van Thanh—Thach Phuong: *Van Hoc Viet Nam chong My cuu nuoc* (La littérature vietnamienne anti-Américaine et pour la défense de la patrie). Ha Noi, Nha xuat ban Khoa hoc xa hoi (Éditions des sciences sociales) 1979. 467 p.

Cette publication compréhensive rédigée par les membres de l'Institut littéraire à Hanoï sous la supervision du directeur de l'Institut Hoang Trung Thong, couvre la période de 1964 à 1975 dans le développement de la littérature vietnamienne. Incontestablement, elle constitue une contribution précieuse à une Compréhension plus juste du développement de la société vietnamienne contemporaine. Il s'agit d'un travail d'équipe de grande envergure, portant su la production littéraire de la période en question dans la partie du nord et du sud de Vietnam. C'est une vue en coupe du développement de la littérature révolutionnaire vietnamienne idéologiquement orientée vers la lutte contre l'agression impérialiste et la défense de l'indépendance et la liberté.

Organiquement, le travail est divisé en cinq parties (Prose, Poésie, Œuvres dramatiques, Littérature pour enfants et Littérature progressive patriotique dans les

villes du Vietnam du sud). Un supplément synoptique y est attaché donnat les dates importantes dans la vie culturelle vietnamienne et les activités des écrivains et des autres artistes.

Le premier trait frappant de cette littérature est une expression générale du pathos révolutionnaire et du patriotisme. Ce trait se manifeste d'une manière très saillante dans tous les types et genres de la littérature. Un deuxième signe caractéristique est un effort à contribuer à une création de nouvelles formes, plus parfaites, dans la production artistique et dans la vie sociale. La littérature vietnamienne contemporaine dévoile la signification historique de la lutte de la libération nationale comme étant un facteur important dans l'enrichissement des valeurs nationales culturelles. L'origine même de la nouvelle société vietnamienne et sa formation dans les conditions du socialisme et de la lutte pour l'indépendance trouvent leur réflexion dans les meuilleures œuvres de la littérature vietnamienne. Sous divers aspects, ces œuvres découvrent l'évolution qualitative de l'activité spirituelle et morale du niveau de l'individu. Ceci se manifest dans l'accent mis sur le rôle et la signification du sujet créatif, d'un côté, et la croissance d'une conscience collective, de l'autre. Dans la plupart des travaux, on trouve des efforts vers des approches innovatives et une nouvelle conception de la personnalité sous l'aspect des processus complexes du travail et de la lutte. De ce fait, cette littérature donne preuve de hauts principes d'un humanisme socialiste conditionné historiquement. Ce travail documente le rôle avant-garde de la méthode du réalisme socialiste dans le processus littéraire vietnamien contemporain sur des faits authentiques.

Tous les genres étudiés font preuve d'une viabilité, d'une mission créative et unifiante de la littérature vietnamienne de cette période. L'accroissement qualitatif d'une assimilation esthétique de la réalité et, par un processus rétroactif, un enrichissement de la littérature artistique — c'est la résultante valeur spirituelle acquise par l'emploi de nouveaux moyens idéologiques-artistiques. Le sens profond de cette littérature du Vietnam réside en ce qu'elle s'appuie sur le potentiel spirituel entier de la nation vietnamienne. Il agit comme une force, certes non négligible, dans la formation de l'homme de la nouvelle société, il a crée un système de nouvelles valeurs spirituelles et culturelles qui, à leur tour, agissent telles des poussées motrices sur l'activité créatrice de l'homme. Les efforts vers une compréhension intégrale de la révolution nationale-libératrice et le patriotisme et en même temps une conscience profonde des principes de l'historicisme — ce sont les éléments de base de cette production littéraire.

On peut constater qu'en comparaison avec les années cinquante, c'est un approfondissement du sens philosophique de la part de l'écrivain, du poète ou de l'auteur dramatique, qui revient au premier plan dans les œuvres de la période 1964—1975. Les auteurs s'efforcent en une plus grande mesure de montrer la diversité, la complexité et la contradiction dans la vie et dans l'homme, lors même que parfois ils parviennent à une exposition outrée du maximalisme dit éthique. Pour

la plupart, les écrivains sont conscients du potentiel de l'homme et chacun d'eux en traîte d'une manière originale, avec un degré différent de sa force artistique. Cela se manifeste le plus évidemment dans la poésie vietnamienne contemporaine où l'on voit les plus grands contrastes (au sense positif du terme) du talent artistique.

Les auteurs de cette publication donne une évaluation sobre des résultats du processus littéraire et laissent à entendre qu'à maints points de vue la production littéraire contemporaine est encore assez éloignée de l'idéal. Il existe encore plusieurs dilemmes de nature artistique (par exemple la symbolique réaliste, l'aphorisme et la polysémie du mot, la nature fragmentaire de la composition et autres). Cependant, malgré ces imperfections, la nature des nouvelles solutions esthétiques, dialectiquement unie à la tradition dans les œuvres des écrivains vietnamiens de la période 1964—1975, a enrichi la méthode créative de la littérature vietnamienne et de ce fait représente aussi une contribution réelle à la culture socialiste contemporaine.

*Ján Múčka*

Rosenberg, Klaus: *Nation und Fortschritt. Der Publizist Thien Wan und die Modernisierung Thailands unter König Calǎlongkǫn (1868—1910)*. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG), Band 78. Hamburg 1980. 146 pp.

Both the title and the text of the study imply that the author does not confine himself to the biography of the Thai publicist Thien Wan, but endeavours to encompass the broad spectrum of issues that made up and accompanied the process of Thailand's modernization towards the end of the last and the beginning of the present century. He sees Thien Wan as being inseparably bound with this social movement, considers him to be a typical intellectual and a man who was not merely a product of the modernizing process, but one who influenced it actively, principally through his journalist activity.

In Rosenberg's view, the period of reforms of the Thai king Culǎlongkǫn may be compared with emperor Meiji's era during which the ways to a modernization of Japan began to be opened. The author assesses also the Thai ruler's personal share in the carrying out of the political changes and observes that although the king had no high regards for Thien Wan, he nevertheless recognized the need of certain social reforms. Rosenberg, however, does not consider the monarch as the creative character in the reform movement, but Thien Wan who declined the offer of an official post in the civil service in order to preserve his independence and as a journalist and publicist, be able the more effectively to influence the contemporary development of the Thai society.

The author processes his theme not only from the political, but also the social aspects and in his work, based on a solid knowledge of Thai materials, follows up consistently the theoretical questions relating to the origin of modern concepts, and particularly nationalism in Thailand. He sees its sources to reside in the threat which European imperialism represented to Asian countries and to which the nations of this continent reacted by creating or reinforcing their national identity. In the introductory remarks of his work he points to similar elements in reformational ideas and designs of Vietnamese, Japanese, Chinese and Thai political thinkers and publicists. He does not look for a direct mutual relationship among them, but places them in the same plane as the result of similar factors in social and foreign policies.

The first chapter gives an outline of Culǎlongkǫn's epoch, devoting special attention to the structure of the society and to foreign-political, economic and social motives that in their consequences undermined the traditional feudalism and conservative isolationism and opened a way for modernizing and reforming ideas to enter Thailand.

The second chapter, of 20 pages, gives in detail Thien Wan's biography, based on his autobiographical writings and further materials. The author underlines that Thien Wan, although counting a distant ancestor from the lower nobility in his genealogical tree, himself belonged among simple, nonprivileged citizens of the Thai State and from this personal position attempted, as one of the first or the very first agents to express the concept of political rights of the Thai people. On the other hand, he remained loyal to the monarchy. The author elucidates on further examples also the conditions and the confines within which moved the political, ideological and life course of Thai publicist. This part presents a great quantity of data that create a plastic image of the beginnings of modern Thai journalism, but also of the overall inner-political situation in the country.

In Chapters 3 and 4, the author makes an analysis of Thien Wan's general concepts on modernization of Thailand, as also of his suggestions and stimuli destined to the Thai rulers and the public. Rosenberg consistently confronts his views on politics, society and religion with those of international authors of theoretical works on social development and nationalism. He assesses Thien Wan's nationalism as an ideology of those of a dominated class, not tainted with chauvinism or xenophobia, and meant to serve his general ideas about the progress of the Thai society. The author devotes attention principally to Thien Wan's reflections on the ways of reviving the moral and ideological sources of the State, on possibilities of reforming the political system, on the role of the king and the Buddhist religion.

Two closing sections of the study present a summary characteristic of Thien Wan's nationalism and an overall socio-political appraisal of his personality and his role as a non-revolutionary critic and propagator of reforms, who endeavoured to contribute to the solution of cardinal problems of modern Thailand.

*Ivan Doležal*

217

Rosenberg, Klaus: *Die Geschichte der Kākī. Ein Jātaka-Stoff und seine literarische Bearbeitung in Thailand und Kambodscha.* Hamburg 1980. 109 S.

Die Zivilisation, Kultur und Kunst der Thei und der Khmer sind fest mit der Religion, und zwar mit dem Buddhismus (vor allem dem Hinayana) und Brahmanismus (in beiden Formen: dem Schiwaismus sowie dem Wischnuismus) verknüpft, wobei sich diese Religionslehren zum Unterschied von Indien in Südostasien oft in einer spezifischen, synkretistischen Form äußerten. Ähnlich wie in den übrigen Arten der thailändischen und kambodschanischen Kunst, finden wir auch in der Literatur Inspirationen aus Buddhas vorangehenden Lebensformen, die nicht auf Zufälligkeit gegründet, sondern dem Gesetz der Karma unterworfen sind, das die Idee der Bedingtheit auf die Sphäre der Moral appliziert.

Die Gegebenheiten der vorangehenden Existenzen Buddhas — Jātaka — in denen der künftige Buddha eine Reihe von Wiedergeburten (zuerst als Tier, später als Mensch) durchging, wurden zu einer der ausgiebigsten Quellen der Inspiration für die Künstler Indiens, sowie der induisierten Länder des Ostens. Am interessantesten schien für die Künstler gerade jener rationale Bestandteil dieser Begebenheiten, und der buddhistischen Lehre schlechthin zu sein, der darin bestand, daß das Glück oder das Unglück einer jeden Existenz nicht das Ergebnis eines unbegreifbaren Eingriffes der Gottheit, sondern die Folge ihrer eigenen Taten und Handlungen ist. Die eigentlichen Begebenheiten sind verhältnismäßig naiv, aber rührend, voll von Zärtlichkeit, Liebe zur Natur, Mitleid mit anderen Geschöpfen, sowie anderer Verdienste, dank derer Buddha das Nirwana und seine völlige Befreiung erreichen konnte. Die populärste darunter ist die Vessantara-Legende: im Bilde des barmherzigen Prinzen verteilt Buddha seinen ganzen Reichtum — er verschenkt den weissen Elefanten — den Beschützer des Königreichs, die Sklaven, die Pferde und er selbst spannt sich vor den Wagen, in dem seine Familie sitzt; bis es bei seiner Großzügigkeit und Selbstaufopferung so weit kommt, daß er seinen Sohn, seine Tochter und Frau aufgibt.

K. Rosenberg befaßt sich in seiner rezensierten Publikation mit diesen Quellen der thailändischen und kambodschanischen Kākī-Dichtung. Er führt als eine Besonderheit der traditionellen thailändischen Dichtung deren Epenhaftigkeit an, die ein so hohes Maß erreicht, daß sich in den metrisch starren Formen bereits eine abgeschlossene erzählerische Gattung äußert. Es ist eine Tatsache, daß in der thailändischen traditionellen Dichtung ein nicht ursprünglicher Stoff vorherrscht, der Grund dafür wird jedoch, wie der Autor darauf hinweist, vor allem in der allgemeinen Denkart und in den Vorstellungen, so wie sich diese im Rahmen der „traditionellen" Gesellschaft des alten Thailands herausgebildet hatten, zu suchen sein.

Der Buddhismus wirkte in Thailand als autoritative Weltanschauung fast in allen Bereichen der geistigen Tätigkeit und dessen gesellschaftlich-kulturelle Seite kam

dem heimischen Milieu gerade mittels des erzählerischen Genres der traditionellen Begebenheiten, Sagen und Legenden näher.

Im ersten Teil der rezensierten Arbeit wendet sich die Forschung des Autors der Entstehung und der Bedeutung der thailändischen Dichtung — konkret dem Werk Kākī klon suphāp zu, das um die Wende des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts entstanden war. Inhaltsmäßig geht es aus dem, dem buddhistischen Pali-Kanon entnommenen Jātaka-Stoff hervor, der Erzählung über eine der vorangehenden Existenzen Buddhas. Treffend charakterisiert der Autor jene Seiten, in denen dieses Werk seine Vorlage übertraf und weist auf die dichterischen Intentionen hin, die darin zum Ausdruck kamen. Er befaßt sich auch mit der Beziehung des Kākī klon suphāp zu einer weiteren Kākī-Version, die lediglich in Bruchteilen erhalten blieb und die in der chan-Metrik (Kākī kham chan) verfaßt wurde.

Im zweiten Teil seiner Arbeit konzentriert sich K. Rosenberg auf die Erforschung der kambodschanischen Kākī-Dichtung (Rioeṅ Kākī), deren Autor der kambodschanische König Ang Duong (Hariraks-Rāma, 1796—1860) war, und die in Anlehnung an eine thailändische Vorlage verfaßt wurde. In den leztzen Versen seines Werkes schrieb Ang Duong, wie K. Rosenberg anführt, selbst darüber: ,,Die Geschichte der Dame Kākī, in Versform aus der siamesischen Sprache in die kambodschanische übertragen, ist hiermit beendet" (S. 62). K. Rosenberg widmet sich der Analyse geschichtlicher Gegebenheiten und Zusammenhänge der Entstehung der Kākī-Dichtung (vornehmlich von dem Gesichtspunkt der Beziehung Kambodschas zu Thailand und Vietnam zu jener Zeit), untersucht eingehend die Frage der ,,Übertragung", bzw. der ,,Adaption" der thailändischen Vorlage und studiert die Problematik des Inhalts der Aussage, sowie den Wert der erzählerischen Form des angeführten Werkes.

Außer der zahlreichen Hinweise auf Literatur nebst wertvoller Anmerkungen ist das Buch durch die Übersetzung der in allen drei erwähnten Fassungen — Kākī klon suphāp, Kākī kham chan und Rioeṅ Kākī — übernommenen Episode Kākī passend ergänzt.

*Ján Múčka*

*Introduction to Contemporary Japanese Literature. Synopses of Major Works 1956—1970.* Compiled by Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai. Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press 1972. iv+313 pp.

This volume, the third in a series devoted to contemporary Japanese literature, contains data selected by Fukuda Tsuneari, Miyoshi Yukio, Muramatsu Sadataka, Nakamura Mitsuo, Okuno Takeo, Senuma Shigeki, Tanaka Chikao, Tanaka Yasu-

taka, and Yamamoto Kenkichi. While the two preceding volumes dealt with the periods 1902—1935 and 1936—1955 respectively, the present volume covers the fifteen years from 1956 to 1970.

This introduction is not merely a list of synopses as indicated by the subtitle. Rather it is a survey of Japanese literature of the given period. It is opened by an extensive study of modern Japanese literature (pp. xv—Lv). Professor Okuno Takeo, one of leading Japanese critics, discusses in this study the so-called third new generation, the rise of really contemporaneous literature and the impact of mass media upon literary creation in post-war Japan. Japanese literature is characterized by Okuno as being no longer a special literature developing in isolation and imitating literature of advanced European and American nations. However, the language barrier is still a retarding factor in its world-wide appreciation. Despite the fact that after the Meiji revolution the imported Western models had played a tremendously important part, Japanese literature of the subsequent period has not entirely severed its links with the domestic traditions, and perhaps it is the union of these two streams that makes Japanese literature so attractive and interesting to non-Japanese readers.

The introductory study is followed by the alphabetically ordered entries of seventy-two authors whose works were published during 1956—1970. Of course, there are both writers who started to publish long before this period (e. g., Amino Kiku, Enji Fumiko, Funabashi Seiichi, Ito Hitoshi, Kawabata Yasunari, Muro Saisei, Nogami Yaeko, Ooka Shohei etc.) and those who did not enter the literary arena before 1956.

All entries follow a more or less uniform pattern. Personal data are followed by information on education, literary affiliation and literary creation of a particular author. The titles of literary works are given in Japanese and English and where necessary the compilers have added the synopses of selected works under a separate heading.

Scholars interested in Japanese studies (as well as students throughout the world) appreciate very much this valuable reference-book. There are some minor short-comings, one of them being incomplete biographical data in some instances.

Another useful feature of the publication is the Appendix (pp. 279—313) which lists all authors included in the volume plus their works arranged chronologically and furnished with adequate bibliographical data. Besides, all works for which an English translation is available, are asterisked.

Those who use this helpful handbook know how to appreciate it and hope that it will be followed by one devoted to Japanese literature of the subsequent period.

*Viktor Krupa*

*The Modern Japanese Prose Poem.* Translated and introduced by Dennis Keene. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1980. 188 pp.

Prose poem as a literary genre came into existence in the nineteenth century. Its homeland was France but it has spread abroad and gained a considerable popularity in Japan. Dennis Keene, Professor of English literature at Japan Women's University in Tokyo, has compiled an anthology of Japanese prose poems ("sanbunshi") and included works of six poets, i.e., Miyoshi Tatsuji, Anzai Fuyue (members of the New Prose Poem Movement of the late twenties) and Tamura Ryuichi, Yoshioka Minoru, Tanikawa Shuntaro, and Inoue Yasushi (post-war modernists of the fifties).

In the introduction (pp. 3—56), Dennis Keene surveys the history of prose poem in Japan. Although the prose of Sei Shonagon or Matsuo Basho might be regarded as poetic, Japanese prose poems of the twentieth century derive their existence from the French example. It would be no exaggeration to maintain that modern Japanese poetry as a whole cannot be properly understood without French poetry of the nineteenth century. In the first decades of the Meiji era, many Japanese writers felt a dissatisfaction with their own poetic traditions and decided to look for something new. As Dennis Keene puts it, "the new prose poem was written in reaction against naturalist description, and also against the idea of the poet's singing spontaneously" (p. 14). This means that the constructivist, technical aspect of poetic creativity came into the foreground in this modernist movement.

The extensive introductory study is followed by selected poems of Miyoshi Tatsuji, Anzai Fuyue and all the other poets listed above. The poems are published in English translation.

The readers of this book will also find some useful biographical information about the authors (pp. 169—181), as well as bibliographical data pertaining to the prose poems included in this anthology.

Students of Japanese literature as well as other readers will certainly appreciate that Dennis Keene has undertaken this effort to introduce such a little known part of Japanese literature to the non-Japanese public.

*Viktor Krupa*


*Korean Studies.* Volume 3, 1979. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1980. 147 pp.

In 1977, the Center for Korean Studies at the University of Hawaii (established in 1972) began to issue an annual series of *Korean Studies.* The present annual is Volume 3, the previous two having been reviewed in *Asian and African Studies, XVI.*

Volume 3 is divided into three parts, namely Articles, Research Notes and Book Reviews.

As regards articles, three of them deal with history and two with sociology.

*An Interpretation of the King Kwanggaet'o Inscription* (pp. 1—17) by Takashi Hatada and translated by V. Dixon Morris, discusses the inscription on the memorial stele erected two years after the death of the nineteenth monarch of the kingdom of Koguryŏ who reigned from A. D. 391 to 412. (The stele's location is in the present People's Republic of China, outside the capital of Chian District, T'unghua Special Area, Chilin Province.) Edward J. Shultz, the author of *Military Revolt in Koryŏ: The 1170 Coup d'État* (pp. 19—48) examines the special situation and circumstances which led to the coup d'état and eventually caused the replacement of civilian rule by military one; with the exception of one century, from 1170 to 1270, Korea was ruled by civilian leaders between the tenth and twentieth centuries. In *The Shifting Strategic Value of Korea, 1942—1950* (pp. 49—80), Masao Okonogi describes some phenomena connected with policy and strategy in the modern history of Korea; however, his outlook seems to be rather one-sided and pro-American.

Of great interest are two articles on Koreans living abroad, namely in Hawaii, USA and in Yenpien Korean Autonomous Region, People's Republic of China. Analysed problems are compared with two other East Asian nations some population of which emigrated to Hawaii (Chinese- and Japanese-Americans), as is the case of *Upward Social Mobility of the Koreans in Hawaii* (pp. 81—92) by Wayne Patterson, and with Korean minorities in Japan and, to a lesser extent, in the Soviet Union, in *The Effects of the Cultural Revolution on the Korean Minority in Yenpien* (pp. 93—124), by Setsure Tsurushima, respectively.

In the part Research Notes, there is one contribution titled *Notes and Questions Concerning the Samguk Sagi's Chronology of Paekche's Kings Chŏnji, Kuisin, and Piyu* (pp. 125—134) written by Jonathan Best. Comparing the *Samguk sagi's* chronology of the reigns of three early fifth-century kings of Paekche with the Chinese (*Sung shu*) and Japanse (*Nihon shoki*) sources, the author concludes that the dates in the Korean source should be revised. Classic East Asian poetry, Korean immigration and assimilation in North America, life and works of Kim Chi Ha and the history of Japanese-Korean relations are discussed in Book Reviews.

In the reviewed Volume 3, important topics from Korean early and modern history are dealt with, as well as sociological problems. They represent a solid contribution to our knowledge of things Korean.

*Jozef Genzor*

*Bambuk v snegu. Koreiskaya lirika VIII—XIX vekov* (Bamboo in the Snow. Korean Lyrics of the 8th—19th Cent.). Translated by Alexander Zhovtis. Moscow, Nauka 1978. 327 pp.

The rapidly progressing Korean studies in the USSR in the past few decades has achieved eminent successes not only as regards the history and theory of Korean literature, but likewise in popularizing outstanding works of classical and modern Korean literature through the intermediary of translations into Russian.

This comprehensive selection of Korean poetry is the collective work of a team of three prominent specialists — the Koreanist M. I. Nikitina of the Leningrad Division of the Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Koreanist L. R. Kontsevich of the Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow and the literary scholar and teacher in Slavistics A. Zhovtis from Alma-Ata. A. Zhovtis as a talented poet put the Korean verses into a poetic language according to the selection and literal translation of his two colleagues. The names of these three authors are not unknown in international Korean literature. Mention might be made at least of the remarkable work by M. I. Nikitina — A. F. Trotsevich *Ocherki istorii koreiskoi literatury do XIV. v.* (Outline of the History of Korean Literature until the 14th Cent.), Moscow 1969 and Nikitina's numerous scientific studies on the history and theory of Korean literature, particularly of the poetic forms *hyangga* and *sijo,* and her numerous translations, or Kontsevich's voluminous monograph *Hunmin chong'um*, Moscow 1979, his essay *Koreiskaya poetika* (Korean Poetics) in *Slovar literaturovedcheskikh terminov* (Dictionary of Literary Terms), Moscow 1974, beside his papers from the domain of the history of the language and literature and his artistic translations.

Similarly A. Zhovtis, although not a Koreanist, has many years of experience in rendering Korean poetry into Russian, particularly in cooperation with the Koreanist P. Pak Ir. Let us recall at random at least the poetic collections *Koreiskie shestistishiya* (Korean Six-verse Poems), Alma-Ata 1956, *Pyatitsvetnye oblaka* (Five-colour Clouds), Alma-Ata 1962, *Pesnya nad ozerom — lirika srednevekovoi Korei* (Song over the Lake — Lyrics of Mediaeval Korea), Moscow 1971 and numerous other translations of Korean, but also Chinese poetry published in various collections and almanacs.

Bamboo in the Snow is one of the most comprehensive and the most representative selections of Korean classical poetry that have appeared so far in the USSR. The poems assigned into four sections are given chronologically and according to forms. The whole anthology comprises some 360 poems written in Korean (verses written by Korean authors in *hanmun* — a Korean variant of classical Chinese — have not been included in the anthology). The reader will find here 6 poems of the *hyangga* form, 2 poems of *Koryo kayo*, over 230 *sijo* by 92 authors and some 50 *sijo* by anonymous authors, 56 poems in the *chang-sijo* form and 11 *kasa* and *chapka*. Thus,

this careful selection is fully representative as regards genres and authors, and also the thematic orientation so that it provides a succinct image of poetry written in Korean from the eighth to the nineteenth century.

In my view, A. Zhovtis has successfully coped with the problem of adequately expressing Korean verses in Russian, although the poetics of the two languages is totally different. Thus for instance, he suitably translated *sijo* in iambic pentameters that was often employed in Russian "philosophical lyrics" in the second half of the nineteenth century. His translations faithfully capture the quality of the original as regards the content, the emotional and the artistic aspect.

A valuable feature of the collection is also the Foreword by M. I. Nikitina (pp. 3—26) which presents the principal trends in Korean literature written in the native language together with a brief characteristic of the various forms, and the Notes (pp. 285—315). The fine impression from the book is still enhanced by the illustrations in black-and-white (original mediaeval Korean drawings).

The book will certainly be received with pleasure by Russian reading Koreanists and lovers of oriental poetry from the ranks of the general reading public.

*Vladimír Pucek*


Jones, John F. (Ed.): *Building China: Studies in Integrated Development.* Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980. 138 pp.

A team on the staff of the Chinese University of Hong Kong prepared and, with the support of an intergovernmental research and training institution — the Social Welfare and Development Centre for Asia and the Pacific — has edited a collection of studies on China's economic, social and political development over the past three decades.

The authors follow up some weighty issues in the Chinese development. The justness of the choice of the topics may be verified through a comparison with the collection Some Basic Facts About China published in Peking in 1974, compiled from materials that appeared in the monthly China Reconstructs and oriented to similar key problems of development as the work under review. The mode of processing, however, is essentially different in the two studies. While the Peking collection brings the official image of Chinese economy and inner politics at the beginning of the 70s, elaborated in the form of questions and answers for purposes of propaganda abroad the Hong Kong collection takes up the same and some further topics from a different unifying aspect. Its authors — Chinese living abroad and Europeans — are interested in the idea of an integrated development which they understand as an adoption of a unified approach to building society. They follow up

224

this question over a broad time lapse from the foundation of the People's Republic of China up to Mao Tse-tung's death and the overthrow of the "Gang of Four". The unexpected inner-political upheavals, the new situation in the PRC and the inner-party changes in the Chinese Communist Party provide an opportunity for reflections whether and in what measure the process of unification, which might be called integrated development, was pursued in Chinese society despite the above deep changes. The authors take as the starting point of their reflections the conviction that the effort to unify socio-economic planning must go forward.

The first chapter, whose co-author is the editor, presents a review of the most important political changes that have taken place in the PRC. It notes that in the first stage a comprehensive perspective had been worked out, but the voluntaristic policy of the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution" seriously disrupted central planning.

Industrialization of China forms the subject of the second chapter which compares the results achieved by the PRC with those of the preceding period under the Kuomintang régime since the year 1920, points out the rationalization of economic behaviour in people's China and deals also with negative factors. Table 1 which summarizes numerical data on the results of selected industrial products goes only up to the year 1975 and takes support uniquely in American sources. The evaluation of the successes of the first Chinese Five-Year Plan lacks all mention on the nature and value of Soviet economic aid.

The third chapter investigates the tasks — of crucial importance to China — of rural development. It is not confined to purely economic factors, but takes note also of the political priming of the country population, school and world outlook education in Maoist People's Communes.

The topic of rural communes in the domain of health services and questions of water conservation schemes in Southern China are treated of in Chapters 4 and 5. Here too, the authors do not stop at providing information on the results achieved, but rather present an example on which they show by what methods the people are organized and involved in various domains of social welfare and national economy under conditions of inadequate capital and modern installations.

The sixth chapter embraces the entire scale of Chinese economy during the period following the "Cultural Revolution" until Mao Tse-tung's death. The author terms this period one of consolidation and experimentation. However, the official political and economic information on this stage published now in the PRC fail to support its consolidating character.

The problem of bureaucracy has played since time out of mind no small role in the Chinese society. The author of the seventh chapter develops the concept that bureaucracy belongs among the most significant phenomena of the contemporary movement of "four modernizations". In contrast to the "Cultural Revolution" which fanatically attacked the official power establishment, the present leadership in China

reinforces the bureaucratic system, defends it and considers it to be indispensable, being a rational form of controlling society. Despite several reservations, the author considers it to be an acceptable way under the conditions of Chinese economic backwardness.

The last, the eighth chapter brings the editor's summary of all the studies from the aspect of an integrated development. The evaluative approaches of the different authors are not quite uniform, nevertheless, they may be said to have conformably stressed the developmental moments, pointed out certain negative aspects and outstanding problems, expressed doubt in one study on whether the present Chinese leadership, in its efforts at modernizing China,succeeds in overcoming the persisting contradictions in weighty issues relating to the building up of a socialist society, but did not utter criticism of Maoism as a political movement. However, the closing sentences note, on a general level, that the object of Chinese policy should not be only economic and political, but also social factors of an integrated development.

*Ivan Doležal*


Kam Louie: *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China.* Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980. 186 pp.

The significant and long-lasting role of Confucianism in the history of China has provided an opportunity to numerous authors to reflect on the value of traditions and their influence on contemporary development. The book under review does not set itself such an exacting aim and focuses attention on one single question: how the evaluation of Confucius has been changing during the course of the present century and particularly at the time of the People's Republic of China. Although this is but a partial problem within the framework of roughly 2500 years of the history of Confucianism, it has nonetheless come to be an object of widespread interest in China and abroad. This has very specific reasons.

In the past, Confucius's message came in for an evaluation and in more recent times also for an ideological-political criticism on the part of philosophers, historians, politicians, writers, lawyers and further experts. Despite this, Mao Tse-tung and his most devoted adherents arbitrarily made this issue a tool for a sharp inner-political struggle. Instead of a historically justified criticism of Confucian ideology, they launched against it, against its founder and true or suspected contemporary adherents, a mass compulsory, hysterical campaign in which not only intellectuals, but also soldiers, workers and farmers had to join. The cloak of an ideological struggle was made to conceal a ruthless rivalry among groups within the Maoist system. This was the most boisterous, but the least serious stage of the

Chinese society getting even with Confucianism. Foreign observers considered it as proof of deep-seated contradictions.

In the Introduction, Louie Kam remarks that his design is not an attempt to prove or disprove the validity of arguments that have been used in judging Confucius. This is rather a pity, for he is well acquainted with the issue — he studied this topic in Hong Kong, spent two years in the PRC towards the end of the seventies and has collected abundant literary references for his theme. He is thus in a position competently and authoritatively to express his view on all the stages of the critique of Confucius and also on the level it reached when controlled by Mao Tse-tung and his group. The author set himself a more modest goal: he endeavours to record all the major expressions and forms of this assessment of Confucius and assign them into their historical context. But in this form, too, the work will prove useful not only to the professional, but also to every one interested in modern China. It is systematically arranged into 7 chapters and provides matter-of-fact, reliable information on all the important polemics around Confucius' legacy and on its evaluations, particularly during the second half of the twentieth century. With the exception of the first chapter, the entire book is devoted to the period following the foundation of the PRC when the need of a critical overcoming of the old ideology revealed itself in all its urgency, together with a possibility of misusing this situation for other and lower ends.

The study is not confined to a review of changes of views and conflicts about Confucianism, but provides also brief information on some personalities and journals that were actively or passively involved in them. Because of the enormous flood of positively or negatively committed writings that appeared in China about Confucianism, to facilitate reader orientation, the author has divided his explications in the various chronologically consecutive chapters to encompass the three important topics of class, ethics and education. He has captured the general tendency of a gradual deviation in China from Confucius, until his official rejection in the seventies. But he does not bypass the opposite trends that came up in his defence, or at least tried factually to differentiate the various elements of his teaching. In this connection he mentions conferences in the sixties at which a positive assessment of Confucius still prevailed. It was only in the next decade that the critique of Confucius, steadily stepped up by Maoists, acquired its embittered categorical character, which the author takes as indirect proof that a strong influence of Confucian ideology and ethics still prevailed among the masses. In conclusion, he expresses his conviction that Confucius is likely to remain a controversial issue also in future.

*Ivan Doležal*

227

Gálik, Marián: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917—1930).* London, Curzon Press; Bratislava, VEDA 1980. 349 pp.


After the year 1945, but particularly during the past two decades, we witness efforts in Slovak literary scholarship at a differentiation of the research programme. Tfhis process is evident on a double plane, i. e. that of a deepening and an enrichment of the traditional, conventionally employed procedures, and that of an endeavour at an incessant inventiveness in the application of new methods of research. The literary phenomenon is being understood from a polyfunctional and polydimensional aspect and the literary scholarship strives to encompass this multi-stratification.

The above division proceeds not solely on the plane of a penetration into the essence of literary phenomena, but also shows new qualitative dimensions, whose natural consequence are new domains in the research programme. Thus for instance, alongside an intensification of Slavic studies following World War II, a study of Soviet literature and of socialist literatures has acquired a new quality and a wider scope. During this time Hungarian, German, English and American, French and Spanish, Latin-American literatures, etc. have come into the visual angle of a relatively deep literary study which is undoubtedly related to a programmed acquaintance with the progress of European and world literary development. Within this framework, also Slovak Oriental studies came to be constituted. It ceased to be a field of research encompassing within one domain the general history, linguistics, literature and culture, but developed more and more in a specialized manner. And thus, we have at present literary vietnamistics, turcology, and particularly sinology being represented also by Marián Gálik's book under review.

Marián Gálik from the beginnings of his scholarly career in the early sixties devoted himself to literature, dealing with the literary criticism at the turn of this century at first, and then proceeding in the study of the rise and development of modern Chinese literary criticism after 1917, modern Chinese creative literature, traditional Chinese literature, Sino-Western literary comparative studies and intellectual history. He has published in Czechoslovak and foreign journals or collections a long series of studies concerned with the works of foremost figures of Chinese creative and critical literary life. They include the analyses of theoretical issues on the relationship between social and literary contexts in the works of Mao Tun, Ts'oa Yü and Shih Chih-ts'un, of the poetic works by Feng Nai-ch'ao and Ho Ch'i-fang in relation with European symbolism, of the dramatic work by Hung Shen in relation to that of E. O'Neill. Gálik wrote about the reception and impact of German literature in China: namely of the works of F. Nietzsche, A. Schopenhauer, J. W. Goethe and German critical expressionism. This series includes also one of his early studies on the reception of Slovak and Czech literature in China in the years 1919—1959. Here the author attempted a detailed processing of an abundant and unknown material of

Czechoslovak-Chinese literary relations, which was in fact a bold, but simultaneously also a stimulating enterprise at carrying out a study of national-literary and historical entities far removed both typologically and territorially. In addition, he also wrote on the impact of Zola's ideas on the Chinese theory of naturalism, on the impact of the Japanese political novel on premodern Chinese literary criticism and on the philosophical reception of the works of B. Spinoza in China. These, together with Gálik's further and not mentioned studies, and his monograph on the literary and critical works of Mao Tun published in 1969, represent a solid research background for the writing of the present book on modern Chinese literary criticism.

The monograph *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism* is made up of a set of twelve chapters dealing with the outstanding representatives of Chinese literary and cultural life, constituting in their whole a uniformly conceived study. The ferment unifying the formally separated monograph chapters, is the aim to show the conditions and sources for the rise and development of modern Chinese literary criticism roughly during the course of two decades (precisely from 1908—1930) taking into account the inner conditionedness of this process by circumstances of the indigenous literary tradition and interliterary aspects. Since this is a pioneering work, it was impossible to leave out a quantity of concrete material observations indispensable in a portrait-like study of the various authors. The occasionally subsidiary material on the surface, does not essentially hinder, rather the contrary, permits the reader to follow more vividly the various stages in the development of modern Chinese literary criticism being shaped *inter alia* by the domestic Confucian and Taoist tradition, by the critical reception of Kantian and post-Kantian aesthetics, by many critics and theoreticians including J. M. Guyau, A. France, W. Pater, O. Wilde, Kuriyagawa Hakuson, and also by socially concerned and Marxist aesthetics and criticism represented by V. I. Lenin, G. V. Plekhanov and A. V. Lunacharsky.

The author concretizes the topical and historically conditioned sequentiality of the material's interpretation by explaining the origin and contemporary comprehension of such concepts as is, for instance, that of a genius, self-expression, revolution, total criticism, human nature, etc. As Gálik reckons with a relatively well-defined circle of readers, he devotes considerable attention to e. g. the problem of genius in artistic production. The aim of his observation is to point out the original proto-model of this concept, anchored in old Chinese cultural and philosophico-aesthetic tradition and also its gradual modifications under modern conditions of the literary and historical development. The specificity of this aesthetic category in modern Chinese literary criticism and aesthetics helps the reader more vividly to understand its uniqueness in comparison with that of Europe. The forms of its gradual transformation and its ultimate disappearance are connected also with the direct relations with later European aesthetics and especially with Marxist literary criticism and theory. The author rises up similar problems also in expounding further specific concepts, such as the problem of self-expression inwardly related to that of genius, to the explication of

human nature, etc. In this connection it is worth to point out the interesting modification of the concept of revolution in the social life and literature which in the original Chinese interpretation signified a stimulator of a gradual evolutional process. As a result of the impact especially of Marxist explanation of this term on the Chinese soil, it underwent various modifications, ultimately ending in its modern interpretation as a great developmental magnitude. A priority of Gálik's analysis lies in the mutual conditionedness of the categories: genius — self-expression, or Mandate of Heaven (*ko-ming*) — revolution.

Another important feature of Gálik's book is a consistent comparative aspect applied throughout the whole work which gives meaning to the research programme. The author was not primarily concerned with the informative function of the monograph. His main aim was not to study the material little known outside China, but to correlate it with European tradition beginning with Aristotle's *Poetics*, through classicist criticism of Samuel Johnson, aesthetic criticism of Immanuel Kant and ending in modern European, American and Japanese criticism. A special place is devoted to a study of relations with Soviet literary scholarship and Marxism in general, and this particularly in the second part of the book, more explicitly from the fifth chapter. This is an evident contribution to sinological research.

An indisputable problem of comparative efforts in Slovakia is the study of the relations and affinities of Slovak literature to geographically remote — and thereby also typologically different literatures, such as Oriental, but also Latin-American, etc. These problems come insistently to the foreground also in view, e. g. of the growing inevitability to get even with the inner correlation of European socialist literature with that of Cuba or Vietnam. This constitutes a *conditio sine qua non* particularly when we endeavour to explain the socialist literature as a unity. As a matter of fact, there is danger here of an all-comprehensive typology without bounds, of a mechanical parallelism and thereby of a small productivity of literary and historical generalizations. A certain possibility of solution of this methodological issue appears by way of *tertium comparationis*, hence, through an intermediary of relations to Slovak literature. In relation to Chinese literature, but also in other literatures, such intermediaries may be outstanding figures of European literature to whom Oriental literatures had concrete external or internal contacts. In the case of modern Chinese literary criticism, and this particularly in the study of its Marxist stage, a special functional intermediary is Russian and Soviet literature and literary scholarship here direct contacts used to take place. Slovakist actualization has here an opportunity to apply aspect of a typological analogousness within the framework of the European evolutional type and thereby indirectly to point to mutual affinities or differences in the various stages of development. This is the only way that will permit ultimately to see the world evolutional process in unity and in a mutual conditionedness. The elaboration of interliterary syntheses will not do without it. At the same time, this is an opportunity of overcoming the isolationist positions held so

far by our Oriental studies in relation to Slovak literary scholarship and to its research aims, and the overall usage.

Marián Gálik's work brings along numerous new stimuli. It is a pioneering work as regards scholarship and methodology, and represents a sensible enrichment of Czechoslovak and international sinological studies.

It is simultaneously a meritorious attempt at a Marxist processing of modern Chinese literary criticism since its prehistory up to founding of the Left League in March 1930 that united the most important Chinese writers on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and helped to create Chinese proletarian and revolutionary literature. It is also politically actual, for in contemporary China, the majority of the aspects of the period analysed in the book are passed over in silence.

*Dionýz Ďurišin*


Lévy, André: *Inventaire analytique et critique du conte chinois en langue vulgaire* (Analytical and Critical Inventory of the Chinese Short Story in Vernacular). 2 Vols. Paris, Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, n. d. 812 pp.

André Lévy, Professor of sinology at the University of Bordeaux, is to a large extent the author and editor of this comprehensive publication that will certainly delight all those interested in Chinese mediaeval literature of the *hua-pen* genre. The two volumes process six collections of Chinese *hua-pen*: *Ku-chin hsiao-shuo, Yü-shih ming-yen, Ch'ing-p'ing shan-t'ang hua-pen* and *Hsiung Lung-feng hsiao-shuo* (the first volume) and *Chin-shih t'ung-yen* and *Hsing-shih heng-yen* (the second volume). The reader and user might be somewhat surprised at such a division, for instance, the collection *Yü-shih ming-yen* would rather fit in better with the second volume for, like the two collections from this volume, it, too, had been edited and published by Feng Meng-lung (1574—ca 1646). But this certainly has its reasons, if no other, then at least of a uniform size of the two volumes.

A rather numerous team of authors around Mr. Lévy, a very assiduous and well-read scholar of Chinese literature in the genre of the short story, undertook to study also the remaining collections of the *hua-pen* and to submit the results of their work to readers in further four volumes. The third volume will bring an analytical and critical research-guide to the two collections by Ling Meng-ch'u (1580—1644) called *Ch'u-k'o po-an ching-ch'i* and *Erh-k'o po-an ching-ch'i*. Plans seem to be afoot also for a fourth and fifth volume which would process *Shih tien-t'ou, Huan-hsi yüan-chia, Hsi-hu erh chi, Ch'ing yeh chung, I p'ien ch'ing, Tou-p'eng hsien-hua, Feng-liu wu, Wu-sheng hsi, Hsi-hu chia-hua* and *Tsui-hsing shih*. The last sixth volume is to comprise the bibliography, glossary and indexes.

All the analytical and critical notes adhere to a strict pattern that might be characterized as follows: a concise fabula is given of each story, followed by a more or less detailed exposition of the *syuzhet* (plot). Then an abbreviated title or theme (*titre-memento*) is again given, the approximate number of Chinese characters making up the story or its various parts, eventually other notes to the text proper. In addition, a delineation is made of the social milieu of the various characters, genological type of the story (e.g. *ts'ai-tzu wa-jen*), or its thematic circuit is simply indicated. Then follow data about the period in which the story took place (insofar as these are known), direct or indirect sources of the analysed text, questions of impact and response (as far as this is relevant to the story), translations into the European languages and into Japanese, and bibliographic references to scholarly works dealing with the analysed text with brief notes from quoted authorities.

To make the above stereotype more delineative, I take leave to mention just one example that seems to be pertinent to the case in point. During my student times in the first half of the fifties, a favourite story with my colleagues was *K'an p'i-hsüeh tan cheng Erh-lang shen* (Only a Leather Slipper Proved the Case Against the God Erh-lang). In particular the words "han sheng ts'ui pei" (the chill was born in the bluish-green blankets) were ticklish to some girls and drove them to make certain remarks. If the reader interested in *hua-pen* takes note of this story, he will learn from P. E. Will's exposition that the episode refers to Madame Han who rightly felt to be neglected in the emperor's harem. She fell ill of unattainable love. The emperor had her sent back to the official who had recommended her as a concubine. During her convalescence she met the "god". The latter visited her regularly at night, compensating her abundantly for the neglect on the part of her imperial "husband". On one visit he was clumsy enough to lose a leather slipper and through this damning evidence a shrewd detective succeeded in running down the philanderer and identifying him. He was put to death by slow slicing (*ling ch'ih*). Imperial concubine could not go back to the harem anymore and an order was issued that she be married to an "honourable man" (*liang min*). She became the wife of a rich merchant in the capital. In addition we learn that this story comprises some 11,800 characters, that it is partly a love story (*ch'uan-ch'i*) and partly detective story (*kung-an*). The plot took place in 1122 and it has been translated into Czech, German and Dutch.

Two volumes of the book under review might have been even better and more complete had the authors taken note of the results embodied in the work by A. N. Zhelokhovtsev: *Khuaben — gorodskaya povest srednevekovogo Kitaya* (Hua-pen — Urban Stories of Mediaeval China), Moscow, Nauka 1969, and of studies by further Soviet authors. Also the translation of *hua-pen* into Russian have remained unnoticed.

*Marián Gálik*

*Literature of the People's Republic of China.* Edited by Kai-yu Hsu. Bloomington —London, Indiana University Press 1980. xiv + 976 pp.

Right at the start this reviewer feels the need to express a high appreciation and recognition to the editor and his staff for this book which presents an overview of Chinese literature of the years 1949—1978 with a few instance from the period 1942 up. It is the most comprehensive cross-section to date of Chinese literature of the most recent period, the literary works of which have been published in English translations mainly by and according to the selection of the Peking Foreign Language Press, and until recently quite exceptionally outside China.

The translations of over two hundred stories, poems, comic dialogues, essays, excerpts from novels, plays, opera and movies scripts by 122 authors provide a fine illustration to the hopefully growing number of books, processing from diverse aspects problems of literature in the People's Republic of China (the majority of them have been reviewed or referred to in past issues of our Asian and African Studies).

When selecting works for this voluminous anthology, the editor and his associates left out those already translated in previous publications (*Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry* and *The Chinese Literary Scene* by Kai-yu Hsu, *Revolutionary Literature in China* by John Berninghausen and Ted Huters) and by authors whose works had been translated in Chinese Literature in Translation Series (Ch'ien Chung-shu, Hsiao Hung, Ts'ao Yü) in which appeared also the book under review.

The scope of any single book, even though counting some one thousand pages and endeavouring to present a truly broad view of the whole epoch of Chinese literature, has naturally necessitated certain restrictions. Serious readers might regret to find translations not only of long literary sections, but also of some stories and poems only as excerpts connected by a text, that briefly informs on the event in the omitted passage. Those knowledgeable of contemporary Chinese literature, on the other hand, may object, according to their own view and taste, to the inclusion of one and the omission of another author, or they may have the impression that a less significant work has been translated perhaps at the expense of a more profiling author or genre. The reviewer feels deeply convinced that the choice of authors and works is the editor's and his associates' inalienable right and responsibility. What is of importance is that in the large majority of cases the present book comprises new translations and in several cases introduces interesting writers who have not been accessible so far in English. As stated in the preface, readings have been selected and organized in relation to the major controversies that have shaken the politico-literary scene in China since 1949 and the present reviewer belongs to the majority of students of contemporary Chinese literature who recognize a close connection between this literature and its dependence on the socio-political background and the cultural policy of the Chinese Communist Party.

233

But this book provides far more than mere translations. Besides the Introduction, it presents on pp. 12—25 a relatively detailed Chronology of Major Events Relevant to PRC Literature from the Period March 1949 to May 1979. Of course, one can hardly expect any chronological list to be absolutely complete. Nevertheless, the present one is detailed enough to have included, for the sake of proportionality, certain major events of the period in question. One such event was, for instance, the proclamation of the method "Combination of Revolutionary Realism and Revolutionary Romanticism" in 1958, reference to which has repeatedly been made since that time in the People's Republic of China ; another one was Mao Tse-tung's call of 16th December 1971 for "creating still more good works" which resulted in a spate of works being published, even though in the very great majority of cases these could be simply labelled as "quasi literature".

According to the above criteria, the present book is divided into six parts. Each one is introduced by a brief characteristic of the period. Within these parts, works are arranged according to genres, with basic bibliographic and biographic data about each author being included. Part Six also includes an informative essay by Howard Goldblatt and Leo Ou-fan Lee about the so-called underground literature and dissent literature by exiles. The new phenomenon in Chinese literature, i. e. works of the so-called "literature of wounds", or of "scars" being published since 1977, have not been included in the present book (they are accessible in English translations in the monthly Chinese Literature published in Peking and in the collections *The Wounded: New Stories of the Cultural Revolution*, Hong Kong 1979 and *Stories of Contemporary China*, New York 1979).

This book carries five useful supplements. The first one explains basic concepts and terms that will undoubtedly be welcomed by the nonsinologist reader. Then follow brief data on the sixty translators and contributors to this volume. Chinese References provide bibliographic data of the source literature employed, in English and in Chinese characters. Likewise, the Index is given in English transcription and in Chinese characters. Use of the book by professionals is also facilitated by the last supplement, Title Index, containing an alphabetic list of English terms in the anthology of translated works, again with their Chinese characters, with bibliographic references to the source from which the work has been translated.

Students of contemporary Chinese literature had already been indebted to Prof. Kai-yu Hsu not only for his *Twentieth Century Chinese Poetry,* but particularly for his then unique data on Chinese literature and its authors which he had gathered during his stay in the People's Republic of China in 1973 and published in 1975 in his book *The Chinese Literary Scene*. It may well be imagined that the editing of the present book had been no easy enterprise. Prof. Kai-yu Hsu, the co-editor Ting Wang with the special assistance of Howard Goldblatt, Donald Gibbs and George Cheng undertook a truly difficult, but all the more meritorious task, in which they succeeded to interest sixty qualified translators and contributors and to harmonize

their work. The resulting book could not of course encompass all the aspects, and present an exhaustive image of the development of literature in the People's Republic of China, nevertheless, it does provide a valuable guide to and solid information on this literature to the English reading public and is a qualified aid to specialists. Literature of the People's Republic of China thereby offers a maximum of what may be expected from a good and useful publication of this type.

*Anna Doležalová*

Tatlow, Anthony: *The Mask of Evil. Brecht's Response to the Poetry, Theatre and Thought of China and Japan. A Comparative and Critical Evaluation.* Bern—Frankfurt am Main—Las Vegas, Peter Lang 1977. 629 pp.

This voluminous book takes contact with previous publications by the author Anthony Tatlow, an Irish comparatist, now with the Hong Kong University, particularly with his book *Brechts chinesische Gedichte*, Frankfurt am Main 1973, and represents a part of the efforts pursued by the very active centre of Sino-Western comparative studies organized within the framework of the Hong Kong Comparative Literature Association.

The reviewer of this publication, which is the 213th volume of the Series I entitled German Language and Literature of the European University Papers, will here take note of those sections only that relate to old poetry and to the theatre, but not philosophy, nor certain specific questions that would require a specialized knowledge not only of the traditional Chinese and Japanese, but primarily of German literature. He feels a lack of such specialized training and experience particularly in the latter subject.

In any case it should be observed that thanks to the detailed study, Tatlow's insight transcends the sphere of reception and in the field often termed "the domain of influence" he presents new and noteworthy results. In this, Tatlow is quite an exception among the sinologists. He investigates primarily that which in Ďurišin's theory of comparative literature is known as "internal contacts", i.e. those phenomena that acted on the structure of the receiving literature from outside in its most diverse aspects and have thereby enriched it.

The Mask of Evil is a symbol of the entire work — Tatlow's most outstanding effort so far — and a "focal point" of the book. "Die Maske eines bösen Dämons, bemalt mit Goldlack", an infinitely evil and repulsive facial expression coated over with the alluring tint of precious metal, accompanied Brecht on his life's journey, represented to him "the delights in East Asian art; the perception of the value of East Asian

235

stagecraft and dramatic structures; the assertion of compatibility with East Asian poetry" (p. 7).

Much less important is the impact of Japanese poetry on Brecht's work. True, he did write a few poems whose form is reminiscent of the Japanese *haiku, tanka* and *renga*, but practically nothing of all this could be considered to be an expression of internal contacts. This may possibly be due to the character of old Japanese poetry which, with negligible exceptions, was never socially committed and was fairly narrow as regards its thematic range. Nevertheless, it is unusually expressive, allusive, subtle and delicate, knows how to manipulate with the void (*śunyāta, kū*). The question is how far it is possible to take contact with old Japanese poetry in contemporary literature, and are not Tatlow's reservations towards his opponents' views too strict?

Matters are different in the case of Chinese poetry with whose form in Brecht's works the author of the book under review is acquainted better than his predecessors had been. *Brechts chinesische Gedichte* deserves attention of researchers, particularly of those interested in the "art of translation". Tatlow took over certain parts from this book, but in the present one he has simultaneously pointed to other moments that enabled him better to illustrate the role of Chinese poetry played in Brecht's work. As a sinologist I go so far as to state that even the few poems included in the section dealing with the impact of Japanese poetry (I shall mention here only *Erinnerung an die Marie A.*) greatly reminds me of *Kao-t'ang fu* attributed to Sung Yü (3rd cent. B.C.). In any case, the impact of traditional Chinese poetry, particularly that from a later epoch, proved to have been much stronger that the impact of Japanese poetry. This was certainly related to the question of social commitment which in Chinese poetry had very old and deep roots. Thus, for instance, in 1934, Brecht sent a postcard to his son from London with a picture of children performing a Ming dynasty puppet theatre with his poem: Wehe!/Auf den Tischen stehen die Unmündigen./ Spielend/ Zeigen sie, was sie gesehen haben./ Wie sich der Mensch verhielt zu den Menschen und ihm ein Wolf war./ Schon/muß einer knien vor einen anderen/ ach, er erreicht nichts!/ It should be noted, however, that Brecht made use of Chinese poems not as models (cf. Ezra Pound's poetry), but only as examples. After his encounter with Arthur Waley's translations, he "did not noticeably alter his (Brecht's, M. G.) tone or his rhythms" (p. 140), he changed foreign poetry to his own image, adjusted it to his own poetic structure making his own poetry more lyrical.

But Brecht drew even more profit from the domain of Japanese drama and Chinese drama or opera than from that of poetry. The mask of evil hanging on the wall of his room reminded him of the masks of the traditional Japanese theatre Noh which he liked and from which he learned. His plays *Der Jasager* (two versions), *Der Neinsager* and *Die Massnahme* were influenced by the play called *Taniko,* one of 20 Noh plays translated in 1921 by Arthur Waley into English and one of nine plays

translated into German by Elisabeth Hauptmann. Later his dramatic adaptation of Gorky's novel *The Mother* was very much influenced by the structure and diction of Japanese plays, although the acting and design were more likely Chinese, for he was better acquainted with the art of Peking opera. In 1935, he saw the performances of Mei Lan-fang in Moscow.

Throughout the entire work under review, Mr. Tatlow endeavours to capture the phenomenon which he terms influence and even more often response. Essentially, this involves a very sophisticated kind of relationship that may be found between Japanese and Chinese works, their plots, techniques, etc. The plot of *Hui-lan chi* (The Chalk Circle) by Yüan dramatist Li Hsing-tao is considerably remote from that of *Der kaukasische Kreidekreis*, or the plot of *Ho-han shan* (Joined Seat Shirt) by Chang Kuo-pin (also of Yüan dynasty) is beyond recognition in regard to *Die Ausnahme und die Regel*. And yet, the second would never have been created without the first ones.

A certain apprehension on the part of Mr. Tatlow as regards "influence" is justified. Its general interpretation is really contradictory and often one-sided, but this should not lead to confusion. There is a difference between a term and a concept. We often mistake influence as a term and influence as a concept. The word "influence" as a term is in reality only a "sign form". The concept of "influence" has its content and range. It is erroneous to put the concept on one plane or even identify it with its sign form. A concept is indubitably more than the term, its sign form. Triangle as a sign form cannot equal the enormous wealth which it possesses as a concept in Euclidean geometry. A concept implies a certain system of notions, the deeper and broader it is, the better. Personally I am of the opinion that scholars (and every literary comparatist will inevitably encounter the concept of influence) must detach themselves from its sign form, focus on its content and range, particularly in concrete cases, and endeavour to give it a precise delimitation within the context examined, and then also in a wider plane within the framework of comparative literature. A deeper note, however, should be taken of the words of the Soviet comparatist A. S. Bushmin who, speaking of "literary continuity" in the encounter of phenomena from two or more literatures, says that "the highest contact-taking, a creatively mastered traditions, is in its essence in a dissolved, or philosophically speaking, in a "cancelled" state. The so-called "snyatie" (*Aufheben*) is used in Hegelian philosophy and means the destruction of something, its overcoming, but simultaneously also its preservation and elevation to a higher developmental stage. In this interpretation, influence is something like an impulse coming forth from the giving literature, which is then "cancelled" and "overcome" in the receiving literature in order to be creatively preserved in it, but in another form. If we break down the word "aufheben" in its Hegelian connotation into its three meaningful components, i.e. to cancel, to preserve and to lift up, then it becomes clear that the process (which may be understood as influence) may imply a new

phenomenon which becomes relevantly modified in the prism of the receiving literary and social context, primarily in connection with the creative abilities of the receiving subject and the needs of the receiving literary structure. A truly scholarly assessment of influence as an impulse being creatively active in the new literary environment is one of the difficult tasks of literary scholarship. A study of literary influence represents Scylla and Charybdis of comparative literature. Such an intricate phenomenon of genetic-contact relationship whose mechanism of action is only partially known and which represents a bond often of very tangled issues difficult to resolve, involves certain losses, some wrong or inadequate solutions as a matter of course. Another Soviet comparatist J. D. Levin, for example, goes so far as to state that sometimes, e. g. in the case of W. Shakespeare and L. Tolstoy, a study of such influences appears at be impossible to the present stage of literary scholarship.

We must agree with Tatlow that Brecht's "interest in the Chinese model was enforced by his (Brecht's, M. G.) reading of Chinese philosophy" (p. 329). A study of Chinese philosophy led Brecht to realize that Chinese philosophy is predominantly of a social character and Chinese philosophers had been concerned with setting up a just social order although this was impossible in the traditional Chinese society. This was reflected in Chinese theatre as an endeavour of an individual to survive in an unjust world. In addition Brecht sought in Chinese theatre an artistic expression contradicting Aristotelian mimesis, an art capable, with the aid of its so-called presentational forms, to reveal "the structures behind appearances" (p. 330). Chinese philosophy, particularly Taoist philosophy, helped Brecht to write also one of his outstanding works, *Schweyk im zweiten Weltkrieg.*

The book reviewed here constitutes a remarkable contribution to Sino-German (and in general Sino-Western) literary studies. It is the result of many years of a careful systematic work backed up by a solid knowledge of the subject and a rare erudition.

*Marián Gálik*


*Two Writers and the Cultural Revolution. Lao She and Chen Jo-hsi.* Edited by George Kao. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980. 212 pp.

The Comparative Literature and Translation Center of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, alongside its semiannual Chinese-English Translation Magazine Renditions, also publishes an interesting Renditions Books series in which the book under review has also appeared. It is devoted to two prominent Chinese writers, well-known also outside China, of a different generation, background and destiny.

To both the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution proved a crucial event, although in a diametrally opposite sense: it proved fateful to one of the

greatest Chinese writers of the twentieth century whom it killed. To the then little known Taiwan-born young Chen Jo-hsi, who in 1966 in a wave of patriotic enthusiasm migrated to the People's Republic of China and after seven years left, disillusioned and disenchanted, the Cultural Revolution provided personal experiences, inspiration and material that helped her to create prose works that rightfully elicited attention. A situation and events that cruelly put an end to the career of a great writer, gave opportunity to the other one to produce a talented literary testimony.

The present book is divided into four parts.

The first one comprises three essays on Lao She. The French scholar Paul Bady presents a characteristic of his personality and then concentrates on the criticism against Lao She, and particularly on his death of which it has not as yet been established whether it was suicide or murder. Paul Bady appends to this essay an informative, bibliographically precise Chronological Postscript, in which he records principally the events relating to the writer's rehabilitation process. Paul Bady in his interesting study made use also of unconvincing statements to which no evidence is adduced in support. He writes that it is "highly probable" that Lao She would never have been officially condemned and perhaps would today be rehabilitated "if the Soviet Union had not used Lao She as a weapon against Mao", since "he was neither a 'revisionist' nor a 'Maoist'". However, it is a well-known fact that during the Cultural Revolution practically all the great writers had been officially condemned and not even the Peking propaganda tries to place the responsibility for it on Soviet or other foreign authors who had written about them. To look for the origin and justification of the crimes from that period outside of the Cultural Revolution itself is more than questionable and this is brought out also by the outcomes of the Peking court proceedings from the turn of 1980—1981. Likewise instructive and stimulating are the other two essays on Lao She. In the first one King Hu deals with Lao She's sejourn in Great Britain, in the second one George Kao recalls his meetings with Lao She in the U.S. up to the writer's decision to return to his country following the setting up of the People's Republic of China. Both these authors provide unique items of information and their essays betray a deep and uncommon familiarity with Lao She's work and personality.

The next part of the book contains English translations of Lao She's fictions from before 1949. They include translations of the two closing chapters of the novel Lo-t'o Hsiang-tzu, Rickshaw Boy by Perry Link, of two short stories translated by William A. Lyell, excerpts from The Drum Singers, never published in Chinese (translated by Helene Kuo) and of the complete satirical novel Miao-ch'eng chi, City of Cats, by James E. Dew. Each of this translation is introduced by expert insights and qualified information.

The third part of the book is concerned with Chen Jo-hsi's literary work. Following a brief introduction of the author and her work by Richard M. McCarthy, George

239

Kao writes about the translator and scholar Chi-chen Wang, whose translations of two short stories and a first excerpt from the novel Kuei, Repatriates, by Chen Jo-hsi, form part of this book. The second excerpt from the novel Repatriates was translated by Howard Goldblatt. Both these novels are from the second collections of stories by Chen Jo-hsi, Lao-jen, The Old Man, published, like the novel Repatriates, in Taipei in 1978. These stories and excerpts, as well as both the stories by Lao She have been published in English translation for the first time by Renditions. Therefore, it is most useful that Chi-chen Wang makes the translation of excerpts from the Repatriates to be preceded by the contents of the novel.

The last part of the book is made up of the Chinese texts of the majority of the translated works. This greatly facilitates to the reader, whether knowledgeable of Chinese or studying it, to follow and enjoy the work of the translators.

In conclusion, the editor inserted brief Notes on Contributors.

The book under review will prove of interest and a help not only to English-reading public interested in contemporary Chinese literature and its authors, but also to scholars studying this literature. It greatly contributes to a rapprochement and an elucidation of the work and personality of two prominent and characteristic writers whose human and literary destinies were deeply marked by the tragedy of the Cultural Revolution. The book Two Writers and the Cultural Revolution is a further positive step towards an extension of knowledge on Chinese literature of this century and on its two authors whose works constitute an artistically convincing testimony to their epoch and their country.

*Anna Doležalová*


Toroptsev, A. S.: *Ocherk istorii kitaiskogo kino* (Outline of the History of Chinese Film). Moscow, Nauka 1979. 229 pp.

The author, a member of the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, is one of the foremost and most productive non-Chinese connoisseurs of Chinese film. Besides a number of studies and papers published in Soviet collections and periodicals, he published a book in 1975 in Moscow — Trudnye gody kitaiskogo kino (Difficult Years of Chinese Film) which is at present the most detailed body of knowledge on Chinese film, film theory, critique and attitudes towards earlier Chinese and foreign films during the period of the "cultural revolution".

In the present book, S. Toroptsev has processed the history of Chinese film from its origins up to the year 1966, concentrating on the feature film. In addition to the rather narrow spectrum of European, American and Japanese literature then available on Chinese film, he has made use in this book mainly of Chinese book and

journal sources, including film scripts which he studied thoroughly, as well as a large quantity of films, particularly those turned in the People's Republic of China which he had seen and had at his disposal while writing his book.

The Outline of the History of Chinese Film presents a good overview of Chinese cinematography in the domain of feature film during more than fifty years of this art. In his analyses of the various films he points out the successes and failures of this film genre in China, as also their conditionedness by numerous circumstances, principally those of a socio-political character. The author devotes adequate attention also to the social and educational function of Chinese film and mentions certain aspects of showing foreign films in China and Chinese films abroad. Among the positive features of the book is its running detailed and critical analysis of the discussions of the film that have taken place in China as also the impact of the cultural policy of the Chinese Communist Party on the fates and fortunes of cinematography and film makers in the People's Republic of China.

S. Toroptsev has divided his book into four chapters by which he simultaneously indicates his periodization of the history of Chinese feature film.

The first is made to embrace the period from the origin of Chinese film in 1905, up to the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Following an informative survey of the beginnings of Chinese film, this part of the book presents the most comprehensive treatment of the thirties, a period of great development of Chinese feature film. The chapter concludes with the years of the civil war which became reflected in their full complexity also on the film industry.

The second chapter treats of Chinese cinematography during the period 1949—1957 and shows the beginnings of film production under the novel conditions, and also the results of these efforts. Here, similarly as in the following chapters, the author makes a detailed analysis of the negative impact of various political campaigns on the work of film makers. The last passage of this section follows up, on the example of concrete films, the processing of new topics and the creation of new types of heroes in conformity with the possibilities and the needs of a peaceful reconstruction of the country. Simultaneously, the author points out the obstructive effect of vulgarizing interventions on the part of the cinematographic administration on the progress of the filming art.

The third part of the book is represented by the period of the "great leap forward", when quantity at the expense of quality prevailed also in the film. An interesting part of this chapter is that analysing the new genre of Chinese film, consisting of a combination of fictional and documentary elements in the film. But most space is here devoted to analyses of successful works of Chinese cinematography of the end of the fifties on the example of feature films that effectively portrayed both realistically and artistically the period of Chinese revolution and the present.

The last period forming the subject of this book is that of the complex and conflicting years 1960—1966. On the one hand, feature films of artistic value

241

appeared, turned during the years of a certain "liberalization" following the fiasco of the "great leap forward", on the other hand, the pressure of Maoist schematism and repressive criticism of a great number of films and film makers came to be exerted more and more, particularly from the year 1963. This resulted in a growth of the numbers of unconvincing feature films of low artistic value. The chapter is concluded by the unleashing of the "cultural revolution" during which practically all the earlier films were withdrawn from distribution.

A useful supplement (pp. 208—222) is appended to the book, giving a chronological survey of selected feature films from the years 1905—1966, including their Chinese titles, literary works upon which they are based, as well as the names of the screen-writer, director, principal actors and the name of the studio in which the film was turned. The book is concluded with a bibliography consisting of a list of 58 various works and 27 periodicals, and an index of the names of Chinese film makers.

Because of the size of the present book, the latter has necessarily been confined to an analysis of the most profiling feature films of the period followed and, as the author himself observes, it lays no claims to completeness. Nevertheless, it presents a qualified overall image of the development of the principal genre of Chinese film up to the "cultural revolution", seen in connection with the development of Chinese film theory and in a determining relationship to the ideological-political situation and its changes. The processing of the topic has been positively marked also by S. Toroptsev's erudition both in sinology and in film theory and history.

*Anna Doležalová*


Ch'en Ch'I-yün: *Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China*. A translation of the Shen-chien with Introduction and Annotations. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1980. 225 pp.

The book under review takes contact with the author's preceding one entitled *Hsün Yüeh (A. D. 148—209): The Life and Reflections of an Early Confucian*, published by the Cambridge University Press in 1975. Two remarkable works by Hsün Yüeh, a custodian of secret archives (*mi-shu chien*) at the court of the last ruler of Han dynasty, Emperor Hsien (190—220), entitled *Han-chi* and *Shen-chien*, are the subjects of analysis in the two books by Ch'en Ch'i-yün. The first of them is concerned primarily with *Han-chi* which is in reality a chronicle of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B. C.—9 A. D.), while the book under review is devoted principally to the work *Shen-chien (Extended Reflections)*, very concise but very important philosophical work of the second century. In it, Hsün Yüeh expressed his views on the personality of the ruler, on questions of government, cosmology and numerology

(or number-mysticism), human nature and feelings, on the problem of talent or ability, on rewards and punishments, and on some other issues that evidently formed the content of philosophical discussions of the times.

The book under review consists of an lengthy introduction (pp. 3—99) and a translation of *Shen-chien*. In addition to general remarks on the life and work of Hsün Yüeh and some philosophical characteristics of his epoch — a very harsh one, by the way, on all those who did not conform to Confucian orthodoxy — the book also deals with textual problems relating to Hsün Yüeh's two works. It contains also some 20 pages of translations from *Han-chi*. Although these come something of a surprise to the reader who would rather expect to find a philosophical or historiographic processing of the given topic, or selective translations, some sort of *paralipomena* to the preceding book, they nevertheless form a suitable complement to the entire translation of *Shen-chien*.

The translation of *Shen-chien* permits to judge the strictly formal reasoning of the Chinese author. It is precisely enframed by one Tao, then by two *yin* and *yang*, humanity (*jen*) and righteousness (*i*), human nature (*hsing*) and feelings (*ch'ing*), rewards and punishments, praise and blame, spiritual essence and physical appearance, darkness and light, disorder and order, activity and quietude, benefit and harm, submission and domination, external and internal; then by three primal spheres (a more appropriate translation would probably be three powers), i.e. Heaven, Earth and man, three luminaries, i.e. sun, moon and stars, etc. Hsün Yüeh was a dogmatic Confucian, although his teaching was enriched with other views — Taoist and Legalist. But a certain dose of syncretism was typical of Han and subsequent Confucians. He took a clear-cut stand with regard to Confucian orthodoxy. According to Hsün Yüeh, it was absolutely necessary to ban heretical teachings, to get rid of improper levity in thinking, to suppress the hundred schools of philosophers and exalt the sacred orthodoxy (cf. p. 129). But despite his thought about this "sacred orthodoxy", he felt convinced that unorthodox books should not be burnt or destroyed. This revealed his anti-Legalist attitude. The emperor should rule by "non-action" in the way that his "subject can govern themselves and think for themselves" (p. 112). This, in turn, was a Taoist-Legalist attitude. He had nothing against rewards and punishments insofar as they met their aim. Laws and decrees should not be too strict, for then there is a danger that everybody would transgress them. This was a compromising Confucian-Legalist attitude. He himself was the victim of persecution on the part of the central government, although there was nothing anti-Confucian in his behaviour. But in China after the year 176, all had to suffer "within the five mourning grades" for the ideological misdemeanour of their relatives.

A sympathetic feature of Hsün Yüeh's teaching is his emphasis on feelings to which he devoted more attention than the other philosophers of his or of the preceding period. He reflected on them in connection with human nature and action,

and refuted theory propounded by Tung Chung-shu (179 ?—104 ? B. C.), a leading philosopher of the Former Han Dynasty, who held that human feelings were bad. According to Hsün Yüeh, human feelings are an expression of human nature and may be looked upon as various forms of likes and dislikes. As there are good and bad people, so also feelings may be good and bad. To state that feelings are bad would mean to deprive the Sage (or sages) of human feelings. Like all Confucian philosophers, with a certain exception of some from the Ming period, he also affirmed that man must control his feelings in order morally to improve. An exaggerated control of the emotional life exerted an immense influence on the Chinese way of life for many centuries of its historical development.

Of interest is also Hsün Yüeh's concept of *ts'ai* (talent, ability), whether innate, or the one that succeeds in practical life. A pity, though, that he applied it solely to the domain of moral conduct and practical life, while such spheres of the human life as politics, culture and art remained outside the scope of his treatment.

*Marián Gálik*

*China und die Fremden. 3000 Jahre Auseinandersetzung in Krieg und Frieden.* Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Bauer. München, C. H. Beck 1980. 274 pp.

This book is a monograph study with the ambitious design to analyse the relationships between China and the non-Chinese nationalities or nations and the rest of the world during the course of thirty centuries. As the work of Professor Bauer's pupils and colleagues, the study has had an adequate guidance and presents a relatively balanced image in the domain of politics, economy and culture.

Bauer's own study is an attempt at presenting the "philosophy of history" in the problem of impact and response in relation to the external "non-Chinese" world. The various points of this philosophy also embody the conditions of the existence (and subsequently also of the fall) of the Chinese traditional model of world: of *Chung-kuo,* Middle States or Middle Kingdom and its relation to the "external bordering territories", further, sinicisation of strangers, confrontations with them during the very long stages of history, and lastly the victory of the strangers connected with the fall of the "sinocentric world order". These last words are reminiscent of the book *The China World Order. Traditional China's Foreign Relations,* ed. by J. K. Fairbank, Harvard University Press 1968, which Bauer and his colleagues have no doubt come across and read. Bauer's historical erudition led him to assess the philosophical and ideological roots of the mutual controversies and to elucidate them more deeply. According to him the bordering or marginal territories of the world, hence, all that was outside traditional China proper (whose frontiers changed constantly during the course of its historical development)

represent, in the old sinocentric interpretation of the world, three different kinds of "barbarian countries": those inhabited by the barbarians who are not as yet, but may become Chinese (these are the "strangers of the internal world"), then those inhabited by the barbarians who will not become Chinese (these are the "strangers of the antiworld"), and finally those inhabited by the barbarians who may be said to be "strangers of the external world", as remote and also racially disparate as the Europeans and the Americans. Their intervention into the overall Chinese political, economic and cultural life meant the end of the traditional Chinese world order. The first group included the original inhabitants of the greater part of Chinese territory as recognized today, in particular those who lived and still live in Southern China and on Taiwan. The present reviewer is sure that the Chinese claims on Vietnam or other countries of Southeast Asia have always been unjustified, although enforced even at present by violence. The second group was made up of nations living to the northwest, north and northeast who always held an active stance, behave belligerently and while keeping to their original sites, were never sinicised, although when gaining dominance over China from time to time, they considerably affected Chinese history.

Claudius C. Müller in his paper devoted to the problems of relations between the Chinese and the barbarians approximately from the eleventh century B. C. up the year 220 A. D., follows up the origin and the development of the Middle States and sees the most important difference between these two components of the "Chinese world order" to reside primarily in the Chinese notion of culture (wen). Of interest in this connection are the graphic representations of the barbarians in the "world picture" of Chinese historians. The same applies also to Müller's inferences from ethnonymics, mythology, etnography and from historical sources. The most conspicuous are probably the zoomorphic traits of the barbarians.

Helwig Schmidt-Glintser's study on the relations between the third and eighth centuries (hence between the fall of the great Chinese Han empire and its reunification under the T'ang dynasty), points to contacts with Syria, then an eastern Roman province (although this was actually under the Han dynasty) and also with merchant cities of these regions that later processed Chinese silk and carried on trade with it in the Roman Empire. The Chinese, however, never reached the Roman Empire directly, although they came as far as Bushire on the Persian Gulf. Following the fall of the Han dynasty, Indian and Central-Asian Buddhist monks were the principal links between China and the rest of the world. Northern nomad clans and nations used to reach China directly and between the years 317 and 589 succeeded in subduing an extensive part of northern China.

Klaus Tietze in his study devoted to the development of Chinese relations with the surrounding world subjected to an analysis the period from the seventh till the fourteenth century, hence, that significant epoch in the Chinese history when China achieved the peak of political power and cultural supremacy under the rule of the

T'ang and Sung dynasties, but also became one of the vast provinces of the Mongol world empire. During these centuries a more extensive Chinese and foreign symbiosis occurred for the first time in China in the sense that primarily "cultured" barbarians could live and work relatively freely on Chinese territory. China and its spheres of influence reached as far as Pamirs and foreigners could live in colonies in various places, principally in the capitals and port towns. This period lasting seven centuries of "lustre and misery" of Chinese civilization in Tietze's presentation will probably win him grateful readers. One of the reasons might be the fact that his contribution was written at a place where a scholarly study mainly of the Sung and the Mongol period enjoys a solid tradition.

The heading of Thomas A. Höllmann's paper Empire without a Horizon dealing with China's relations with the surrounding and the distant world in the fourteenth up to the nineteenth centuries, is evidently a poetic licence. China did have its "horizon" even at the time of the famous maritime expeditions between 1405 and 1433, also at the time of its first encounters with Europeans in 1517 and later. Meetings with strangers, whether in the close vicinity of China, e.g. in Vietnam or Thailand (Siam), or in more remote places, as in Sumatra, Ceylon, or even at Hormuz, Jidda and Mogadiscio, meant for China one of the last proofs of their own traditional world order. After 1517 when Spaniards, Dutchmen and Britons forced their way in their ports, the illusions of this sinocentric model slowly but surely melted away.

An attempt at processing the greater part of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries down to the present time was made by Tilman Spengler. He was faced with the tremendous task to survey an immense field as yet little studied. From the overall horizon offered to the student by the political, economic and cultural life of China, Mr. Spengler picked out two aspects that lie close to his interests, namely the law and science, and one that is much in the vogue nowadays: woman question. In each of them he points out the fundamental changes that have taken place in China during the course of about one and half centuries, although the results, particularly in the last named domain, are often deceptive. It is rather a pity that he has not attempted to investigate the relation "China and strangers" in the field of international politics during the recent years. In China that has so many times reverted to its own tradition or at least got even with it, renunciation of its own model of the world need not mean something irreversibly forfeited.

The book is concluded with a reference list and an index. The numerous photographs and illustrations bring closer to the reader the facts being described, while the accompanying maps pinpoint the milestones in the development of the sinocentric world order. It is a pity that no indication has been included that would show the contemporary Chinese ideas about the territorial division and the claims on neighbouring states.

*Marián Gálik*

Ch'en, Paul Heng-chao: *Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols. The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1979. 205 pp.

This is a translation and an analysis of *Chih-yüan hsin-ko (Chih-yüan New Code)* promulgated in 1291 under the reign of emperor Shih-tsu (Khublai Khan). This outstanding legal treatise was subsequently lost and the book under review represents an attempt at its reconstruction from the most diverse quotations preserved in various other works.

Readers interested in legal literature from the Yüan period, but also in legal literature generally, as also those studying legal questions from a comparative aspect will draw profit especially from the first part of the book entitled The Yüan Legal Institutions which provides detailed information on the development of Chinese legal codes between 1229 and 1368, about the penal system during the reign of the Yüan dynasty and the administration of justice. This part is attractive also to the sinologist even though his domain is not precisely the law. Legal institutions are a momentous part of the life of a society and an important form of social consciousness. This form belongs among those which, according to Marxist teaching, directly reflect the economic relations and the economic structure of the society. Hence, a study of law may reveal much about the society itself from the Yüan dynasty when China embraced an enormously vast territory and had an ethnically heterogeneous population. The great majority were, naturally enough, Chinese, but also Mongols and various nationalities professing Islam. It appears probably that precisely the possibility of comparison and *tertium comparationis* had also been motives for the unusual interest to set up laws, norms during the Yüan period. In that time, in contrast, say, to the T'ang dynasty, these laws were set up not only on the basis of the indigenous traditions, but on that of foreign stimuli, particularly the Mongolian customary law. The first period (i.e. the years 1229—1270) proved to have been "characterized by strong Mongolian influence" (p. 4) which is quite understandable as the Mongols were the occupying and the ruling class, enjoying a privileged position with regard to all other inhabitants of the empire. During the third period which may be enframed by the years 1321—1368 "the cultural accommodation of Mongolian customs to Chinese institutions reached its climax" (ibid.). According to Mr. Ch'en, the adjustments achieved in this way "were the results of the impact of the Confucian ideal of State and society on the Mongolian rule, on the one hand, and the introduction of Mongolian values and institutions into Chinese society, on the other" (ibid.). This process shows concisely the physiology of the impact and its functioning in the new environment.

The period of the Yüan dynasty possesses its specific traits in Chinese history: an unprecedented development of towns and trade, the use of paper money as the only legal currency throughout the empire, the relatively extensive contacts with foreign

countries, the development of the popular literature and especially of dramas which reached a peak in Yüan China.

Although Mongolian rule was characterized by a strengthening of imperial absolutism and often also a brutalization of authoritarian methods, it must be evaluated in certain respects also positively. If literary works of such a value as were the Yüan dramas were created under the rule of the "barbarians", then we must see behind this fact a nutrient soil and a general creative climate that made something similar possible. Besides the large-scale urbanization, these favourable factors included also the different tastes of foreigners and also the different views of the ruling strata on the role of literature and literati from those held by Chinese Confucians. Not everywhere did the Mongolian era bring brutalization. Chinese lyricism was not lost from literary works but persisted unmitigated, and processes of dramatizing reality became unusually developed and refined in the case of Yüan *tsa-chü*. Performances became more mimetic and artistically proved more mature than in the following periods. The relatively rigorous methods of depicting the world with the aid of a reflective and philosophical, aesthetic and ethical processing of reality receded into the background, while evidently mimetic elements came (quite consciously) into the foreground. Chinese literature thereby came closer in some sense, to the great works of ancient Greece, where the mimetic principle was artistically expressed at its best. Of course, there are essential differences between works from the one and the other literature.

A certain weakening of brutalization may be noted whether it be in the very legislation of the Yüan period, or in its application in social practice. The leniency of the Yüan codes has been regarded as a shortcoming by Ming scholars. If in the Yüan times China counted up to 80 million people, then the 3 death penalties from the year 1302 (the lowest number) and the 278 from the year 1283 (the highest number) do not appear to be excessively high. And especially under Kublai Khan, death penalties used to be commuted to enslavement. It must be also observed that in the case of Chinese culprits, the Mongols replaced death by strangulation by death by slow slicing (*ling-ch'ih*), but they made use of this inhuman practice in China under the Liao and the Sung dynasties. It consisted of wounds in the face, hands, feet, breast, stomach and head of the offender and its purpose was a painful death.

Besides a translation of the text of *Chih-yüan hsin-ko,* the book also gives its Chinese reconstructed form, and interested scholars have thus an opportunity of checking on the correctness of the translation. Naturally, the reconstructed text makes no claim at being definitive and amendments may be made to it in future.

The book is provided with a detailed glossary with Chinese characters, an extensive bibliography and a detailed index. The author deserves credit for his important contribution to the treasury of knowledge on Chinese law under the Yüan dynasty, the study of which has been badly neglected except in Japan.

*Marián Gálik*

*The T'ang Code. Volume I. General Principles.* Translated with an Introduction by Wallace Johnson. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1979. 317 pp.

This is mainly a translation of the first 57 articles from the *T'ang Code* (Ku T'ang-lü shu-i) from the total number of 502, representing less than one-third of the entire text. This part is entitled Ming-li, meaning Names (of Punishments) and Standards (for their Application). They are in reality general principles of the T'ang law derived on the basis on an extensive study of old Chinese legal literature and legal principles from the earliest times, and forming a precedent that exercised a considerable influence on Chinese criminal legislation of later dynasties, particularly those of Sung, Ming and Ch'ing, but also the Yüan dynasty, as was shown shortly after the publication of this book by Paul Heng-chao Ch'en in his work *Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols. The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed.* Also the Japanese and Korean law was influenced by the T'ang Code. As late as the fifteenth century, Vietnamese Le dynasty took over its large parts either whole without alterations, or with only slight modifications.

A researcher's interest in the domain of Chinese culture and civilization will certainly be attracted by a short introduction (without any heading) to *The T'ang Code* written by Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi, brother-in-law of the T'ai-tsung emperor (627—649). It contains the philosophy of law, similarly as, for instance, Liu Hsieh's (ca 465—522) *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons (Wen-hsin tio-lung)* first chapter entitled On Tao, the Source (Yüan tao) which gives a brief outline of the philosophy of literature. Johnson's observation that *The T'ang Code* "reflects the thought of the Han philosopher Tung Chung-shu (179?—104 B. C.)" is interesting. Ch'ang-sun's introduction shows indeed the enormous influence exercised by Tung Chung-shu on the subsequent ideological development in China. It became manifest in philosophy, literature, the development of Chinese science, and as seen here, also in the law.

According to Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi, but also according to the Confucian world view, morality (namely *li*, i. e. *decorum*) and law are in reality the obverse and the reverse of the same coin, although the former takes up a unique place in the hierarchy of values. Law is but a penal code and is resorted to only when morality is evaded or infringed. Punishments are "intended to inspire awe and to be dreaded" (p. 10), they are thus instruments of redress and the law is a fixed code and direction to their application. Law in Chinese society was viewed as a necessary evil that was to ensure its normal progress.

Otherwise, Ch'ang-sun's introduction and Liu's first chapter embody certain common elements that point to one and the same ideational base and a high measure of Confucian indoctrination. Both explain the various fundamental phenomena in terms of certain general principles. Certain divergences do occur there but they arise from the specific conditions and characters of both disciplines. Philosophy of law as

exposed in Ch'ang-sun's few pages is more easily understandable, more simple than that of literature in the work of Liu Hsieh. A comparison of the first sentence from Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi with one of the first sentences from Liu Hsieh reveals a concordance of thought in the domain of basic principles of Confucian *Weltanschauung*:

Ch'ang-sun: "In the beginning, the three powers (*san-ts'ai*) were established, and only then were the myriad forms divided. Among the creatures endowed with the ethers (*yin yang*) and possessing consciousness, man may be considered chief" (p. 49).

Liu: "And as one sees above the sparkling heavenly bodies, and below the manifold forms of earth, there is established a difference between high and low estate, giving rise to the two archetypal forms (*yin yang*). Man, and man alone, forms with these the Great Trinity (*san-ts'ai*) and he does so because he alone is endowed with spirituality" (*The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*. Translated by Vincent Yu-chung Shih. New York 1959, p. 9).

The above sentences by Liu are directly followed by another one: "He (i. e. man, M. G.) is the refined essence of the five elements (*wu hsing*) — indeed, the mind of the universe".

In Ch'ang-sun's introduction, the five elements are not explicitly mentioned but implicitly included in the treatment of the subject since the preference for the number five is peculiar to *The T'ang Code*. This trait appears most conspicuously in the five punishments that, according to one apocryphal text of the Han dynasty, were made by the sages in imitation of the five elements. The five punishments were beating with a light stick, beating with a heavy stick, penal servitude, life exile and the death penalty — either by strangulation or decapitation.

As in literature, so also in the realm of Chinese traditional law, there was an attempt to see this part of social consciousness in the harmony with *yin* and *yang* and the five elements. Traditional Chinese law as an antipode to the traditional concept of *li* (customs, usages and ceremonies of ancient Chinese nobility) was considered as an expression of *yin*, hence of the dark side of social control. Law, in the sense of *fa* (positive law, i. e. statutes, prohibitions, regulations, ordinances of the ruler and the State) was looked upon merely as a means of redressing that which had violated Chinese *ius naturale*, hence *li*, an expression of the bright side of reality which sages of antiquity and "superior men" (*chün-tzu*) allegedly had always propagated and represented.

The theory of five elements seems to have been incorporated into *The T'ang Code* in a truly great measure, and this despite the fact that the introduction does not provide theoretical support for it. Since the first century A. D., a fairly general belief prevailed in China in a socio-natural parallelism, or a mutual socio-natural acting and influencing. Human actions in the social sphere, moral or amoral behaviour exerted an influence on the manner the various natural elements could evolve. Moral behaviour, identical with the concept *li*, resulted in a socio-natural harmony, while

250

all amoral, antisocial acts (and in certain cases even unrealized intentions) had or may have had for result a disruption of this equilibrium — natural calamities and social cataclysma.

The antiindividual and antialienating principle governing all the social life in the traditional China was also a cause that in China no parallel or equivalent of the Roman *lex legale* was created, ensuring (among other things) also the rights of individuals. These did not interest Chinese law-givers or executors. Their principal purpose was to punish transgressions or prevent them. "Punishments are used to stop punishments..." was written in the introduction to *The T'ang Code*. These two principles are well incoporated in legal practice in the case of offences committed within the framework of a single family. *The T'ang Code* allowed family members to conceal each other's offences and there was a possibility to cancel or substitute the punishment for the benefit of the family. But absolute loyalty, solidarity, material and moral support within the family were required as counterbalance. The enforcement of these two principles became even more manifest, often with drastic results, in collective persecutions that invariably followed particularly the plotting a rebellion against the ruler or the State. "Plotting" alone constitued a "true bill" of indictment even though deed had not been perpetrated, not even attempted. The punishments meted out were extremely harsh and reached many persons who had no involvement in the "crime" whatsoever.

Two further principles of traditional Chinese civilization are reflected in Chinese legislation, i.e. limiting and hierarchical principles. The former was embodied in the initial sentences of the introduction: "However, there were those whose passions were unrestrained and who acted stupidly, those whose knowledge declined and who offended criminally. If great, then they disrupted the entire world, and if small, they violated the standards for their own group. Thus it would be unheard of not to establish controls for such groups" (p. 49). These sentences imply a typical Chinese antinomy that may essentially be characterized as a contradiction between *hsing* (human nature, and also an expression of man's rationality) and *ch'ing* (feelings and also an expression of man's emotionality, and of his passions as a lower form of it). Hence, when setting down the general principles of criminal law, the legislators took as their base the "dark" side of human feelings, their undisciplined manifestation and an inadequate rational control. Unrestrained passions, in the view of the authors of *The T'ang Code,* led to stupid actions. That such considerations were highly questionable is, of course, beside the point. Nevertheless, they derived from the Confucian premises and their aim was to maintain the social class-system as envisaged by the Confucian model.

The hierarchical principle is not supported in the introduction (except for a stress on the unique position of the emperor), but is clearly perceivable in a great number of articles of *The T'ang Code.* It has a clear-cut class character. Of the three kinds of persons of the empire, i.e. privileged, commoners and inferior (i.e. personal

251

retainers, bondmen and slaves), the last kind was treated most severely. According to the article No. 92, slaves are put on a level with property and goods.

The socio-natural parallelism spoken of above resulted in the endeavour to preclude the criminal acts by deterring false accusations (for punishment of the innocent in such a case would have the same consequence in the social or natural organism as non-punishment of the culprit), then by reducing sentences in the case of juvenile and young offenders, the elderly, women, the maimed or crippled and the mentally ill, but in other cases too, and by proclaiming rather frequent amnesties that had evidently also an educational goal. During less than three hundred years of the existence of the T'ang dynasty, there were 174 major amnesties. Sentences were mitigated rather often in the case of serious natural catastrophes.

Besides the translation of the first of the twelve parts of *The T'ang Code* dealt with above, the book under review presents also the history of the text, its structure, and discusses the previous studies on it. The translation is accompanied by abundant explicative notes. In addition to the appendix consisting of the headings of articles Nos 58—502, there is also a glossary of special terms important for a study of the traditional Chinese law, a bibliography and a brief but very reliable index.

*Marián Gálik*

Israeli, R.: *Muslims in China. A Study in Cultural Confrontation.* London —Malmö—Atlantic Highlands, Curzon Press—Humanities Press 1980. 272 pp.

The book under review analyses various facets of impact and response phenomena between Muslims and Chinese in China in their cultural, religious but also in military confrontation through thei long history. But as historical might be termed more or less only the second part Confrontation and Rebellion showing the Chinese Muslims under the Manchu domination. The Northwest of China in 1774 and 1781, then in 1862—1876, the Yünnan province in 1820—1828, 1830 and also in 1855—1876 were areas of Muslim uprisings that had for aim to throw off the Chinese—Manchu yoke and set up an independent Islamic state. Within China itself, this succeeded once in Yünnan between 1856—1873. The author, however, does not deal with the short history of this small state, nor with its struggle for survival within the Confucian encirclement.

The first part of the book, taking note of the different aspects in the uneasy coexistence between the overwhelming majority of the Chinese and the dispersed diasporas of the Muslims, is historical only in so far as it adduces examples from the various periods to illustrate the relationships or phenomena of significance to the Chinese-Muslim issue, or such as exerted some influence on it: for instance, are

252

Hui-hui (Chinese Muslims) Chinese or not, are they Chinese or Muslim first, the relation between the Chinese Muslims and the universal Umma (community), between the Chinese Muslims and Han Chinese, between Islam, Judaism and Christianity, between the Indian and Chinese Islam. The discussion also bears on such important postulates of Islamic creed and life as the *Jihad* (holy war), *Iman* (faith), *Dar-al-Islam* (Pax Islamica), and others. The concept of *Dar-al-Islam* might be compared with the traditional sinocentric world order. Together they constituted two ideological adversaries. The partially defensive, but also aggressive concept of *Jihad,* too, has its pendant in innumerable wars waged by China with the "barbarians", either within its "internal world", or outside of it.

The abundant bibliography comprises Chinese, Japanese, Western and Arabic materials necessary for a study of this problem as yet inadequately surveyed.

*Marián Gálik*


Aijmer, Göran: *Economic Man in Sha Tin. Vegetable Gardeners in a Hong Kong Valley.* London—Malmö, Curzon Press Ltd. 1980. 151 pp.

Sha Tin Valley in the New Territory of Hong Kong is familiar to most sinologists as the seat of the Chinese University of Hong Kong which in the past decade has significantly intervened, primarily in the publication domain, into the scientific life of various areas of scholarship and science. Professor G. Aijmer of Gothenburg who has written on various anthropological themes concerned with China, deals in the present book with the question of the position of refugee immigrants from the People's Republic of China who are working as market gardeners in Sha Tin (Sandy Fields). The author collected the material analysed in the present work in the years 1967—1969.

The book as such is made up of the following chapters: Environmental Prerequisites for Market Gardening, Investments, Expenditures and Effort, Credit and Demand, Some Other Activities, Marketing, The Development of Horticulture in Sha Tin, and finally Sha Tin in a Chinese Context. The aim of the book has been "to contribute to the descriptive sociology of Chinese society" (p. 6), but will fail to satisfy those trusting solely statistical data and the hard facts of economic reality. However, Professor Aijmer could not really afford to do more, for his respondents were unwilling to betray to him more about their investments, expenditures, efforts and other activities. The book is of interest in that it depicts the life of essentially poor, destitute people who have come from a traditional milieu where the decisive factor had been "ritualization of the lineage ideology and the ritualization of the rice cultivation" (p. 89) to a new environment where profit, and even more frequently mere survival are decisive.

The "Economic Man in Sha Tin" is a transient phenomenon that will abruptly give way to the advancing urbanization of the near future. The book under review is an attempt at an analysis of this phenomenon and at preserving its image from the recent past.

*Marián Gálik*


Zieme, P.—Kara, G. : *Ein uigurisches Totenbuch.* Nāropas Lehre in uigurischer Übersetzung von vier tibetischen Traktaten nach der Sammelhandschrift aus Dunhuang British Museum Nr. 8212 (109). Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XXII. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1978. 347 S.

Die bisherige Gemeinschaftsarbeit der auf dem Gebiet der uigurischen Text- und Sprachstudien wohl bekannten Autoren hat im Laufe der letzten Jahre mehrere Früchte getragen. Diese Arbeiten, die auf Materialien der Berliner Turfansammlung basieren, erschienen in der Publikationsreihe Berliner Turfantexte. Die vorliegende Publikation des Autorenpaares, die sich sowohl in die Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica als auch in die Asiatische Forschungen (Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden) einreiht, wurde der Textedition und -analyse einer uigurischen Handschrift des British Museums gewidmet. Diese aus Dunhuang stammende Sammelhandschrift stellt eigentlich die uigurische Version von vier tibetischen Traktaten dar, von denen die eine dem tibetischen Totenbuch, einem berühmten Werk des tantrischen Buddhismus, sehr nahe steht.

In der Einleitung des Werkes (S. 9—51) geben die Autoren eine umfangreiche Beschreibung der Handschrift, gehen ausführlich auf die sprachlichen (orthographischen, phonetischen, morphologischen und lexikalischen) Eigentümlichkeiten des Sprachdenkmals ein und behandeln den Inhalt und die damit zusammenhängenden Überlieferungsfragen der Traktate. Eine Inhaltsübersicht, ein Literaturverzeichnis und eine Liste der publizierten Texte, bzw. zitierten Fragmente ergänzen die Einleitung. Ihr folgt dann der uigurische Text in Transkription, seine Übersetzung ins Deutsche und eine umfangreiche Textkommentierung mit Angaben von tibetischen Parallelstellen (S. 53—194). Das umfangreiche Glossar (S. 195—279) wurde mit Akribie zusammengestellt, die auch die bisherigen Texteditionen der beiden Autoren kennzeichnete. Die Faksimiles der Handschrift schließen das Buch ab (S. 281—347).

Die Edition und Bearbeitung dieser wichtigen uigurischen Handschrift bereichert unsere Kenntnis sowohl in bezug auf das Uigurische der Mongolenzeit als auch in Hinblick auf die kulturellen und religiösen Beziehungen der damaligen Epoche im innerasiatischen Kulturkreis.

Den Autoren gilt aufrichtiger Dank für das neue Produkt ihrer Kooperation. Es

sei daran die Hoffnung geknüpft, daß sie diesem wichtigen und schweren Arbeitsgebiet der Turkologie noch weitere Denkmaleditionen und -bearbeitungen bescheren mögen.

*Georg Hazai*

Hook, Peter Edwin: *Hindi Structures: Intermediate Level.* Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies 1979. 338 pp.

This book has been published as No. 16 in the series the Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia. It aims at providing instruction and drill in the grammar structures of the informal Hindi-Urdu educated urban speakers for students who are past the initial stages of their study. It does not include conversation, reading texts, nor it is intended as a guide to local customs or culture. But in spite of this, the translation exercises contain many useful sentences and expressions regarding everyday life in Indian society.

The book is based upon the author's practical experience in teaching Hindi. Therefore, it is very well thought-out as regards the content and structure of the lessons. The author knows exactly how much and what language material can be mastered by a student during one lesson. This fact has also conditioned his methodological approach to the material. He consistently adheres to the task of applying four pedagogical principles, viz., parcelling (packaging the material to be taught into parcels that can be adequately covered and absorbed in a small and constant period of time), sequentiality (preventing matter taught earlier from depending on subsequent one), monitoring (requiring dependence of later material on the earlier), and autonomy in learning (attempts to make a successful use of the material to depend as little as possible on the intermediation of the teacher).

The book consists of 26 lessons each of which contains a short and clear explanation of a chosen problem of Hindi grammar, or a review of grammatical forms, a drill in grammar and a translation exercise (from English to Hindi). Drills and translations are followed by keys which enable the student to work relatively independently of a teacher.

As the author assumes a cognitive approach on the part of students to the material in question, he avoids substitution drills that are considered as really up-to-date in many other textbooks of foreign languages.

When explaining grammar, the author naturally presents the results of his own research; this is evident especially in lessons discussing the compound verb, complementizers, as also some problems of Hindi syntax.

A Hindi-English glossary included in the book (pp. 264—314) contains not only Hindi words and their English equivalents, but also information on whether the item

255

is assumed to be known to the student from his previous study, or is introduced for the first time in this book. In the latter case, reference is given to the lesson and the section in which the word occurs. This is considered a useful aid as the student may see for himself how a given item is used in various contexts.

A short English-Hindi glossary follows (pp. 315—324) containing the Hindi equivalents of only those English words that occur in the translation exercises.

Appendix A (pp. 325—330) presents the basic Hindi vocabulary items that this book assumes the student will have learned in the first year of his study, Appendix B (pp. 331—333) contains "assumed structures", and Appendix C (pp. 335—338) a list of studies on various problems of Hindi grammar as also references to Hindi grammars, courses, readers and conversations.

There are several pretty illustrations in the book by Richard Adher and Madhuri Purandare.

This is an excellent and useful book. It reflects not only the author's good knowledge of Hindi, but also his ability to make a deep analysis of grammatical phenomena, combined with his practical experience in teaching, which enables him to present complicated problems of grammar in relatively simple form.

The author's work deserves appreciation also because his book is one of very few Hindi textbooks in English and perhaps the only one that does not aim at providing just a basic knowledge of the grammar of this important Indian language for the student.

*Anna Rácová*


Doerfer, Gerhard—Tezcan, Semih: *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch (Dialekt von Charrab).* Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XXVI. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1980. 231 S.

Die Einsicht in die Bedeutung des Chaladsch, einer archaischen Turksprache im Iran, und die darauffolgenden Feld- und Laborforschungen der Göttinger Turkologen am Ende der 60er und zu Anfang der 70er Jahre erbrachten sensationelle Ergebnisse für die historisch-vergleichenden Studien der Turksprachen. Der Wert des bisher bekannt gewordenen Sprachmaterials — und man ist glücklicherweise noch weit davon entfernt, das Ende des Materialstromes abzusehen — ist ohne Zweifel mit der Entdeckung eines umfangreichen, alten Sprachdenkmals der Turksprachen gleichzusetzen. So ist es kein Wunder, und das wird eigentlich auch durch die Bibliographie der in den letzten Jahren erschienenen Chaladsch-Studien bezeugt, daß das Chaladsch in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses der sprachhistorisch orientierten Turkologen geraten ist. Es besteht kein Zweifel, daß die durch das

Chaladsch-Material erkannten Probleme, deren Erläuterungen manchmal sehr auseinandergehen mögen, lange Zeit auf der Tagesordnung der Forschungen bleiben werden.

Die Veröffentlichung des rezensierten Werkes stellt einen wichtigen Meilenstein auf dem Felde der Chaladsch-Studien dar. Bis jetzt wurde nämlich aus dem aufgezeichneten Sprachmaterial lediglich ein Band veröffentlicht. Dagegen sind aber zahlreiche Teilarbeiten erschienen, die die aus dem Chaladsch gewonnenen Erkenntnisse in verschiedene theoretische Zusammenhänge eingebaut haben. Die Erweiterung der Quellengrundlage selbst ergab sich somit als eine dringende Aufgabe. Das vorliegende Wörterbuch bedeutet ohne Zweifel einen wichtigen Schritt nach vorn auf diesem Arbeitsgebiet. Daß sein Material jedoch nur auf einem Dialekt des Chaladsch basiert, signalisiert uns breite Forschungsperspektiven und läßt hoffen, daß die Autoren die Materialgrundlage für die Chaladsch-Studien durch weitere Publikationen ausdehnen werden.

Die umfangreiche Einleitung zum Wörterbuch berichtet sowohl über die Herkunft des Sprachmaterials als auch über die methodischen Prinzipien, die seitens der Autoren hinsichtlich der Materialsammlung und -aufarbeitung mit höchster Sorgfalt ausgearbeitet und angewandt wurden. Bei der Behandlung dieser methodischen Belange setzten sich die Autoren auch mit den bisherigen Erfahrungen der allgemeinen Dialektologie auseinander und boten in zahlreichen Punkten neue Lösungen an. Die Erörterungen dieser Fragen bilden einen speziellen Pfad im Gesamtkomplex der Einleitung. Dadurch denkt man nolens volens, daß man sich von der Hauptspur der Darstellung entfernt. Einige Exkurse, die jedoch eher die Präsentationsform als den Inhalt betreffen, verstärken diesen Eindruck. Eine Trennung der Erfahrungen allgemeiner Relevanz für die Dialektforschung von der Behandlung der Frage, wie das Chaladsch-Material entstanden ist, wäre gewiß unmöglich gewesen. Man hätte aber die Ausführung der Probleme verschiedener Art noch durchschaubarer machen können. Auch die Anwendung von Fußnoten und der Einbau der im Inhaltsverzeichnis angegebenen Untertitel in die Einleitung hätten dem Überblick unzweifelhaft gedient.

Das Wörterbuch selbst, das über 4000 Lemmata enthält, wurde mit großer Sorgfalt zusammengestellt. In der Wortdokumentation, die den Forscher mit den notwendigen Informationen versieht, haben die etymologischen Bemerkungen der · Autoren einen besonderen Wert.

Das Werk von G. Doerfer und S. Tezcan stellt eine wesentliche Bereicherung der Quellenbasis für die historisch-vergleichenden Studien in der Turkologie dar. Mögen ihm bald weitere, ähnliche Publikationen folgen.

*Georg Hazai*

Müller, Hans: *Die Kunst des Sklavenkaufs nach arabischen, persischen und türkischen Ratgebern vom 10. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen Band 57. Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1980, xiii+246 S.

Als H. Müller vor kurzem über die Rolle der Sklaven in der islamischen Gesellschaft nachgedacht hat, wies er auf die wirtschaftliche Bedingtheit des Sklaventums nicht nur in der islamischen, sondern in der ganzen Welt hin. (Siehe *Handbuch der Orientalistik VI. Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit,* Teil 1, S. 53.) Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Struktur der islamischen Welt forderte große Mengen von Sklavenarbeit in den verschiedenen Bereichen des wirtschaftlichen Lebens. Als die durch langanhaltende Feldzüge ermöglichte Zufuhr von Sklaven versiegte, wurde die Bedeutung des Handels mit Sklaven gestärkt, die aus den Randgebieten der islamischen Welt eingeführt wurden. Der Sklavenkauf brachte eine Reihe von Problemen nicht nur bei deren Gewinnung, sondern auch bei derer Distribution im Milieu islamischer Städte und Handelszentren mit sich. Das praktische Bedürfnis erforderte es, für die Sklavenkäufer einen entsprechenden Ratgeber teils als gesonderte Schriften, teils als Kapitel in sonstigen Werken, zuerst in arabischer, später, als auch andere Bevölkerungsgruppen immer stärker als Käufer auftraten, auch in persischer und türkischer Sprache zu verfassen.

H. Müller wählte zum Gegenstand seiner Forschung jene Art des islamischen Schrifttums, das sich mit Ratschlägen und Anweisungen für den Sklavenkauf befaßt. Wie wir bereits darauf hingewiesen haben, finden wir diese Schriften entweder als selbständige Werke, oder als Kapitel, bzw. Absätze in größeren Werken, Enzyklopädien usw. vor. Zu ihren Verfassern gehören Vertreter unterschiedlicher wissenschaftlicher Bereiche (Ärzte, Philosophen und Wissenschaftler, die auf mehreren Wissensgebieten bewandert waren) und die Werke selbst stellen auch eine Anhäufung von Erkenntnissen aus den verschiedentlichsten Wissensfächern von Medizin und Physiognomik, über Geo- und Kosmographie bis zur Ethik und Ökonomik dar.

Im ersten Teil der Arbeit Wesen und Wurzeln der Sklavenliteratur bringt der Autor nach einer allgemeinen Charakterisierung dieses Schrifttums eine Analyse der einzelnen Teilgebiete, die auf die Entstehung und Zusammensetzung der Sklavenkaufratgeber Einfluß hatten (Medizin, Physiognomik, Geo- und Kosmographie, Dichtung und *Adab*-Literatur, Fürstenspiegel, Ethik und Ökonomik und *Ḥisba*-Literatur).

Müller zeigt, daß diese Literatur relativ umfangreich, auch voneinander recht unterschiedlich ist. Eindeutig ist aber auch der kompilative Charakter der meisten Ratgeber.

Der zweite Teil des Buches Ratgeber für den Sklavenkauf untersucht Werke von ungefähr dreißig Autoren, die über dieses Problem geschrieben haben. Für

gewöhnlich gibt er kurze Angaben über den Autor, dessen Werk und bringt eine kürzere oder längere Charakteristik der Abhandlung vom Verkauf der Sklaven oder dessen Inhalt. Bei jenen Autoren, die zur Sklavenkaufratgeber-Literatur auf eine originelle Weise beigetragen hatten, oder zur Grundlage späterer Kompilationen wurden, bringt der Verfasser eine gekürzte Übersetzung des Werkes, bzw. Auszüge daraus (Ibn Buṭlān, Kai Kā'ūs, Anonymus im Vergleich zu Amšāṭī, Ibn al-Quff, Ṭūsī, Akfānī, Qınalızāde, Muḥammad al-Gazālī).

Im letzten, dritten Teil des Buches Vergleich und Entwicklung der Ratgeber versucht der Verfasser die Autoren in zwei Gruppen einzuteilen und deren „Genealogie" sowie wechselseitige Abhängigkeit zu bestimmen. Er teilt den Ratgeber in zwei Gruppen, denen zwei wissenschaftlich-literarische Strömungen entsprechen: 1. die medizinisch-physiognomische; und 2. die ethnisch-ökonomische Strömung.

In der ersten Strömung sind vorwiegend Ärzte, die aus den Werken der griechischen Medizin geschöpft (Hippokrates, Rufus, Galen) und sich vor allem der medizinischen Untersuchung der Sklaven gewidmet hatten. Es sind unter ihnen Rāzī, auch Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Buṭlān, Anonymus, aber auch Kai Kā'ūs und Qınalızāde, die beiden letzteren, dem Charakter ihres Werkes nach auch in die zweite Gruppe eingereiht, wobei Qınalızāde die ideale Zusammenfassung beider Strömungen dargestellt hat.

In der ethnisch-ökonomischen Strömung ist der große Einfluß des griechischen Autors Bryson klar sichtbar, mit Ibn Sīnā, der auch in diese Gruppe gehört, und Kai Kā'ūs beginnend, bei dem auch der Einfluß älterer persischer Quellen deutlich ist, biz zu den jüngeren Autoren.

Der Autor ist bemüht die Entwicklung arabischer, persischer und türkischer Ratgeber auch graphisch darzustellen und bietet so eine gute Vorstellung von der Abhängigkeit und den Beeinflussungsverhältnissen der Werke dieser Art.

In den abschließenden Bemerkungen konstatiert H. Müller, daß sollten in der Zukunft noch weitere Werke dieser Art aufgefunden werden — vielleicht mit Ausnahme von Schriften aus dem Bereich der *Hisba*-(oder *Adab*-) Literatur — sind kaum wesentliche zusätzliche Erkenntnisse zu erwarten. Eine ähnlich skeptische Haltung nimmt er auch in der Frage der praktischen Nutzung dieser Ratgeber ein, was jedoch lediglich weitere Forschungen bestätigen können.

Das Buch beinhaltet Personen-, Werktitel- und Völker-, Rassen-, Gebiete-, sowie Städteindizes.

Abschließend kann man feststellen, daß Müllers Buch ein umfangreiches, systematisch geordnetes Material zu einer Art der islamischen Literatur bringt und daß es einen erfolgreichen Schritt vorwärts bei der gesamten Bearbeitung der Frage des Sklaventums in der islamischen Gesellschaft darstellt.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Beldiceanu, Nicoară: *Le Timar dans l'Etat ottoman (début XIVᵉ—début XVIᵉ siècles)* (The Timar in the Ottoman Empire (Beginning of the 14th — Beginning of the 16th Centuries)). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1980. 122 pp.

Since the times of J. von Hammer, M. Belin, P. Tischendorf, the study of Ottoman *Timar,* a basic institution of the Ottoman empire, has passed through a considerable development. However, until the fifties, research concerning the Ottoman *Timar* had been restricted by the range of sources available to the investigators. Up to that time, the fundamental references came from chronicles, codices and various published documents or diverse records from a later period.

N. Beldiceanu, known from his numerous studies of various problems of fifteenth century Ottoman history, attempts here in the light of new sources, to reinvestigate the *Timar* in the first two centuries of its existence. He has divided his topic into six chapters in which he presents a systematic explication of the notions acquired thus far from a study of less common sources referring to this issue.

In the first chapter he presents his Documentation from which he draws support in his work, analysing and characterizing the following types of sources: A. Les registres de recensement. B. Les registres d'attribution de timars. C. *Code de lois coutumières de Mehmed II* et un règlement concernant le recensement. To this documentation may be added some narrative sources and several decrees issued by the Ottoman Chancellery.

An evident advantage of Beldiceanu's work is that it makes use of registers relevant to the problems in a measure not to be seen in any other work so far. It is precisely from this source that the author has obtained most of his new concepts.

Le Vocable Timar: L'Institution et ses mentions les plus anciennes is the title of following chapter. On the basis of census returns, Beldiceanu has found that *Timars* existed in the Ottoman empire not only at the time of Sultan Bayezid I (1389—1402), but also under the rule of his predecessor Murad I (1362—1389), and even under Orhan (1326—1362) and Osman, the founder of the empire's dynasty. This discovery led the author to a study of the *Timar* institution in pre-Ottoman Anatolia, and found that *Timar* is not an institution characteristic only of the Ottoman Empire, for a similar institution existed also in other Anatolian principalities, although frequently under different names.

The object of the third chapter Le Timar dans l'Etat ottoman is a sorting of the types of *Timars* according to various criteria, viz. according to the nature of revenues, the origin of revenues, free and tributary *Timars, Timars* according to the nature of the service, *Timars* according to the height of the revenues. In classifying the *Timars* according to the nature of the revenues, the author makes out three types viz. a) *Timar divani,* b) *Timar* intégral, c) divers. His classification according to the origin of revenues recognizes a) rural *Timars,* b) mixed *Timars,* c) urban *Timars,* and in his division into free and tributary, an important aspect was whether the "timariot

jouissait totalement ou seulement en partie du droit de tenure, des *bad-i hava* et des droits sur les moutons".

In respect to the nature of the service, Beldiceanu divides the *Timars* into:

1. Civil *Timars*—awarded to persons whose function was related to a) the social life (*asesbaşı, mirahor, muhtesib, kadi*),b) the spiritual life (*hatib, imam, müezzin*), c) to various other aspects (*doğancı, defterdar, lala,* femme). Although the author designates the above *Timars* as civilian, some of their holders were not exempted from military service, nor from the obligation to supply one or several equipped soldiers.

2. Military *Timars,* assigned by the author into two great categories: 1. *Timars* awarded in exchange for military service on horse, 2. *Timars* awarded to non-horse-men, are further subdivided into a) military *Timars* granted to fortress commandants (*dizdar*) and to members of their garnisons; b) military *Timars* granted to persons whose responsibility was related to matters of the sea.

The classification of the *Timars* according to the height of revenues is based on the relevant section in the *Codex of the Customary Law of Mehmed II,* which divided the *Timariots* into five categories according to their military duties. The first one disposed of a revenue which varied from a few hundred to 2000 *aspres;* the second one disposed of revenues between 2000 and 3000 *aspres;* the third one enjoyed a revenue ranging between 3000 and 15,000 *aspres* at the most; the fourth one carried sums that varied between some 15,000 and 150,000 *aspres.* Finally, the fifth category, that of the *sancakbeg,* could claim revenues exceeding 300,000 and even 400,000 *aspres.*

The fourth chapter *Timar:* Structure; Revenus; Octroi; Formalités d'attribution investigates the elements involved in the composition of a *Timar,* regardless of their nature, the importance of the revenues allotted and the modalities of their collection, the reasons for the award and the formalities of their concession.

The *Timar* comprised two fundamental parts: Reserves and Revenues of a fiscal or other origin. In the first part of the chapter, Beldiceanu investigates the *Timarial* Reserve, designated in Ottoman sources as *hassa čiftlik, hassa yeri, hassha-yı sipahıyan* or *kılıč yeri,* and represents the run of the economy under its own management. The author shows the ways in which the *Timariots* managed these tenures: forced labour (corvée) owed by the raïas, the transfer of a reserve to a raïa against the right of tapu; association with the raïas or renting.

The chapter then deals with fiscal revenues and others, where it makes an analysis of customary laws and religious laws. When dealing with *ispence,* the author might have noted with profit the study by D. Bojanić-Lukač: *De la nature et de l'origine de l'ispendje.* In: WZKM, *68,* 1976, pp. 9—30, which presents an original treatment of' this tax.

As to the modes of *Timarial* taxes, Beldiceanu points out that *Timarial* revenues could be levied directly by the *Timariot* or given on lease.

261

The closing part of this chapter is concerned with the transmission of the *Timar* and with formalities attending the granting of a *Timar*. As to whether the *Timar* was hereditary, the author states that in principle it was not. The conditions under which a man's *Timar* could be taken over by his sons or grandsons, were strictly defined. Likewise the qualifications for holding a *Timar*, as also transgressions for which it could be removed, were anchored in the codex. Here, besides a failure to fulfil military duties, we also find delicts of a moral order: crime, impiety, inebriety, fornication with a Moslem woman, bad treatment of the raïas, etc. However, the Porta could rescind a *Timar* without giving concrete reasons.

Finally, it deals with administrative formalities governing the awarding of a *Timar*.

The duties and obligations of *Timariots* form the subject of the fifth chapter: Les timariotes et leurs obligations. As noted above, Beldiceanu divides military *Timars* into horsemen (cavalry) and non-cavalry. In the majority of cases, the former were bound to render personal service on horseback, with the obligation to present themselves with a prescribed number of horsemen and an equipment fixed in proportion to the conceded revenue. These obligations were exactly set down in Ottoman codices, particularly in the *Customary Code of Mehmed II*, and as evident from writings dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, the Porte consistently adhered to them. Military non-cavalry *Timar* reveal that the granting of a military *Timar* was not always connected with cavalry service, for commandants of fortresses (*dizdar*) and garrisons, too, could receive them.

Of unusual value to the history of the Ottoman establishment is the closing part of this chapter which brings the terminology referring to military obligations; it gives detailed characteristics of the equipment of *Timariots* and their troops.

The conclusions contained in the sixth chapter are not merely a summarizing of the concepts resulting from an analysis of the sources and discussed in the various chapters. Beldiceanu asks also the question: Is the *Timar* a feudal institution? Basing his inference on differences of a secondary character between the Ottoman and West-European society, the author gives a negative answer. He observes that the *Timariot* is not a proprietor, an owner, and enjoys the revenues, for the most part of a fiscal nature, temporarily only and in return for services. His endowment has nothing in common with the fief and the plurality of feudal benefices of the Western Middle Ages. He goes so far as to look for a resemblance between the *Timariot* and the raïa.

The Bibliography brings an extensive list of manuscript materials, predominantly from the fifteenth—sixteenth century, classed also according to geographical regions, and also a list of books and studies, which, however, might usefully be supplemented with further works. A carefully compiled index has been provided.

N. Beldiceanu's book, based on a considerable quantity of sources hitherto unknown, constitutes the most detailed analysis available on the *Timar* in the Ottoman Empire during the first centuries of its existence. It brings in numerous new

insights and endeavours complexly to encompass the function of the *Timar* in the Ottoman society.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Zâkir Şükri Efendi: *Die Istanbuler Derwischkonvente und ihre Scheiche (Mecmuᶜa-i Tekaya)*. Nach dem Typoskript von Mehmed Serhan Tayşı herausgegeben, eingeleitet und mit Indizes versehen von Klaus Kreiser. Islamkundliche Materialien. Band 6. Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1980. XV+114 S.

Die Münchener Turkologie leistete mit mehreren Arbeiten einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der Derwischkonvente im Osmanischen Reich. F. Babinger, vor allem jedoch H. J. Kissling zusammen mit englischen Forschern machten sich verdient um die Erforschung des Derwischtums und diese Arbeit setzen auch seine Schüler, konkret der Herausgeber der rezensierten Publikation K. Kreiser, fort.

K. Kreiser veröffentlicht das kompilierte Werk *Mecmuᶜa-i Tekaya* von Zâkir Şükri Efendi, das von Mehmed Serhan Tayşı, dem Bibliothekar der Millet Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, in die lateinische Schrift umgesetzt wurde. Der Kern der im Belediye Kütüphanesi (M. Cevdet Yazmalari 75) hinterlegten Handschrift entstand irgendwann im letzten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts, sie enthält jedoch auch weitere Ergänzungen, obschon aus der Hand des eigentlichen Kompilators oder anderer Personen bis in nicht ferne Zeiten hinein. Das Werk bringt Angaben über 159 Istanbuler *tekye* (Konvente) sowie deren Vorgesetzte (Scheiche).

Was den biographischen Wert der Arbeit betrifft, bringt diese außer dem Namen des Scheichs meist den Namen dessen Vaters, manchmal auch weitere Angaben über Verwandte, das Datum seines Ablebens, seiner Amtszeit und den Begräbnisort. Es ist interessant, daß lediglich bei einem Viertel die Zugehörigkeit der Scheiche zu diesem oder jenem Orden (*tarika*) angegeben wird.

Bei den Konventen führt das Werk gewöhnlich die Lage, den Namen des Stifters, sowie das Datum der Gründung des Konvents an. Wie der Editor hinzufügt, sind diese Angaben jedoch nicht als erschöpfend zu betrachten, da es auf Grund von Angaben anderer Quellen in Istanbul Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts eine doppelte Anzahl von Konventen gegeben hat als von Şükri Efendi angegeben wird.

Beim Zusammenstellen seiner Kompilation lehnte sich İsmail Şükri ausgiebig an die mündliche Informationen der Vorgesetzten oder der Mitglieder der Istanbuler Konvente an, die wahrscheinlich zusammen mit dem epigraphischen Material die Hauptquellen des Werkes gewesen sind.

Der Editor K. Kreiser versah das Werk mit sorgfältig ausgearbeiteten Indizes der Tekyes, Stifter, Scheiche und Tarikas.

Das herausgegebene Werk Zâkir Şükri Efendis ist zweifelsohne eine Bereicherung der Quellen zum Studium der Derwischorden im Osmanischen Reich und bietet wertvolles Material zur Erforschung der Rolle des Derwischtums in der osmanischen Gesellschaft.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Enginün, İnci: *Halide Edib Adıvar'ın eserlerinde Doğu ve Batı meselesi* (The Problem of East and West in the Works of Halide Edib Adıvar). Istanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası 1978. VIII+583 pp.

This monograph by Dr. İnci Enginün, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Letters, University of Istanbul, takes a look at Halide Edib Adıvar's (1882—1964) personality, literary work and publicist activity from the aspect of the relation which this foremost figure of the new Turkish literature bore to the culture and society of the East and the West. By the term East is here meant the Ottoman Empire and later the Turkish Republic, while the West refers primarily to Great Britain, partly also to France and Germany, but in the last stage of the writer's creative work, the United States of America became to her an incorporation of Western civilization.

The positive qualities, but also numerous negative features accompanying the penetration of Western culture and civilization into the Ottoman Empire became reflected in the works of Turkish writers from about the last quarter of the last century. In the introductory section of this Momograph (Giriş, pp. 18—76), Dr. Enginün speaks of three generations of writers before Halide Edib who in their work had endeavoured to take up a definite attitude towards this weighty issue. The third generation to which belongs also Halide Edib by her literary beginnings, was influenced by four different trends of thought and Dr. Enginün points out the possible impact of these various trends on Halide Edib's work.

In the section entitled Her Life (Hayatı, pp. 18—76), Dr. Enginün examines what role the two cultures had played in the education of the future writer and how these impressions and observations from her youth became projected in her works. A detailed analysis is here presented also of Halide Edib's social and public activity for the general welfare, her active participation in the fight for national independence. The time spent on the battlefields during the National Liberation war left a deep mark on the writer's work and proved a stimulus for her best novel Shirt of Fire (*Ateşten gömlek,* 1923). Here, face to face with the barbarous atrocities of which members of the Western civilization were capable, she achieves a revaluation of the spiritual wealth of her own nation. Even a prolonged stay outside her country and her immediate contact with Western culture and civilization failed to reduce Halide Edib's respect for the traditions of her nation, and its values.

264

Dr. Enginün indicates the year 1946 as the beginning of a new period, a new stage in Halide Edib's work. This writer took up a negative attitude towards modern society that appeared to her as a "market".

In the third, the most comprehensive section of the monograph (pp. 77—398), the authoress takes note of the way Halide Edib tackled the East-West problem in her various literary works, particularly her novels, how she saw the positive and negative influence of Western culture and civilization on the Turkish society. Unfortunately one can speak here not of an analysis of Halide Edib's novels, but rather of their reinterpretation accompanied with the authoress' fragmentary commentaries.

İnci Enginün is better in drawing her own conclusions in her analysis of the novel New Turan (*Yeni Turan*, 1912). In her view, the term Turan in Halide Edib's apprehension cannot be identified with Turan as propagated by Ziya Gökalp in his conception of Pan-Turkism. Under New Turan, Halide Edib does not imply a unification of all the Turkish nations under the hegemony of the Turks, but a revival of the Turkish nation within the framework of the Ottoman Empire.

Dr. Enginün presents a positive appreciation of the heroine of the novel, Kaya, the first type of woman in Turkish literature who is not motivated and determined uniquely by love and family, but as an equivalent partner of a man, plays an active role in the society.

Halide Edib's conceptions about an ideal constitutional system of the Turkish State after the model of the American Federation became projected in the views of Oğuz, the male protagonist in the novel New Turan. This same American model was also reflected in the so-called Friday Schools which Kaya organized among adherents of the New Turan.

The authoress of the monograph devotes considerable attention to the novel The Clown and His Daughter (*Sinekli Bakkal*, 1936), written in English and which Halide Edib herself translated into Turkish. This gave rise to the view that it had primarily been destined to foreign readers. However, Dr. Enginün polemizes with this view. She draws attention to the nostalgia that permeates the entire plot set in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, underlining that precisely the high spiritual values of the past decline and are dying out in modern times due also to a penetration of the Western culture into the Orient. The confrontation of the Ottoman culture with that of the West in this novel by Halide Edib unequivocally results in favour of the Eastern traditions.

As pointed out by Dr. Enginün, the East-West issue was replaced in Halide Edib's last novels by the problem of a degeneration of the old Istanbul families and the rise of a new social élite made up of members of lower strata and immigrants from Anatolia (p. 379).

Dr. İ. Enginün has here reserved less space to an analysis of some of Halide Edib's true masterpieces than they deserve, viz. her short stories. She deals in some detail only with the allegorical story The Wolf Going up the Mountain (*Daǧa çıkan kurt*) in

a collection of stories bearing the same title (1922), inspired by the fight of the Turkish nation for its independence.

At the end of the third section of the monograph, Dr. Enginün assesses Halide Edib's translation works as also her theoretical judgment on translation. The writer was of the opinion that it is better to translate a good work than to write a bad one.

In the subsequent section of this monograph (pp. 399—459), the authoress deals with Halide Edib's publicist activity and her ideological publications. She had began to contribute articles to newspapers and journals back in 1908. From the extensive range of topics on which she wrote, Dr. Enginün puts in the first place of 'dominat themes' that of education, then in the second place freedom and the concomitant democracy. Halide Edib devoted extraordinary attention to problems affecting the education of women.

Halide Edib has written six books devoted to questions of mutual cultural contacts between the East and West. Three of them were written in English while the authoress lived abroad, and in them she defends her view on a mutual supplementing of two such divergent cultures as those of the East and West.

In the Conclusion (Netice, pp. 460—476), Dr. Enginün underscores the specific place occupied by Halide Edib's works among those in Turkish literature that reflect the East-West issue. In contrast to her predecessors and contemporaries, Halide Edib has made the woman the centre of her work and examined from various aspects the relation of the Turkish woman to the spiritual and material values of the East and West.

Dr. Enginün states in her Conclusion that while Halide Edib's first works are 'protagonist novels' in which the principal problem is that of a correct education of the individual as the basis of a healthy society, later her works begin to reflect society as such with its positive and negative aspects.

Already while analysing Halide Edib's individual works, Dr. Enginün noted that music played a considerable role in the writer's novels and this she stresses again in the Conclusion. At first, European music is but the mark of a high cultural attainment of the characters in the novels, of their orientation westward; later, when confronting it with Turkish musical genres, Halide Edib gives occasion to the traditional values to stand out.

Dr. Enginün concludes the East-West problem, as it was reflected in Halide Edib Adıvar's works, in the following manner: "All in all, neither is the East bad, nor the West good. The positive values looked for are all the time in both the worlds, and as is generally assumed, they are not hostile one towards the other. To get rid of its drawbacks, the East has to turn towards the West, and the West towards the East, they must create a synthesis without mutually destroying each other. An ideal example of such a synthesis in the past was the Ottoman Empire. In future, the formation of such a synthesis is expected between Turkey and India" (p. 476).

The monograph carries also a thoroughly processed Bibliography (pp. 477—561).

In the Preface (p. VII) Dr. Enginün asks to be excused for minor omissions in the bibliography due to the wide-ranging publicist activity of Halide Edib outside of Turkey. The bibliography includes a chronological list of Halide Edib's works, discussions on her personality and works and a review of references used in the present book. An author and a subject index are appended, together with an alphabetical list of the characters (pp. 563—583).

Dr. İnci Enginün has collected an impressive quantity of material, nevertheless, in its processing she has confined her efforts to the descriptive method without penetrating deeper into its core. She reproduces Halide Edib's designs and views without even attempting to polomize with them. The monograph states merely parallels between Halide Edib's various novels, but completely bypasses the relations and affinities between the writer's works and the home and foreign literary message. Thus, by the present monograph, the authoress has made good only partly the debt owed by Turkish literary scholarship to Halide Edib Adıvar in the study and criticism of her life-long work.

*Xénia Celnarová*

Kraft, Gisela: *Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca — Weltschöpfung und Tiersymbolik.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen. Band 50. Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1978. 331 S.

Die hervorragende Erscheinung der zeitgenössischen türkischen Literatur, der Dichter Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca (geb. 1914) veröffentlichte bislang an die fünfzig Gedichtsammlungen. Auch wenn es sich vorwiegend um zarte Büchlein handelt, gleicht der tiefe philosophische Inhalt und der hohe künstlerische Wert der darin beinhalteten Gedichte deren geringen Umfang aus. Es ist jedoch fast verblüffend, daß diesem von jeder Seite betrachteten einzigartigen Schaffen bislang noch nicht das Interesse der türkischen Kritiker und Literaturwissenschaftler zuteil wurde, das es sich durch seine Bedeutung und seine Stelle im Kontext der neuen türkischen Poesie mit Recht verdient hätte.

Der Monographie Gisela Krafts kommt so die Erstrangigkeit des konsequenten analytischen Zutritts zu Dağlarcas Werk zu. Es ist verständlich, daß es im Rahmen einer Monographie nicht tragbar wäre das Lebenswerk eines Dichters von solchem Leistungsvermögen, wie es Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca ist, von allen Gesichtspunkten in seinem ganzen Umfang zu untersuchen, besonders angesichts der Tatsache, daß auf diesem Gebiet noch beinahe nichts getan wurde. Die Autorin wählte einen spezifischen Zutritt zu Dağlarcas Poesie, ihre Analyse richtet sich auf das Erfassen des Prozesses der Weltschöpfung, den der Dichter mit lyrischen Mitteln erreicht. Das lyrische Ich von Dağlarcas Poesie identifiziert sich mit der Natur. In diese Einheit gliedert sich die Welt der Tiere organisch ein. Zur Grundaufgabe der

rezensierten Monographie wurde die Untersuchung der Tiersymbolik als eines Schlüssels, mit dessen Hilfe es möglich ist zum Begreifen des Menschen und dessen Platzes im All durchzudringen, wie sich dies im Werk des türkischen Dichters widerspiegelt.

Die Arbeit gliedert sich in zwei Teile, einen deskriptiven und einen analytischen. Im ersten Teil (Der Aufbau des lyrischen Weltkörpers, S. 18—187) bringt die Autorin eine chronologische Übersicht über Dağlarcas Schaffen mit dessen Erstlingswerk In die Luft gezeichnete Welt (*Havaya çizilen dünya*) aus dem Jahre 1935 beginnend und mit den 1977 herausgegebenen Sammlungen schließend. Als von einer „Übersicht" läßt es sich jedoch nur über die seit 1973 erscheinenden Buchausgaben reden. Gisela Kraft gab sich mit der einfachen Beschreibung von Dağlarcas Gedichtsammlungen nicht zufrieden, bereits in diesem Teil ihrer Monographie unterwirft sie einer tieferen Analyse, einer Konfrontation mit breiteren historisch-philosophisch-gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhängen die einzelnen Gedichte, vor allem jedoch jene aus den Jahren 1935—1945 und 1949—1965.

Den zweiten Teil ihrer Monographie (Stufen sprachlicher Realisation in der Tiersymbolik, S. 189—281) leitet G. Kraft mit einer kurzen Definition der Termini *Topos, Symbol, Thema* und *Textur* ein, mit denen sie bei der Analyse der Funktion der Tiersymbolik in Dağlarcas dichterischem Werk operieren wird.

Ein außerordentlich frequentierter Darsteller des Tierreiches in Dağlarcas Poesie ist das Pferd, was hinsichtlich der geschichtlichen Bindung der Türken an das Pferd verständlich ist. Dies gibt auch die Berechtigung den Begriff Pferd in der Funktion des Topos zu untersuchen.

Als Symbol faßt G. Kraft den Begriff Vogel auf, der in Dağlarcas dichterischem Werk am häufigsten vorkommt. Unter anderem konfrontiert sie hier die symbolische Bedeutung des Vogels in der Rolle des Vermittlers zwischen Gott und Mensch in der Antike sowie bei Dağlarca.

Während die Begriffe Pferd und Vogel in Dağlarcas Poesie die Funktionen des Topos und des Symbols erfüllen, ist der Begriff das Rind hingegen mit seinen arttypischen Merkmalen bedacht. Das Hornvieh figuriert in Dağlarcas Gedichten als Thema. Besonders aktuell wird es dann, wenn sich ein Gedicht auf Anatolien bezieht.

Den bemerkenswertesten Teil der Monographie stellt die minuziöse Analyse des Titelgedichts der Sammlung Totenklage auf ein hennageschmücktes Lamm (*Kınalı kuzu ağıdı*) aus dem Jahre 1972 dar, das die Autorin als „die Frucht eines langen Weges" (S. 278) auffaßt. Mit den Worten der Autorin gesagt, auf diesem Weg „die vormals eindimensionale Ichwelt hatte sich damit um die Volk-Dimension erweitert und, den Schicksalen des Volkes folgend, das Land als weitere Dimension den poetischen wie der realen Schöpfung erfahren" (S. 279). Die neue Dimension, die Welt-Dimension, tritt in das Werk des Dichters damals ein, wenn sich dieser der Wechselbeziehungen zwischen den Völkern der Welt gewahr wird und diese zu

betrachten beginnt. Und gerade das Gedicht Totenklage auf ein hennageschmücktes Lamm erscheint G. Kraft als der symbolische Ausdruck des Welt-Leidens. Gleichzeitig gelangte hier der Dichter zur Identifizierung der Welt mit der Sprache.

Die mit einem reichhaltigen Anmerkungsapparat belegte Monographie von Gisela Kraft zeugt nicht nur von einem gründlichen Durchdringen der Autorin ins dichterische Werk Fazıl HüsnüDağlarcas, sondern auch von ihren reichen Kenntnissen aus dem Bereich der Historie, der Philosophie, der Ethnographie, der Kunstgeschichte (das Verzeichnis der angewendeten Literatur enthält, außer Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarcas Buchausgaben, 160 Buchtitel). Diese Erudition gestattete es der Autorin die Zeichensysteme von Dağlarcas Lyrik in einer breiten Konfrontation mit geschichtlichen, kulturellen und sozialen Zusammenhängen zu analysieren. Ihr Werk kann als kühnes, dabei aber erfolgreiches Beschreiten des Weges zur Aufdeckung der Werte einer der großen Persönlichkeiten der türkischen Literatur betrachtet werden.

*Xénia Celnarová*


Kubelin, V. B.: *Poeziya Yunusa Emre. K voprosu o gumanizme v literature srednikh vekov* (The Poetry of Yunus Emre. On problems of Humanism in Mediaeval Literature). Moscow, Nauka 1980. 175 pp.

Yunus Emre (1240—1320) and his poetry, so close to the popular strata by its language and its rhythmicity, have rightly been given a wider publicity over the past few decades. Thanks to the work of several prominent Turkish literary scholars, much of the mysteriousness and vagueness about the life of this forceful personality of Turkish mediaeval mysticism has been unveiled.

But far less attention has been devoted to Yunus Emre's work as such. V. B. Kubelin in the introduction to his book observes that many fundamental issues in the poet's work have not been processed as yet, and in his present monograph he has focused attention on one of them, viz. that of humanism in Yunus Emre's writings. The first chapter of the monograph (pp. 9—25) brings a critical assessment of studies published thus far on Yunus Emre and his poetry. Here the author presents a brief analysis of the myths and legends woven about the mystic's life, pointing out elements common to similar legends in other nations.

In the introduction to the second chapter (pp. 26—46), dealing with the philosophical and ethical problems of Yunus Emre's poetry, V. B. Kubelin dwells on the sources of the mystic's world outlook. In contrast to many other Islamic mystics of the Middle Ages, Yunus Emre does not turn away from the real world. In accordance with the ideas of a pantheistic Sufism, he identified God with nature, his

celebration of God in his poetry was simultaneously a celebration of nature. A knowledge of God — truth — in Yunus Emre's apprehension can be arrived at solely through love. However, he alone can achieve true love who loves the surrounding world and man in it. V. B. Kubelin sees a deeply humanist meaning in this idea of love. To it is also related the mystic's principle of absolute equality which he preaches in his writings and which stands in sharp contrast to the orthodox Islamic teaching. Yunus Emre sees the roots of social inequality to reside in disloyalty to faith and accordingly he is of the opinion that this can be righted through self-knowledge and good deeds.

In the third chapter of the monograph (pp. 47—67), the author analyses the fundamental aspects of Yunus Emre's lyric. He is not concerned merely with outlining the problem circuit raised by the mystical poet in his work, but he also studies the way in which the basic laws of mediaeval literary laws became reflected in Yunus Emre's poetry. This poet's uniqueness resides precisely in the fact that he not only took over a great number of Sufist motifs and images, but that he succeeded in imbuing them with a new meaning.

The poetics of Yunus Emre's work is a subject of investigation of Chapter IV (pp. 68—87). V. B. Kubelin points out that the originality of the Yunusian verse is primarily given by an organic fusion of two traditions, viz. the lyricism of mediaeval Islamic mysticism and folk poetry whose influence is particularly evident in religious hymns (ilâhi) written by Yunus Emre. The poet's relationship to folk tradition became most strikingly manifest in the system of images in his poetry. V. B. Kubelin supports this statement of his by comparing Yunus Emre's verses with The Book of Dede Korkut.

When analysing the language of Yunus Emre's poetry, the author notes that it is a representative of a Turkish language widely used in Asia Minor in the thirteenth-fourteenth century, however, it should be borne in mind that over the centuries, the language of the poet's literary message inevitably underwent changes.

In Chapter V (pp. 88—96), the author of this monograph polemizes with the views of some Turkish literary scholars who, to his mind, failed to appreciate to the full value the didactic poem *Risaletü'n-Nushiyye* (Instructive Message), considering it to be, from the artistic aspect, one of Yunus Emre's minor works. According to V. B. Kubelin, the Turkish mystic, in harmony with didactic traditions characteristic of mediaeval literature, has here logically and consistently portrayed a scheme of the disposition of the world.

The Conclusion (pp. 97—105) summarizes the author's concepts gathered from his investigation of Yunus Emre's poetic work. He sees the climax of the mystic's thinking in a humanistic dialectics identifying man with God and vice versa. Finally, V. B. Kubelin outlines perspectives of research into the significant role which Yunus Emre's work had played in the development of Turkish poetry in the subsequent centuries. It should be noted that the author, by his comparisons — referred to only

marginally in this monograph — of Yunus Emre's and Jelaluddin-i-Rumi's poetry, has traced out the perspective of investigation also in the opposite direction: in what measure did the great Persian mystic of the thirteenth century, who had spent the major part of his life on the territory of Asia Minor, influence the formation of Yunus Emre's world outlook and his poetry. Interesting revelations might also be brought to light by a deeper confrontation of Yunus Emre's views with the ideas of the leader of one of the biggest peasant risings in Turkey, the sheikh Bedreddin Simavi (1360—1419).

A translation of Yunus Emre's selected poems (pp. 109—170) constitutes a supplement to the monograph. In this choice, V. B. Kubelin was prompted by the need to present the versatility of the poet's work. The initial verse of the various translated poems is in the language of the original, with the exception of those works that were given their own heading in Turkish editions.

V. B. Kubelin's study represents a step forward in our knowledge of so significant a cultural heritage of the Turkish nation as undoubtedly is the poetic work of Yunus Emre.

*Xénia Celnarová*


Melikov, T. D.: *Turetskaya poeziya 60-kh — nachala 80-kh godov. Osnovnye tendentsii i napravleniya* (Turkish Poetry of the 60s — early 70s. Basic Trends and Movements). Moscow, Nauka 1980. 115 pp.

Turkish poetry had to go through a long-term and complex development before getting free of the restraints imposed by almost six centuries of the domination of the canons of Arab and Persian poetica. Positive changes took place first in the topic, later we notice them in the language of poems, and finally also the *aruz* comes to be refuted — a time-measuring system absolutely unsuitable to the phonetic structure of the Turkish language.

As the author, the Soviet Turcologist T. D. Melikov stresses in his Introduction to this book, the development of the new Turkish poetry is related not only exclusively to literary phenomena, but likewise to the socio-political events in the country. Therefore, before pursuing an analysis of the various poetic movements, in the chapter Literature and Reality (Literatura i deistvitelnost, pp. 9—23) he points to various ideological influences that exerted a positive, but to a great extent also a negative impact on the Turkish society, especially on the young, after the coup d'état of 27th May 1960. The author also mentions here the question, much debated then, of the relation between politics and literature and also its relation to the cultural heritage of the nation. In the conclusion of this introductory chapter, T. D.

Melikov speaks of the role played by the works of Soviet authors and of Nazım Hikmet in reinforcing Marxist aesthetics in Turkey.

In the next chapter (pp. 25—36), the author goes back to the fifties in order to evaluate the poetic movement the "Second New" (*İkinci Yeni*), the works of which had a considerable influence on the development of Turkish poetry in the subsequent years. The birth of this subjectivist, introvertly oriented poetic movement had been conditioned not merely by the stuffy political atmosphere in the land, but its origin had been contributed to also by the crisis of the "First New" (*Birinci Yeni*) — a poetic movement that held a leading position in Turkish poetry of the forties. The artistic principles of the "Second New" were deduced from Western avantgardist poetry, primarily from the symbolists, dadaists, and surrealists.

Despite numerous negative traits in the poetry of the "Second New", it should be given credit for having enriched the imagery, composition and rhythmical structure of Turkish poetry. Its positive results have been fruitfully utilized also by several representatives of the "First New" in their works from the sixties and early seventies. A special chapter (pp. 37—58) has been devoted in this book to the works of three of the most outstanding representatives of the "First New", viz. Behçet Necatigil, Melih Cevdet Anday and Oktay Rifat.

In the last, the most comprehensive chapter (pp. 59—109) the author analyses the socially oriented works of some representatives of the earlier and the youngest generation of Turkish poets. By way of introduction, he underlines Nazım Hikmet's role in reinforcing the position of social poetry (*toplumcu şiir*—the author does not translate this expression but uses it in the original) in Turkish literature, giving a brief characteristic of the development of social poetry during the forties and fifties of this century. He further draws attention to the qualitative changes that took place in social poetry in the sixties and early seventies. Not only has social poetry prompted many of its representatives to recognize that social evil could possibly be removed only through social changes, not only has it acquired an antibourgeois and anti-imperialist character, but it has enriched itself with new forms of artistic expression. Authors of social poetry utilize in their poems also certain procedures of the "Second New", without, on the other hand, turning their back to Turkish folklore. They approach the literary message so that it be in harmony with the goals they had set themselves in their own work, based on a revolutionary world outlook.

From representatives of the older generation, T. D. Melikov analyses in separate subchapters the works of Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca (1914) and Ahmet Arif (1925). Dağlarca's poetry is characterized by new, original aesthetic values, thanks to which it becomes unusually effective. His use of artistic procedures based on folk poetry is especially typical in poems with a clear social topic. Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca, as also Ahmet Arif, a continuator of Nazım Hikmet's traditions, made a considerable impact on the works of younger representatives of social poetry to which T. D. Melikov devotes the concluding subchapter of his book.

In 1967, 32 young men of letters grouped themselves around the magazine Yeni Gerçek (New Reality). In a Manifesto which they published, they expressed their views on literature, on the need for its revival. To the poets of this group this meant a fight with the "Second New", a political orientation of poetic works. Disagreements of views on the roles of socialist art, its aims and further development brought about a dissolution of the group.

The ability and skill of young poets, authors of social poetry, analytically to portray social conflicts, contradictions, problems of contemporary Turkey, became evident in a number of anthologies of poetry published in the second half of the sixties and early seventies.

As the most characteristic representative of the young social poetry, T. D. Melikov cites Ataol Behramoğlu (1942). The author gives a detailed analysis of the title poem of his collection One Day Certainly (*Bir gün mutlaka*, 1970) where he points to an application of artistic procedures of the "Second New", without, however, denying the young poet his endeavours to set himself new principles of a symbolic and especially a rhythmic-intonational organization of his poem.

In conclusion, the author deals with the response of the representatives of the young poetic generation to events following the proclamation of the Memoranda in March 1971. He observes that the experiences which these young authors had acquired during this tragic period, forced them to revaluate their works and their views, to recognize their errors and to arrive at correct conclusions.

By attempting an assessment of Turkish poetry of recent years against a background of the political and social situation prevailing in the country, this minor work as content goes, by the Soviet Turcologist T. D. Melikov, permits a broader view of this attractive domain of contemporary Turkish culture, its ideological context.

*Xénia Celnarová*

Wannig, Klaus Detlev: *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik.* Studien zur Sprache, Kultur und Geschichte der Türkvölker. Band 1. Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1980. 737 S.

K. D. Wannig nahm sich in dieser Arbeit einer sehr verdienstvollen, aber auch einer ungewöhnlich schwierigen Aufgabe an: das Werk des großen nationalen Klassikers der türkischen Poesie Karaca Oğlan zerfließt bei einer eingehenderen Analyse wie Sand zwischen den Fingern. Es ist dies nämlich vorwiegend ein Werk durch mündliche Tradition jahrhundertelang überliefert, während der zweifelsohne Änderungen eingetreten sind, viele Gedichte wurden bestimmt vergessen, andere wurden Karaca Oğlan irrtümlicherweise zugeschrieben, viele wurden abgeändert

und entstellt. Es handelt sich um einen Komplex, der heutzutage an die sechshundert uns bekannte Gedichte enthält, der bei weitem nicht homogen ist, in dem jedoch deutlich die starke dichterische Persönlichkeit, eines in den Literaturen des Vorderen Orients vereinzelten Charakters dominiert. Die Authentizität der einzelnen Gedichte ist jedoch zweifelhaft. Hier wäre es möglich zur Bearbeitung der Monographie entweder so heranzutreten, indem wir den ganzen Gedichtkomplex als einen Komplex von Gedichten verschiedener Volksdichter (nach İ. Başgöz Karaca Oğlans Schule) auffassen würden, oder aber könnten wir von diesem Problem bewußt absehen und uns auf das Werk selbst, als wäre es ein homogenes, konzentrieren. Diesen zweiten Weg wählt der Autor der Monographie. Hinsichtlich seiner Arbeitsmethode ist dieser Zutritt berechtigt. In diesem Sinne ist auch die vorliegende Rezension verfaßt.

Wannigs Werk zeichnet sich durch bewundernswerte Erudition und Kenntnisse aus, und das nicht nur auf dem Gebiet der islamischen, sondern auch der europäischen Literatur und Kultur, sowie der Poetik und Rhetorik des Vorderen Orients und Europas. Das ermöglicht ihm Karaca Oğlans Werk in breiten Zusammenhängen zu sehen. Kennzeichnend ist schon die Tatsache, daß er seine Monographie mit einer neuen Klassifizierung der türkischen Literatur einleitet. Bislang wurde das Schaffen der Volksdichter als ein Teil der Volksliteratur, die parallel zur klassischen Literatur steht, aufgefaßt. K. D. Wannig reiht dieses Schaffen als eine selbständige, zwischen der klassischen und der anonymen Volksliteratur stehende Art ein. Diese Einteilung benötigt eine weitere eingehende Bearbeitung (z. B. das Schaffen der nichtanonymen Volksdichter — der *âşıks* — kann man begriffsmäßig unmöglich automatisch mit den mittleren Schichten der Bevölkerung und dem Milieu der kleinen Städte verbinden — knüpfen sich doch die herrlichsten Werke dieser dichterischen Tradition, das Werk Karaca Oğlans inbegriffen, an das nomadische und ländliche Milieu). Sie ist jedoch sehr konstruktiv und läßt sich passend an die gänzliche Entwicklung der türkischen Poesie bis in die Gegenwart anwenden. Die *hikâye* (volkstümliche Begebenheiten), die ebenfalls von den *âşıks* geschaffen, überliefert und zu deren Helden üblicherweise auch sie selbst wurden, reiht der Autor dieser Monographie in seiner Klassifizierung in den Bereich der Volksliteratur ein.

Im Rahmen der mittleren Schichte der Poesie (eigentlich der Lieder) der *âşık-Dichtung* klammert der Autor den türkischen *Minnesang*, einen Typ von Gedichten vorwiegend mit Liebesthematik, aus. Hierher gehört auch das Werk Karaca Oğlans. (Es ist dabei nicht ganz deutlich, wie der Autor mit den Begriffen *âşik-* und *saz-Dichter* umgeht, er gebraucht sie anscheinend parallel.) Seine Vergleiche mit dem andalusischen und europäischen Minnesang sind oft bemerkenswert, auch wenn dessen soziale Rolle, die der Autor beinahe außer Acht läßt, anscheinend recht unterschiedlich gewesen ist.

Der Autor befaßt sich mit Karaca Oğlans Werk recht eingehend, er betrachtet dessen Veröffentlichungen, dessen Vorkommen in Handschriften, sowie die Auf-

zeichnungen aus mündlicher Überlieferung. (Bislang ist keine kritische Herausgabe erfolgt, was die Analyse von Karaca Oğlans Werk sehr schwierig gestaltet.)

Über das Leben des Dichters ist nichts bekannt. Es wird sogar um das Jahrhundert in dem er lebte gestritten (16. oder 17. Jahrhundert; die zweite Eventualität wird häufiger anerkannt). Mit zahlreichen Belegen unterstützt Wannig seine Ansicht, daß der Dichter im 16. Jahrhundert gelebt hat. Er bestreitet gleichfalls die, von vielen Wissenschaftlern geäußerte Theorie, daß es zwei oder auch mehrere Autoren gegeben haben soll, die unter dem Namen Karaca Oğlan (der immer im letzten Verssatz des Gedichtes angeführt wurde) geschaffen hätten. Dabei führt er in der Übersicht der *naẓīre* (der formal bewußt parallelen Gedichte anderer Autoren) jedoch selbst einen Autor mit dem dichterischen Pseudonym Karaca Oğlan an. Diese Fragen sind bei weitem noch nicht gelöst und vielleicht wird erst die künftige Forschung eine endgültige Antwort bringen.

Der Autor tritt auch an die formale Klassifizierung der Gedichte der *âşıks* unkonventionell heran, indem er sie dermaßen abändert, daß sie zweifelsohne an Übersichtlichkeit und Logik gewinnen.

Die eigentliche Analyse von Karaca Oğlans Gedichten ist auf einem hohen methodischen und intellektuellen Niveau, in einem essayistischen und geistreichen Stil abgefaßt. Sein Zutritt ist manchmal sehr theoretisch (siehe die Kapitel „Der Unterschied von ‚mitgeteiltem Inhalt' und ‚Inhalt der Mitteilung' ", „Realismus oder Beispielwelt?" u. a.), ein anderes Mal ganz konkret, z.B. bei der formalen Charakteristik. Eine große Aufmerksamkeit ist der Analyse der für die mündliche improvisierte Poesie typischen Motive, Formeln und Klischees, der Stilistik und der Widerspiegelung der Realität, z.B. der Darstellung der Natur, gewidmet. Der Autor widerspricht den Behauptungen der Fachleute über den Realismus von Karaca Oğlans Poesie. Es ist notwendig sich hier dessen bewußt zu werden, wie dies übrigens der Autor auch so auffaßt, daß diese Aussprüche zweifelsohne nicht mit einer allgemeinen Gültigkeit, sondern lediglich im Kontext der türkischen Poesie gedacht sind, wo sie ihre relative Begründung haben. (Anm.: Des Dichters Schönheiten gehen auf den Hochebenen nicht nur spazieren, der *âşık* sieht sie des öfteren bei der Arbeit.)

Wannig analysiert auch die Widerspiegelung des Islam im Werk des Dichters, und vor allem die Auffassung des Hauptinhalts dessen Werks — der Liebesthematik. Hier zeigt der Autor, worin sich Karaca Oğlans Poesie von der klassischen Poesie des Diwans, sowie der Werke anderer *âşıks* unterscheidet. Unter dem Begriff der *Panegerik* versteht der Autor in Karaca Oğlans Fall die Huldigung der weiblichen Anmut und charakterisiert innerhalb der Grenzen der gegebenen Situation geschickt seinen unkonventionellen, vor allem auf unerwarteten Kombinationen und Wendungen beruhenden Zutritt des Dichters. Der Autor schenkt seine Aufmerksamkeit auch manchen anderen Faktoren und faßt das Werk des Dichters im weitesten Kontext der türkischen dichterischen Tradition auf.

Vom sprachlichen Gesichtspunkt her befaßt sich K. D. Wannig lediglich mit den schriftlichen Aufzeichnungen aus der mündlichen Überlieferung, die in der Mundart jenes Gebietes verfaßt sind, das Karaca Oğlans wahrscheinliche Heimat gewesen ist. (Der Komplex des Werkes, so wie uns dieses in den veröffentlichten Texten erhalten blieb, ist sprachlich in einem bestimmten dichterischen Koine, typisch für das Schaffen der *âşıks* ausgedrückt, mit einer gewissen mundartlichen Färbung.) Der Autor ließ einen wichtigen Aspekt von Karaca Oğlans Sprache außer Acht: nämlich das, im Vergleich mit der klassischen Poesie sowie mit Werken vieler anderer *âşıks*, verhältnismäßig reine Türkisch, das durch seine Unabhängigkeit von der arabischen und persischen Lexik mit zu jenen Faktoren zählt, weshalb Karaca Oğlans Schaffen noch heute lebendig ist und der türkischen Öffentlichkeit nahesteht.

Zur Analyse des Werkes des Dichters wäre noch hinzuzufügen, daß einer seiner kennzeichnenden Züge außer Acht gelassen wurde — die meisterhafte Nutzung des Details, die zur Anmut von Karaca Oğlans Poesie beiträgt.

In der Auswahl der Texte finden wir Proben den veröffentlichten Werken entnommen, sowie auch einige Gedichte, die vom Autor aus handschriftlichen Sammlungen herausgesucht wurden. Die Auswahl ist eine individuelle Angelegenheit: sie ist im Grunde gelungen, obwohl hier einige der schönsten und heutzutage in der Türkei populärsten Gedichte fehlen. Es ist nicht klar, warum das Lied von Genç Osman eingereiht wurde, das nach Wannigs Datierung Karaca Oğlan nicht zugeschrieben werden kann. Die deutsche Übersetzung ist ziemlich frei und manchmal dem Original nicht ganz treu, es gelang ihm jedoch das Poetische und die spezifische Atmosphäre von Karaca Oğlans Schaffen gut zu erfassen.

Den Abschluß des Buches bildet eine ungewöhnlich umfangreiche Bibliographie sowie detaillierte Register. Von Nutzen ist auch die Übersicht der *naẓīre.*

Wannigs Dissertation ist ein Buch bewußt polemisch zu den herkömmlichen Ansichten, die auf diesem Gebiet der türkischen Literaturwissenschaft und Folkloristik herrschen. (Das Werk Karaca Oğlans war bislang eher ein Gegenstand des Interesses der Folkloristen; Wannig erfaßt es hier aus dem Blickwinkel des Literaturwissenschaftlers, wenn es heutzutage überhaupt noch möglich ist diese Unterteilung aufrechtzuerhalten.) Die Anregungskraft dieser Monographie und ihre Untermauerung durch breitangelegte Kenntnisse ist nicht zu bezweifeln. Es widerspiegelt sich in ihr nicht nur der Standpunkt eines Turkologen, sondern auch der eines begabten Literatur-, und vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaftlers und Theoretikers. Dank dieser ihrer Art steht die Dissertation im gegebenen Bereich ganz einzigartig da.

Trotz aller Anmerkungen, die ein Werk von dieser Art gesetzmäßig hervorrufen muß, verdient es eine höchst positive Aufnahme.

*Jitka Zamrazilová-Weltman*

Serebryakova, M. N.: *Semya i semeinaya obryadnost v turetskoi derevne* (Family and Family Rites in the Turkish Village). Moscow, Nauka 1979. 167 pp.

This monograph by the Soviet ethnographer M. N. Serebryakova is not the result of her own field surveys, but rather of observations and notions of several Turkish, Soviet and Western ethnographers and sociologists on whom she drew for support in arriving at her own generalizations and conclusions.

The book comprises three chapters, the first of which (pp. 9—75) deals with the structure of the Turkish farmer family, the nature of the hierarchy among the members of the family and the principles governing the division of property, the work and social functions of the family members as conditioned by age and sex. The introductory section of this chapter is concerned with the social status of Turkish agriculture, the mode of its management and operation. A characteristic feature of Turkish agriculture is a coexistence of small, family-individual type of landholdings from 0.1 to 5 hectares, with private-capitalist and also State-capitalist forms of large-scale production. While, on the one hand, highly-mechanized farms are being set up on extensive expanses of land, small holdings are steadily being parcelled, on the other, as the passing away of the natural form of husbandry, due to the development of commodity-financial relationships, leads to a disintegration or a breaking down of the erstwhile great patriarchal families into small family collectives. M. N. Serebryakova, however, maintains that patriarchal relationships still persist also in such a small farmer family.

The traditionalism factor has not ceased to play an important role in all the domains of life among the Turkish country population, and the authoress adduces numerous examples in support of her statement, survivals inherited from ancestors. This is related in a considerable measure to the fact that the fundamental stratum of the Turkish society — the farmers and peasants — has preserved for the most part a mediaeval way of life, a stagnating standard of agricultural technique and production. The Turkish countryside is governed to this day by its own laws that have been formed during the course of centuries. A specific role in the formation of the Turkish farmer's mental world and way of thinking has been played by Islam. M. N. Serebryakova points out that the moral usages prescribed by Islam have not been observed in villages in the same measure as in country towns, which was related to the way of life of a farming family, its social position.

The way of life in a Turkish farming family, its status and that of its individual members is taken up in the closing section of Chapter I. Here, the authoress describes the order of the day in such a family, taking an especial note of the working obligations of a woman-mother on whom rest the principal claims for a smooth run of the home. She throws light on the humiliating and subordinate status of the woman in relation to its historical background.

Traditional wedding, entailing a great number of ceremonies, customs, stabilized

procedures, has not ceased to play a preponderant role in marriage contracts among the country folks. It is one of the most significant events in the life of Turkish country population. In Chapter II (pp. 76—120), Serebryakova, by a systematization of the material accessible to her and relating to wedding rites and customs in different parts of Turkey, has come to determine a typical model of a Turkish wedding.

She compares the Turkish wedding rite with the same ritual among the Greeks of Asia Minor and finds several parallels that speak for a process of mutual penetration and mutual cultural influencing of diverse ethnic components. This influencing is far from being one-sided — the Turkish wedding ceremonial bears evident traces of the influence of Greek wedding customs.

In addition, the authoress also takes up the problem of polygamy in this chapter, and polemizes with the view that relates the existing polygamy in Turkey with the Islamization of the country. Polygamy may be encountered also among Turkish nations that have not been affected by Islam, even among far-off ancestors of the Turks. In modern Turkey, monogamous matrimony has been legalized, nevertheless, polygamous forms persist, even though unofficially, principally among the wealthiest strata of the country population.

Chapter III (pp. 121—154) is devoted to rites, customs and superstitions attached to the birth of a new member of a family. In the introduction, the authoress describes irrational ways of fighting against infertility, which renders even worse the already sorry plight of a Turkish woman.

Considerable significance is attached in Turkish countryside to magic rites ensuring the birth of a male descendant. On the other hand, numerous superstitions are connected with the death of a newborn infant — quite a common occurrence under the conditions of the Turkish village. The most widespread is the superstition about the evil spirit *Al* who, for a full forty days after birth, threatens the child and its mother.

The choice of a name for the newborn is governed by traditional customs. Through the intermediary of the name, parents ensure happiness, protection of saints, certain qualities for the child. The magic of names is analogous to verbal spell-casting formulae.

The Conclusion (pp. 155—157) represents a brief summary of the generalizations and conclusions in the various chapters.

The Turkish countryside has preserved for very long many of the traditional forms of life, but here too, changes begin to penetrate at a steadily increasing pace. As a consequence, many of the institutions that have persisted for centuries now gradually lose their original signification, or slowly die out. Under these circumstances, every effort at fixing in writing all that is connected with the traditional forms of life, at elucidating it in the socio-historical frame of reference as the present authoress has done, should be specially welcomed.

*Xénia Celnarová*

Ersen-Rasch, Margarete I.: *Türkisch für Sie. Ein moderner Sprachkurs für Erwachsene.* Bd. I—III. München, Max Hueber Verlag 1980. 232+224+359 S.

Es gibt eine ganze Reihe von Lehrbüchern der türkischen Sprache, sowohl für Autodidakten als auch für normale Sprachkurse. Dennoch basieren die meisten Lehrbücher auf der Darlegung der Grammatik, die sich im Türkischen beträchtlich von der Grammatik der indoeuropäischen Sprachen unterscheidet und deshalb ziemlich schwierig ist und eine komplizierte Darstellungsweise verlangt. Dies ist einer der Gründe dafür, weshalb eine ganze Reihe von Studierenden, denen es an ausreichenden sprachwissenschaftlichen Vorkenntnissen mangelt, in ihren Bemühungen, türkisch zu lernen, scheitert.

Die Verfasserin des vorliegenden Lehrbuches entschied sich, diese Schwierigkeit dadurch zu umgehen, daß sie in lehrbuchhafter Form eine unmittelbare Lehrmethode anzuwenden versuchte. Wir verfolgen hier nicht nur Personen in Lebenssituationen, die sich insgesamt ohne Zwang und Deformation aus dem Leben in der heutigen Türkei und in Deutschland ergeben, und machen uns so mit einer Reihe wichtiger Fakten und Gewohnheiten der verschiedenen Schichten der türkischen Gesellschaft bekannt, sondern lernen zugleich eine ganz lebende Umgangssprache. Die meisten Lehrtexte bilden nämlich Dialoge. Obwohl mitunter in Details schwieriger als die durchgenommene Grammatik, überschreiten sie in ihrer Schwierigkeit nicht die Grenze unbekannter Spracherscheinungen, die jeder verstehen kann, der eine Fremdsprache direkt in dem entsprechenden fremdsprachlichen Milieu erlernt. Das Lehrbuch setzt voraus, daß der Schüler viele Texte auswendig lernt, und pflegt so sein Gefühl für die türkische Redewendungen und Besonderheiten im Ausdruck.

Die Verfasserin empfiehlt zwar, namentlich die schwierigeren Übungen mit einem Lehrer durchzunehmen, legt ihre Lehrtexte jedoch so an, daß sie auch für Autodidakten geeignet sind. Darüber hinaus ist sie, wie wir bereits erwähnten, bestrebt, das Türkische der deutschen Sprache weitestgehend anzunähern. Sie vermeidet daher nicht nur eine komplizierte Kategorisierung, besonders hinsichtlich der Verben, sondern geht auch vom Sprachbewußtsein des ungeschulten deutschsprachigen Schülers aus; verschiedene Ausdrucksformen und Wendungen übersetzt sie ins Türkische unter Berücksichtigung des deutsch denkenden Benutzers des Lehrbuches. Für denjenigen, der für den Fremdsprachenunterricht klar klassifizierte grammatische Formen benötigt, finden sich in einem besonderen Teil des Lehrbuches Tafeln mit sämtlichen nominalen und verbalen Grundformen.

Das Lehrbuch besteht aus mehreren Teilen: Lehrbuch (232 S.), Wortschatz-Schlüssel (224 S.), Grammatik (359 S.). Diese werden durch Tonbänder und Kassetten komplettiert, die Lektionstexte ohne und mit Nachsprechpausen enthalten und es besonders dem Autodidakten ermöglichen, seine Aussprache und grammatikalischen Kenntnisse zu korrigieren. Das Lehrbuch ist zwar vor allem für jene bestimmt, die an Gesprächen mit heutigen Türken teilhaben und eventuell auch

die Türkei bereisen wollen, kann jedoch auch für jeden von Nutzen sein, der sich mit der neuesten türkischen Literatur oder mit moderner Geschichte befassen möchte.

Das Lehrbuch enthält einen ausreichenden Wortschatz und genügend Redewendungen, damit derjenige, der diesen Kurs absolviert, zeitgenössische Zeitungen und verschiedene politische Texte verstehen kann. Was die Lebendigkeit der gewählten Sprachebene, die Aktualität der Ausdrücke betrifft, so kann der Vefasserin eine große aktive Sprachkenntnis des Türkischen bescheinigt werden. In dieser Richtung wie auch in der Logik der Darstellung und den verantwortungsvollen, sachgerechten und aktuellen Formen und Ausdrücken hat die Arbeit der Verfasserin an Genauigkeit nicht ihresgleichen.

*Zdenka Veselá*

Prokosch, Erich: *Studien zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Vulgärosmanisch-Türkischen.* Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkenvölker. Hrsg. von G. Hazai. Band 2. Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1980. IX+269 S.

Als G. Hazai[1] kürzlich über die Aufgaben der Erforschung der historischen Entwicklung des Türkischen Überlegungen anstellte, stellte er der linguistischen Forschung zwei Aufgabenkomplexe, von denen er einen so formulierte:

„Auf der einen Seite steht die Aufgabe, die Entwicklung des türkischen Idioms zu beschreiben, das in den ersten Jahrhunderten der Türkenherrschaft in Anatolien den Literaturdenkmälern zugrundelag und natürlich auch später in verschiedenen schriftlichen und literarischen Produkten seinen Niederschlag gefunden hat, die aber im Schatten des Hochosmanischen entstanden und deshalb bis heute im Hintergrund geblieben sind. Es handelt sich um literarische und paraliterarische Produkte in einfacher Sprache, der später die Sprachreform den Weg gebahnt hat... Dieser Pfad, der die Fortsetzung des breiten Weges des ‚reintürkischen' Schrifttums der ersten Jahrhunderte bildet, ist in der Tat — im Dschungel des osmanischen Schrifttums — schwer zu erkennen. Die sorgfältige Untersuchung des vorhandenen Quellenmaterials wird aber sicherlich beweisen, daß dieser Pfad, dem vom Gesichtspunkt der historischen Grammatik her eine zentrale Rolle zukommt, gar nicht so schmal ist."

Wir führten dieses lange Zitat deshalb an, weil das besprochene Buch von E. Prokosch jene Aufgaben erfüllt, die G. Hazai den Turkologen-Linguisten gestellt hat. Den Stoff für Prokoschs linguistische Analyse lieferten die osmanischen Chroniken sowie literarische Werke aus dem 17.—20. Jahrhundert, und teilweise auch ältere Werke, wie z. B. Aşıkpaşazades Geschichte. Es geht daher durchwegs

---

[1] Hazai, G.: *Kurze Einführung in das Studium der türkischen Sprache.* Budapest 1978, S. 25.

um in Prosa verfaßte Texte. In seiner Arbeit benützt er am häufigsten das Werk *Cevahir'üt-tevarih* von Hasan Ağa, zwei Werke des osmanischen Autors aus dem 18. Jahrhundert Ebu Sehil Nuᶜman,[2] des bereits erwähnten Aşıkpaşazade, das Werk Seyfi Çelebis aus dem 16. Jahrhundert und andere historische Werke, darunter jene von Peçevi, Naᶜima, Silahdar und Evliya Çelebi. Es kann also gesagt werden, daß Prokoschs Buch die erste Arbeit ist, die eine größere Anzahl osmanischer, in einer Zeitspanne von fast vier Jahrhunderten verfaßten Chroniken, der linguistischen Analyse unterzieht.

Prokoschs Buch legt das Hauptgewicht auf die Syntax des Osmanisch-Türkischen, wobei er die Konstruktionen der Vulgärsprache, d.h. jene Konstruktionen, die außerhalb des Rahmens der Hochsprache stehen und die vorwiegend von zweitrangigen osmanischen Autoren verwendet wurden, besonders berücksichtigt.

Eine eingehendere Erforschung dieser Problematik brachte den Autor zur Ansicht, daß zwischen dem sog. anerkannten Standard und der nicht mehr anerkannten Vulgärsprache die Grenze keineswegs klar gezogen und natürlich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte auch nicht gleich geblieben ist. Er zeigt auch, daß die Grenze zwischen diesen Formen des Osmanisch-Türkischen bisher zu eng gezogen wurden und daß eine Ausweitung dessen nottun, was man bisher als Standard betrachtet hat. Auf die Uneinigkeit der Orthographie der Fremdwörter auch bei gebildeten Osmanen hinweisend, schlägt er vor die Abweichungen nicht als Vulgarisme, sondern lediglich als osmanische Variante zu betrachten.

Wie wir bereits erwähnten, befaßt sich Prokoschs Buch größtenteils mit der Syntax des Osmanisch-Türkischen, wobei es jedoch auch einige bemerkenswerte Erkenntnisse aus der Phonetik und der Morphologie bringt. Aus der Erkenntnis hervorgehend, daß die vulgärosmanischen Texte die tatsächliche Aussprache viel deutlicher festhalten als die konventionelle Schreibung des Hochosmanischen, konstatiert er: daß die Labialharmonie in der heute üblichen Form in die Sprache dieser Texte spätestens im 17. Jahrhundert eingedrungen ist, und daß man daher das 16. Jahrhundert für eine Zeit des Überganges von der Palatal- zur Labialharmonie halten kann. Auf Grund dieser Abweichungen von der Vokalharmonie beweist er, daß das Werk *Cevahir'üt-tevarih* aus einer Umgebung stammt, wo der westrumeli-

---

[2] Die den ungarischen Feldzug 1663—1664 betreffenden Teile aus dem Werk *Cevahir'üt-tevarih* übersetzte E. Prokosch und veröffentlichte sie im Buch: *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn.* Die Ungarnfeldzüge des Großwesirs Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha 1663 und 1664 nach den „Kleinodien der Historien" seines Siegelbewahrers Hasan Ağa. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von... Graz 1976. Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, Bd. 8. Das Werk *Tebyin-i aᶜmalü'l-mesaha* von Ebu Sehil Nuᶜman veröffentlichte er in derselben Edition: *Molla und Diplomat.* Der Bericht des Ebü Sehil Nuᶜman Efendi über die österreichisch-osmanische Grenzziehung nach dem Belgrader Frieden 1740/41. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von... Graz 1972. Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, Bd. 7. Beide Übersetzungen verraten die hervorragende Fähigkeit des Autors den Inhalt des osmanischen Textes genau und treffend wiederzugeben.

sche Dialekt gebraucht wurde. Weiter beweist er, daß spätestens im 18. Jahrhundert mindestens in volkstümlicher Aussprache der Wandel von „ŋ" zu „n" einsetzt.

In den weiteren Teilen bringt Prokoschs Buch eine Fülle von Beispielen für die Abweichungen vom Hochosmanischen in der Syntax, die nach den Regeln der osmanischen Grammatik systematisch eingereiht und mit mehreren Ergänzungen versehen sind. Die zweifelsohne bahnbrecherische Arbeit von E. Prokosch brachte eine Menge neuen linguistischen Materials aus dem Bereich des osmanischen Schrifttums, das bislang nur sporadisch Gegenstand der Forschung gewesen ist. Die Arbeit mit diesem umfangreichen Material erleichtert der Morphologische- und Sachindex, der jedoch umfangreicher sein konnte.

Das Buch kann eine Anregung für weitere Arbeiten ähnlicher Art oder für eine komplexere Bearbeitung dieser Problematik durch den Autor sein.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Schwarz, Klaus: *Der Vordere Orient in den Hochschulschriften Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz. Eine Bibliographie von Dissertationen und Habilitationsschriften (1885—1978)*. Islamkundliche Materialien. Band 5. Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1980. xxiii+721 S.

Nach der Herausgabe des Verzeichnisses deutschsprachiger Hochschulschriften zum islamischen Orient (1885—1970), Freiburg 1971, 280 S. bereitete K. Schwarz, der Herausgeber verdienstvoller Editionen Islamkundliche Untersuchungen (seit 1971) und Islamkundliche Materialien (seit 1971), eine umfangreichere Bibliographie von Dissertationen und Habilitationsschriften vor, die genauso den islamischen Orient, als auch den vorislamischen Vorderen Orient, den Iran, Mittelasien sowie den christlichen Orient und das Judentum in islamischer Umwelt in sich aufnimmt.

Es muß gesagt werden, daß in letzter Zeit die Anzahl der Bibliographien von Dissertationen und Habilitationsschriften in der ganzen Welt, vor allem jedoch in den USA, außerordentlich angestiegen ist. Reynolds' internationale Bibliographie *Guide to Theses and Dissertations* aus dem Jahre 1975 umfaßt rund zweitausend Dissertationsverzeichnisse, aber deren Anzahl ist bis heute bestimmt bedeutend angewachsen. So z. B. F. Shulmans und L. Gordons *Dissertation on China, 1945—1970,* im Jahre 1972 herausgegeben, hat bereits ihre Fortsetzung für die Jahre 1971—1975 und ähnliche Bibliographien erschienen vor kurzer Zeit auch über Südostasien, Japan und Korea, Südasien usw.

Bei der Bearbeitung der Hochschulschriften im deutschen Sprachgebiet konnte sich K. Schwarz außer an sein eigenes Werk (er selbst bezeichnet die besprochene Bibliographie nur als 2. Auflage der Arbeit aus dem Jahre 1971, womit man nicht ganz übereinstimmen kann) auch an weitere Arbeiten anlehnen, wie z.B. an die Bibliographien von J. Köhler, A. Scherer, P. T. Suzuki, P. Kappert—B. Kellner—H.

Wurm, D. Finke—G. Hansen—R. D. Preisberg, welche die von Schwarz' Bibliographie verfolgten einzelnen Gebiete oder aber Zeitabschnitte bearbeiten. Die rezensierte Bibliographie überragt jedoch die Arbeiten der angeführten Verfasser so zeitlich als auch territorial.

Im Vorwort erläutert der Autor seine Kriterien zur Einreihung in die Bibliographie. Er nahm in seine Arbeit vor allem Dissertationen und Habilitationsschriften sowie auch akademische Gelegenheitsschriften auf, nicht aber Diplom- und Magisterarbeiten. Eingereiht wurden in die Bibliographie im wesentlichen alle erreichbaren Arbeiten, die den Vorderen Orient auf irgendeine Weise betreffen. Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet der Autor jenen Arbeiten, die sich mit den allgemeinen Problemen der Entwicklungsländer befassen.

Das systematische Einordnen der einzelnen Titel wurde nach zwei Grundprinzipien vorgenommen: 1. die sachliche Ordnung; 2. die regionale Ordnung. Der Autor wendet dabei diese Einordnung nicht dogmatisch an, sondern geht aus dem Inhalt der einzelnen Abschnitte hervor: 1. Vorislamischer Orient; 2. Christlicher Orient; 3. Judentum in islamischer Umwelt; 4. Samaritaner; 5. Mandäer: 6. Islamischer Orient.

Als Quellen dienten Schwarz' nationale Bibliographien, sowie auch Verzeichnisse von Dissertationen, die periodisch, oft aber nur sporadisch von staatlichen Institutionen, Hochschulen oder spezialisierten Bibliographen herausgegeben wurden.

Es ist interessant, daß der Autor die Benützer der Bibliographie auch auf die Zugänglichkeit der einzelnen Arbeiten aufmerksam macht. Ebenfalls bringt er Angaben, falls die Arbeit unter einem anderen Titel veröffentlicht wurde. Weiters bietet die Bibliographie Angaben über die Universität oder Hochschule, deren Fakultät, bzw. Fachbereich, der die Arbeit vorgelegt wurde.

Schwarz ist es gelungen 5050 Titel zu sammeln. Wie es aus den Nachträgen hervorgeht, ist diese Anzahl anscheinend nicht abgeschlossen und man kann weitere, wenn auch nicht wesentliche Ergänzungen der Bibliographie erwarten. Es wären gewiß Titel von Dissertationen aus der Prager Deutschen Universität aufzufinden, wo M. Grünert längere Zeit als Professor für islamische Sprachen tätig war, aber auch aus anderen Fächern, wie z.B. aus der Geschichte. Der Stich- und Schlagwortregister (S. 563—658) sowie der Verfasserindex (S. 659—721) erleichtern das Benützen des Buches.

Ähnlich wie in anderen orientalistischen Fächern kann man auch auf Grund von Schwarz' Bibliographie ein großes Interesse für die Erforschung des Vorderen Orients in Deutschland feststellen, wobei auch eine thematische Erweiterung von Dissertationen bemerkenswert ist, was eindeutig auf ein Bestreben in der deutschen Orientalistik hinweist, die politischen, gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Erscheinungen auf diesem Gebiet komplexer zu erfassen.

Schwarz' Buch macht den Interessenten ein riesenhaftes Material zugänglich, das nicht nur als Information zur studierten Problematik dienen kann, sondern auch eine

ausgezeichnete Grundlage für die Geschichte der Erforschung des Vorderen Orients in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz darstellt.

*Vojtech Kopčan*

Berque, Jacques: *Les Arabes.* 3$^{ème}$ éd. refondue et augmentée. Paris, Editions Sindbad 1979. 190 p.

Plutôt un essai, un poème en prose qu'une description strictement scientifique, le livre de Jacques Berque met en relief les contours presqu'insaisissables de ce qu'on a pris l'habitude de désigner par le 'monde arabe'.

Le domaine arabe est présenté comme un ensemble subdivisé en deux parties principales: le Proche Orient et le Maghreb, une division à la fois géographique et historique. Le fait coranique et les gestes du „Prophète arabe" sont interprétés comme un phénomène social et politique, capables de dégager une expansion massive et inattendue qui déborda le domaine traditionnel de l'arabisme.

L'auteur sait bien guider un lecteur non-initié vers la compréhension d'un nombre de paradoxes culturels, spécifiquement liés aux Arabes, tels qu'on peut observer, par exemple, entre l'origine citadine de l'Islam et l'idéal nomade des Arabes (p. 31). L'auteur cherche à découvrir les manifestations modernes de cette opposition millénaire entre 'citadin' et 'bédouin' qui est présentée comme une opposition d'une valeur sociologique et culturelle. Quelle importante qu'elle soit pour le domaine arabe, l'auteur n'en cherche pas une origine précise et s'en tient à la conviction qu'il serait hors de propos de tenter une chronologie.

L'auteur fait bien ressortie l'apport linguistique du Coran en tant que conservatoire de la langue classique, cette ʿ*arabiyya* du désert et l'interdialectal péninsulaire de jadis.

„Arriverons-nous jamais à restituer, en deçà de la littérature arabe, de ses philologues, de ses logiciens, en deçà des chantres de la Jahiliya et du Coran lui-même, une structure d'origine?" (p. 48). Une de ces questions qui touchent, bien-sûr, l'essentiel mais qui n'ont pas et même ne sauraient avoir d'autres réponses qu'un 'qui sait'. Un autre 'qui sait' domine les réflexions sur l'avenir linguistique arabe: un dialecte classicisé ou bien un classique facilité? Qui sait? Peut-être, il y a encore une autre possibilité — la perpétuation de la diglossie telle qu'elle est ou va devenir dans le futur. Qui sait?

Les grands traits du développement historique, dès les premiers succès éclatants de l'expansion arabe jusqu'à nos jours, laissent voir une chaîne ininterrompue des événements qui passent de la période de grandeur à celle de la décadence, et de là, à une renaissance moderne qui constitue le présent. Ce présent arabe est envisagé

dans sa réalité multiforme, caractérisée par la révolte contre les pouvoirs étrangers, par le combat pour l'indépendance, par l'alternance des succès et des désenchantements qui accompagnent les Arabes dans leur effort d'établir une identité politique qui, après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, commence peu à peu à s'intégrer à ce complexe international et global qu'on désigne par le terme de Tiers Monde.

Le *turāṯ aṯ-ṯaqāfī* et la constitution d'une culture arabe contemporaine ne manquent pas d'être présentés au lecteur dans un exposé bref, condensé et généralisé mais, quand même, lucide et instructif.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Arkoun, Mohamed—Le Goff, Jacques—Fahd, Tawfiq—Rodinson, Maxime: *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux dans l'Islam Médiéval.* Paris, Association pour l'Avancement des Etudes Islamiques 1978. 227 p.

L'Association pour l'Avancement des Études Islamiques siégeant à Paris a organisé pendant les dix dernières années quatre conférences scientifiques bien réussies avec une nombreuse participation internationale. Ce volume comprend les rapports et discussions du deuxième colloque tenu au Collège de France en mars 1974, dont le thème était l'Etrange et le Merveilleux dans l'Islam Médiéval.

Au premier abord, une conférence au thème si strictement limité peut créer l'impression qu'elle ne fut destinée qu'à un cénacle restreint d'inités — des arabistes. Bien le contraire. Ce colloque, tout comme le premier (tenu aussi à Paris en février 1972 et ayant pour sujet La Connaissance du Monde dans l'Islam Classique), a été une occasion favorable pour un échange de vues à base interdisciplinaire parmi des experts d'orientation professionnelle diverse (historiens, religionistes, littérateurs) de plusieurs disciplines: l'arabe, le médiévisme, la byzantologie. Le premier rapport même a déjà indiqué l'orientation méthodologique de base du colloque: 1. une délimitation de l'ensemble des problèmes, 2. efforts à en traiter à partir d'aspects spécifiques et en général. Ce premier rapport était présenté par Mohamed Arkoun (professeur à l'Université de Paris III) sous le titre *Peut-on parler de Merveilleux dans le Coran?*, qui y a souligné que le Merveilleux dans le Coran se prête à diverses interprétations selon ce qu'on comprend par ce terme. M. Arkoun prend comme son point de départ l'argument que le Coran est une réflexion du monde spirituel qui ne peut pas être mesuré par une objectivité visible et palpable.

L'importance d'une élucidation de l'appareil conceptuel, tout spécialement dans l'application des points de vue comparatistes a été soulignée dans l'introduction de son rapport par le médiéviste Jacques Le Goff (Président de l'Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales). Ce rapport a influé en maints égards le caractère

ultérieur de la discussion, tout particulièrement en ce qui concerne une recherche de traits d'affinité dans l'interprétation du Merveilleux dans la culture Européenne et Islamique.

L'inventaire de base des thèmes du Merveilleux était présenté par Tawfiq Fahd (professeur à l' Université de Strasbourg) dans son rapport *Le Merveilleux dans la faune, la flore et les minéraux.* Au cours de la discussion, il a alors relevé les plus importantes fonctions des œuvres littéraires qui sont spécifiquement consacrées à la cueillette des faits merveilleux.

Le quatrième rapport intitulé *La place du Merveilleux et de l' Etrange dans la conscience du Monde Musulman Médiéval* fut présenté par Maxime Rodinson (Directeur d'Etude à l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes — IVᵉ Section). L'auteur a divisé son rapport en quelques parties : la plus vive discussion a été provoquée par la section „L'intégration du Merveilleux et de l'Etrange dans les systèmes de la conscience et de l'activité sociales", dans laquelle il parle de trois systèmes idéologiques mutuellement reliés, à savoir, celui de la religion officielle, celui de la reiigion popularie, et celui de la mystique, et examine en quelle forme et au quel degré le Merveilleux et l'Etrange y sont entrés.

Les rapports comme aussi la discussion abondante, souvent véhémente, ont soulevé toute une série de questions de nature universelle auxquelle les arabisants ne sont pas encore parvenus à donner des réponses satisfaisantes.

*Ján Pauliny*

Böwering, Gerhard: *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam. The Qur'ānic Hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl At-Tustarī (d. 283/896).* Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift „Der Islam", Neue Folge, Band 9. Berlin—New York, Walter de Gruyter 1980. 286 S.

Den prominenten Darstellern des Ṣūfismus älterer Zeiten blieb die Islamforschung bislang sehr viel schuldig. Die vorliegende Arbeit ist ein erstes, breit konzipiertes Werk über den Mystiker und sunnitischen Theologen Sahl at-Tustarī (gest. 896 u. Z.). Die ältere islamische biographische und hagiographische Literatur bietet keine ausreichende Anzahl von Daten, um Sahls Leben verläßlich rekonstruieren zu können. Diese Tatsache wird von Böwering kurz so charakterisiert: „The primary sources for Tustarī's biography are scanty and fragmentary, the secondary sources unsatisfactory. In fact, it is no easy matter to unravel the career of this man from a medley of aphorism and anecdotes that are scattered throughout the hagiographical literature of Ṣūfism" (S. 43).

286

Außerdem herrscht in den älteren arabischen Bibliographien (Ibn an-Nadīm, Ḥaǧǧī Ḫalīfa usw.) eine ziemlich große Uneinheitlichkeit darüber, was Sahl geschrieben hat. Ein flüchtiger Einblick in Sezgin (*GAS I*, S. 647) zeigt, daß Sahl ein recht umfangreiches Werk zugeschrieben wird. Massignon hingegen hält Sahl für einen „Sokrates" der islamischen Mystik (=„Sahl hat nichts geschrieben", *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, S. 633). Massignons These schließt jedoch nicht aus, daß Sahls Aussprüche und Ansichten nicht später von seinen Schülern und Anhängern aufgezeichnet werden konnten. Und sie verbreiteten diese Literatur natürlich unter seinem Namen.

Schon weniger als das, was wir angeführt hatten, reicht aus um sich darüber klar zu werden, welch ungangbaren Weg Gerhard Böwering eingeschlagen hat. Mit einer unglaublichen Geduld und Gründlichkeit durchforschte er alle arabischen und persischen Quellen sowie die Sekundärliteratur, um der Wahrheit über Sahl auf die Spur zu kommen. Für wichtig hält Böwering vor allem das Überliefern von Sahls Gedanken in den Traktaten islamischer Mystiker, in den Handbüchern der islamischen Mystik sowie in der hagiographischen Literatur. Der Analyse dieser Werke widmete Gerhard Böwering das erste Kapitel seines Buches (Chapter I, The Ṣūfī Primary Sources and the Tustarī Tradition, S. 7—42). Im zweiten Kapitel versuchte Gerhard Böwering die bruchteilartigen und oft widersprüchlichen Angaben über Sahls Leben auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner zu bringen (Chapter II, Tustarī: His Life, his Masters and his Disciples, S. 43—99). Von sehr großer Wichtigkeit ist das dritte Kapitel, in dem er die vorhandenen Handschriften von Tustarīs Tafsīr (S. 100—142) beschreibt. Gerhard Böwering geht von der Ansicht aus, daß Sahl der wirkliche Autor des ihm zugeschriebenen Tafsīrs ist (vgl. S. 105 und a.a.S.). Dieser Tafsīr blieb in späteren Abschriften erhalten (die ältesten stammen aus den Jahren 1422 und 1468 u.Z.) und erschien zweimal im Druck in Kairo (1908 und 1911). Gerhard Böwering nimmt an, daß der sog. Urtyp dieses Werkes aus den existierenden sechs Abschriften des Tafsīr verläßlich rekonstruiert werden kann. Diese Arbeit würde einer kritischen Edition des Textes gleichkommen. Zu diesem Schluß gelangt er nach einer eingehenden Analyse der einzelnen Abschriften von Sahls Tafsīr, die er mit dem wichtigen ṣūfischen Kommentar zum Koran, betitelt *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* von as-Sulamī, verglich. In as-Sulamīs *Tafsīr* ist Tustarī eine häufig zitierte Autorität.

Im zweiten Teil seines Buches analysiert Gerhard Böwering Tustarīs mystische Ansichten, die in dessen Tafsīr beinhaltet sind. Von den Anfängen der ṣūfischen Koranauslegung wissen wir bislang wenig. Hier hat G. Böwering ebenfalls einen unbeschrittenen Weg eingeschlagen. Von der Ansicht ausgehend, den authentischen Text vor sich zu haben, schließt Gerhard Böwering diesen Teil u.a. mit folgender Feststellung ab: „Tustarī emerges from our textual and analytical study of the Tafsīr as a representative Ṣūfī of the 3rd/9th century who develops a mystical synthesis of ideas, marked by the coherence of its vision and a specific terminology. This

synthesis rests firmly on his own mystical experience and his Ṣūfī interpretation of the Qur'ān...".

Gerhard Böwerings Arbeit ist von einer grundlegenden Bedeutung für das Studium der islamischen Mystik. Ich nehme an, daß jeder Fachmann deren Verläßlichkeit hoch schätzen wird.

*Ján Pauliny*


Radtke, Bernd: *Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī. Ein islamischer Theosoph des 3./9. Jahrhunderts.* Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1980. 192 2.S

Die vorliegende Publikation stellt einen ernsten Versuch dar das Leben und das Werk eines bedeutenden islamischen Mystikers aus dem 9. Jahrhundert u.Z. zu erläutern. Bernd Radtke bewertet in ihr kritisch den bisherigen Stand der Forschung über at-Tirmiḏī und ergänzt dank seines eingehenden Studiums des Quellenmaterials die vakanten Stellen im Lebenslauf at-Tirmiḏīs, ja man kann sagen, er rekonstruiert diesen. Eine ähnliche Stellung nimmt der Autor auch zu at-Tirmiḏīs Schriften ein. Er unterwirft einer wiederholten Einschätzung die Editionen von dessen Büchern und bietet wertvolle Informationen über Handschriften, die er benützte.

Der einige Jahre dauernde Aufenthalt in Beirut und der Kontakt mit großen Bibliotheken, die at-Tirmiḏīs Abschriften aufbewahren, ermöglichten es B. Radtke sich in at-Tirmiḏīs Schaffen zu orientieren. Es war nicht einfach, da at-Tirmiḏī ein äußerst fruchtbarer Autor gewesen ist. In seinem Geburtsort beendete er das Studium des Tafsīr Ḥādiṯ und Fiqh, und begab sich als 27jähriger auf die Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka. Der längere Aufenthalt in Mekka und die Rückreise in die Heimat hatten einen entscheidenden Einfluß auf sein künftiges Leben. Nach und nach formte er sich zu einer eigenständigen Persönlichkeit der islamischen Mystik. Er hatte Schüler und Anhänger und, selbstverständlich, auch Widersacher.

At-Tirmiḏīs religiöse Ansichten im Zusammenhang mit seinem Suchen nach Gott erklärt Bernd Radtke im dritten Teil seiner Arbeit (Die Mystik Tirmiḏīs, S. 59—95). An diesen Teil knüpfen Ausgewählte Texte in Übersetzung (S. 96—136) an. Der Autor ist sich dabei bewußt, daß es sehr schwer ist ein geschlossenes System der Mystik Tirmiḏīs darzustellen (S. 59).

Die rezensierte Arbeit ist das Ergebnis einer langen Vorbereitung sowie sorgfältig gesammelter Kenntnisse. Sie ist ein erster Schritt zur Synthese des islamischen theosophischen Denkens älterer Zeiten.

*Ján Pauliny*

Taufik al-Khakim : *Pyesy* (Plays). Translated from Arabic by Taufik Muazen and Tamara Putintseva. Moscow, Izdatelstvo Isskustvo 1979. 316 pp.

Editorially to prepare the project of a translation of four plays from the works of the Egyptian playwright and one of the founders of Arab dramatic literature Taufīq al-Ḥakīm is certainly no easy task — if not directly a problem. In efforts at setting up a representative selection, such a problem may derive from the qualitative heterogeneity of his dramas rather than from their impressive number. As a matter of fact, his dramatic works could hardly be encompassed by any straightforward, unequivocal definition or a concise lexicographic characteristic. Taufīq al-Ḥakīm's literary motto might be accompanied by a string of antonymous attributes, each pair of which might have the significance of a key stroke in the drawing of the dramatist's profile. He is licentiously humorous, but also of deep philosophical insight, socially committed and politically indifferent, synchronous with his time, and extra- or supra-temporal. He is, on the one hand, an innovator experimenting with the form of drama and the stage language, on the other, a traditionalist with a characteristic distrust of the results of scientific progress, which, in virtue of his own theory of equilibrium (At-Taᶜāduliyya, 1956), he has formulated as "a preponderance of man's rational potential over that of the heart". He is both a symbolist and a realist. He can be lucidly comprehensible, but also complexly abstract. His style may be said to be a search of style. His reply to the question "When, in your view have you found your style?" proved as characteristic as it was original: "Why, have I found it yet? I'm constantly searching myself..."[1] Taufīq al-Ḥakīm was then sixty-six...

The selected anthology of the plays speaks for a sensitive and professional approach of both translators to the dramatic work of this Arab playwright constantly attracting the greatest interest. In a chronological order, his pre-revolutionary production is here represented by his third symbolic-intellectual play *Pijmāliyūn* (Pygmalion, 1942), while from his early post-revolutionary dramas the compilers have included his comedy in four acts *Al-Aydī an-na'ima* (Gentle Hands, 1954). In this play, the author — if we overlook his idyllic view of the representative of the former aristocracy who, thanks to his love for a woman becomes miraculously altered and acquires a positive relation towards the new social order and work, the numerous fortuities that traditionally form the support of Egyptian commercial comedies — sets work as the principal criterion for measuring human values.

It was fortuitous that the translators reached out for the drama *As-Sulṭān al-ḥā'ir* (The Embarassed Sultan, 1960) which undoubtedly belongs among Taufīq al-Ḥakīm's best plays. He wrote it in France in 1959 where he was then the head of a UNESCO Delegation on behalf of the United Arab Republic. According to his

---

[1] Interview "Taufīq al-Ḥakīm replies to Fu'ād Dauwāra's questions" in the Egyptian literary monthly Al-Majalla, 1964, No. 2.

own words, the play originated as a direct reaction to the prevailing political situation in which the forces of peace, law and right contended with aggressive brutality and violence, that identify right and truth with force. Temporally, the drama is set in a non-defined period of the era of the Ayyūbs (roughly, from the second half of the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century). In consequence of the situation in which the Sultan found himself (because of sudden death the previous Mameluke ruler could not free him, so that according to the laws of the times the Sultan was a slave who could not rule over free people, and who in fact was the property of the State treasury), he had to resolve his position either "by the sword or by the pen", i.e. by force or by law. He opted for the latter mode, refusing the use of the alluring and effective means of force through which he would comfortably silence the inconvenient witness. He undergoes the onus of a public auction-sale and following a number of witty peripeteia in which the Grand Vizier and the Supreme Judge hold the initiative, the new owner releases him from slavery. Thus freed, the Sultan again sits on the throne.

The selection is concluded by a comedy in three acts Food for All (*Aṭ-Ṭaᶜām likulli famm*, 1963) with two events running parallel on the principle of a play within a play. A married couple living a humdrum, even banal life (the realistic plot of the play) suddenly witness three speaking personages sporadically appearing on the moist wall of their room (the fantastic plot). They follow up the life of the strange three-member family with a passionate interest. The supporting idea in the irrational event is a persisting effort on the part of a young scientist to carry out a project of definitely eliminating hunger from the earth. When the apparitions cease for good, there follows a series of comic situations with wall dousing etc. But the wall fails to revive. The couple never learn anything any more about the subsequent fate of the project, but deeply impressed by the experience, they decide to change their former way of life and to fill it with earnest active work.

The book under review is the first Russian edition of Taufīq al-Ḥakīm's dramas.[2] The translation into Russian was prepared by the Syrian stage-manager Taufīq al-Mu'addin (a former graduate of the A. V. Lunacharsky State Institute of Theatre Arts in Moscow), in cooperation with the Soviet dramaturgist Tamara A. Putintseva, the author of an outstanding monograph, unique of its type, Thousand and One Years of Arab Theatre (Moscow 1977). The translators have succeeded in translating the texts into fresh stage language. The translation is followed by explanations of words and phrases left in the original (pp. 296—297). T. A. Putintseva's comprehensive epilogue (pp. 298—317) mediates to the reader an over-all and truthful image of the mentally unusually complex and multifaceted dramatic work by Taufīq al-Ḥakīm.

*Július Gella*

---

[2] From Taufīq al-Hakīm's dramatic works, his three-act comedy The Bargain (*Aṣ-Ṣafqa*), Moscow 1960 and his one-act play Platonic Love (*Al-Ḥubb al-ᶜudrī*) in the collection *Sovremennaya arabskaya proza* (Contemporary Arab Prose), Moscow—Leningrad 1961, have been translated into Russian.

Sublet, Jacqueline (Responsable): *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe.* Paris, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1979. 175 pp.

Les Cahiers d'onomastique arabe, publiés par l'entreprise internationale „Onomasticon Arabicum", ont pour but la constitution d'un répertoire des personnages identifiés dans les sources arabes.

Fedwa Malti-Douglas (*Pour une rhétorique onomastique: les noms des aveugles chez aṣ-Ṣafadī*, pp. 7—19) examine les noms d'aveugles qui font référence à la cécité de leurs porteurs: *aḍ-Ḍarīr, al-'Aʿmā, al-'Uʿaymī* (le diminutif du précédant), *al-Kafīf, al-Makfūf* et *al-Baṣīr.* Pour des raisons faciles à deviner, l'attention toute spéciale est prêtée à la dernière appellation, notamment *al-Baṣīr.* L'auteur présente une analyse intéressante du mécanisme d'application onomastique de ce dernier terme et parvient à la conclusion qu'il présente un point de rencontre de deux figures, antiphrase (*ḍidd:* 'aveugle', opposé à 'voyant', par référence à la personne qui porte ce nom à cause de sa cécité) et paronomase ('voyant' par référence à la personne et sa faculté de 'voir', du moins au sens figuré: *baṣīr al-qalb*).

Mohamed el-Aziz Ben Achour (*Quelques notes sur l'onomastique tunisienne à l'époque Husaynite précoloniale (18ᵉ—19ᵉ siècles)* pp. 21—36) examine la structure des unités onomastiques: *kunya, 'ism, laqab* et *nisba, šuhra,* titres et épithètes. En même temps, il étudie les caractéristiques du groupe tunisois des *ʿulamā',* de cette période. En dehors de la stratification sociale, mise en évidence par l'analyse onomastique, les données rassemblées sont une importante contribution à l'étude des titres et des noms propres musulmans qui sont l'objet de l'intérêt scientifique traditionnel de l'orientalisme français (Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les noms propres et les titres musulmans.* Paris 1854).

Les trois études qui suivent touchent des aspects les plus différents de la 'science des hommes' (*ʿilm ar-rijāl*) imamite:

B. S. Amoretti, *L'introduzione al Qāmūs ar-riǧāl di Tustarī: per una guida alla lettura dei testi prosopografici imamiti* (pp. 37—49);

A. Arioli, *Introduzione allo studio del ʿilm ar-riǧāl imamita: le fonti* (pp. 51—89);

D. Amaldi, *Osservazioni sulle catene di trasmissione in alcuni testi di riǧāl imamiti* (pp. 91—97).

Avec une brève introduction au problème de la longévité et ses reflets dans la civilisation musulmane, Jacqueline Sublet donne le texte complet des *Centenaires* (*'ahl al-mi'a*) de Ḏahabī, conservé à la bibliothèque Ẓāhiriyya à Damas (pp. 99—159).

Dans les 'Notes et Documents', Jacqueline Sublet décrit un manuscrit autographe d'Ibn Ḥajar (*Un inédit d'Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī: La suite au Durar,* pp. 161—163), *Ḏayl ad-durar al-kāmina.*

A la fin du volume, le lecteur va trouver plusieurs notes bibliographiques.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Wehr, Hans: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. Fourth edition (considerably enlarged and amended by the author). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1979. XVIII+1301 pp.

Shortly after the publication of Wehr's Dictionary (*Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart, 1952*), additional lexical material has been collected by the author and published, first separately (*Supplement zum Arabischen Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1959), then incorporated in subsequent English editions (1961, 1966, 1971, and, with further additions, in that of 1979), edited by J. M. Cowan.

The tremendous pressure on all lexical resources of Arabic, in facing the steadily growing needs of communication, is responsible for a vigorous lexical growth of this language. Whether by way of lexical borrowing or by resorting to native innovation, Modern Written Arabic cannot avoid an all-pervading process of internationalization and terminologization of the lexicon, especially in those fields of science, technology, politics, etc. which have a global or a nearly global impact, such as crude oil problems as related to energy technology and economics, environmental problems, food supply, war — peace perspectives, and the like. In order to meet this challenge and fill in the gaps, the author has included in the present edition a great number of neologisms of recent origin as well as an older, previously neglected material which is nevertheless used in present-day contexts. The number of new entries runs to approximately 13,000 while in ca 3000 instances smaller additions have been inserted.

Wehr's Dictionary, since its first edition of 1952, belongs to the very few Arabic lexicons which have largely succeeded in defining the linguistic identity of Modern Written Arabic in terms of its lexicon (as against the contrastive background of Classical Arabic, on the one hand, and colloquial varieties, on the other). Millennial separate development of Classical (mostly written) and Colloquial (almost exclusively oral) Arabic makes a similar project almost impossible, since the domain of lexical archaisms cannot be excluded from what one attempts now to define as 'modern (written) usage' by a self-regulating linguistic process, stimulated by oral communication. The success of Wehr's Dictionary has to be attributed to a variety of factors, first of all, as it appears to be, to a happily selected and statistically representative body of primary sources which constitute the material basis for the application of sound descriptive principles. The resultant picture, even if not quite free of errors and ambivalent classifications which mirror, for the most, the really existing ambiguities of the language, differed to such an extent from anything previously published in this field, that one can speak about a new generation of Arabic bilingual dictionaries.

The present Fourth Edition is an important step forward in perfecting and

updating the Dictionary. Numerous additions and improvements may be illustrated by the following examples:

For an old-Wehr (OW) *mawādd muḍādda li-l-ḥayawiyyāt* "antibiotica" (537) we have a new-Wehr (NW) modernized reduced variant *muḍāddāt ḥayawiyya,* quoted under *ḥayawī* (256), or its alternant *muḍāddāt al-ḥayawiyyāt,* quoted under *muḍāddāt* (628).

Hundreds of newly introduced neologisms include such NW items like *tawᶜiya* "enlightenment; consciousness raising" (1268); *taharrub* "shirking; tax evasion" (1202); *kuwaykib* "little star; starlet" (here also the important "planetoid" should have been given) (992), etc.

Or, in the domain of lexical borrowing:

(newly included items): *tiknolōjiyā, tiknolōjīa* "technology"; *tiknolōjī* "technological" (116); *taknīk* "technique; technical process" (116), etc.

(more realistic reading of loanforms): *tilivizyōn, televizyōn, talavizyōn* (NW, 116), as against *tilivisyōn* (OW, 96), etc.

(as well as an updated interpretation of the items quoted), e.g.: *tilivizyōn,* etc. "television, telecast"; (pl.-*āt*) "television set, TV" (NW, 116), as against *tilivisyōn* "television" (OW, 96). Etc., etc.

Since the rare qualities and an over-all reliability of the Dictionary are self-evident and no words are needed to recommend what has since long been generally accepted, a few remarks which follow are uniquely intended to bring into view a number of features which allow of an alternative approach as well as some gaps to be filled in.

While in a number of entries, exhibiting an inter-systemic restatement, the lexical items belonging to different systems (derivational and/or inflectional: in the example quoted below, derivational and inflectional) are quoted separately, in some other cases no distinct dividing line is drawn between them. The former case (of what we consider to be an adequate presentation) includes lexical items exhibiting a parallel membership in the derivational system of collective (CN) and unit nouns (UN) and in the inflectional system of what we call autonomous singular—plural relationship: *ᶜadas* (CN) — *ᶜadasa* (UN) "lentil(s)" (here, a satelite plural in -*āt* "lentils" should have been given, as well), as against an autonomous singular—plural relationship, unrelated to the CN-UN system, viz. *ᶜadasa — ᶜadasāt* "lens; magnifying glass; object lens, objective" (NW, 696).

The latter case (of what we consider to be an inappropriate presentation) may be illustrated on examples like *lawz* "almond(s)" where only the CN element of the system is explicitly qualified as such (and, also separately quoted), while its UN counterpart is entried side by side with *al-lawzatān* "tonsils (anat.)" (NW, 1036). As evident, only *al-lawzatān* forms part of an autonomous singular—plural (here represented by a dual) relationship, while *lawza* (with a satellite plur. in -*āt*), belongs to the CN-UN system and should be so presented.

On the other hand, in some other "inter-systemic" collisions the arrangement of

items is derived from the lexicographically dominant systemic membership. By the lexicographically dominant systemic membership such a membership is here understood which, when selected as a basis for the subsequent lexicographical arrangement, maximally simplifies the lexicographical organization of the respective entry. In the example which follows another type of a Wehr-featured inter-systemic restatement is presented where the derivational system $fa^{cc}āl — fa^{cc}āla$ is reclassified in terms of the CN-UN relationship, and so is presented, e.g.:

| (unresystemized) | $fa^{cc}āl$ | $fa^{cc}āla$ |
|---|---|---|
| derivational value: | sajjād "worshipper (of God)" agentialness | sajjāda "prayer rug; rug, carpet" instrumentalness |
| (resystemized) | $fa^{cc}āl$/CN | $fa^{cc}āla$/UN |
| derivational value: | sajjād "prayer rug (s); rug(s), carpet(s)" collectiveness | sajjāda "prayer rug; rug, carpet" unitness (NW, 463); |

for the sake of simplicity, the satellite plurals are not here taken into consideration.

Constant interactions between Modern Written Arabic and regional dialects are mirrored in an unceasing influx of regionalisms. Some of them are recorded in the Dictionary, as e.g. the Maghribi sardūk "rooster, cock" (NW, 474) or the Egyptian Arabic ʿušš ġurāb (718) or ʿēš ġurāb (775) "mushrooms", etc. The crucial problem consists just in determining what to include and how much to include. Why not, for instance, the Tunisian məngāla "watch", or a hint to the Lybian 'abba "to want, wish" (besides the MWA "to long, yearn" (NW, 1)), etc., etc. Relying on a rather impressionistic evaluation, based upon a relatively short-term acquaintance with the present Fourth Edition, it is possible to say that the author has even here succeeded in creating a well-balanced representation of regional and regionalized lexical items.

Despite the fact that the amount of the technical terms included represents a rather important part of the Dictionary, a good deal of current terms, especially those of a multicomponental structure, are missing, e.g. "box-camera" kāmira ṣundūqīyya (Khatib, 64), 'ālat taṣwīr bi-šakl ṣundūq (Doniach, 146); "push-button control" at-taḥakkum bi-'azrār 'inḍiāttiyya (Khatib, 473); at-taḥakkum bi-ḍaġt al-'azrār (Doniach, 170); "high-fidelity amplifier" muḍaxxim daqīq al-'adā', muḍaxxim ʿālī l-'amāna (Khatib, 278), etc., etc. The Arabic — non-Arabic arrangement operates as a strong restrictive factor in relation to lexical units referring to notions which display a high rate of socio-cultural differentiation. The Doniach-quoted "baby-sit-

ter" *jalīs aṭ-ṭifl ʿinda ġiyāb al-wālidayn,* or the verb "baby-sit" *raʿā ṭ-ṭifl ʿinda ġiyāb al-wālidayn* (83), can be found neither in Wehr nor in any of the Arabic-English dictionaries, published so far, under any of the respective constituents. The reasons can easily be understood, but the fact of an (a-b) — (b-a) incorrespondence nevertheless remains. It would be perhaps worthwhile to consider the possibility of applying Wehr's descriptive principles to a specialized corpus of primary sources (sciences, technology, management, etc.) with an ambitious aim to produce a sort of Supplement to the present work.

The Fourth Edition of Wehr's Dictionary, as an updated and thoroughly improved version of this excellent lexicographical tool, will no doubt win the recognition of all those who have something to do with Modern Written Arabic.

*Ladislav Drozdík*

Myntti, C.: *Women and Development in the Yemen Arab Republic.* Echborn, German Agency for Technical Cooperation Ltd. 1979. 169 pp.

This book is one of three studies published in 1979 on the role of women in the Yemen Arab Republic. (The other two are: Mundy, M.: *Women's inheritance of land in Highland Yemen. Arabian Studies, V,* London 1979, pp. 161—187 and Makhlouf, C.: *Changing veils: Women and modernization in North Yemen.* London 1979.) The publication of Ms Myntti's research is the outcome of a request by the Central Planning Organization in Ṣanʿāʾ to the German Advisory Team to provide 'a basic report' on the position of Yemeni women and 'their integration into the development of the country... viewed in the context of the important social and economic changes which are taking place'. It was hoped that the information presented in Ms Myntti's survey would assist in 'the programming of assistance from the developed countries'.

Ms Myntti's book suffers from a complete absence of references to the considerable aid from such Arab states as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, Iraq and Algeria. Aid experts from these countries with the same religion and language as the recipients could have been consulted with benefit by the author.

Similarly Ms Myntti has not investigated the economic and social changes brought about by such a project as the experimental farm at Al-Kadān near Bājil in the Tihāmah. Established and still run by experts from the Soviet Union, it is one of the earliest and longest lasting aid projects in the Y. A. R.

Other agricultural schemes, for example in Wādī Zabīd and the British financed Montane Plains and Wādī Rīmaʿ project, receive only brief mention. Yet, as she correctly observes, it is in agriculture that women play an important and vital role in the community.

Another surprising omission is any discussion on the rapid expansion of road construction which occurred in the three years before the 1962 revolution and which

has been resumed in the past five or six years. Women from the rural areas can increasingly be seen travelling in taxis and buses all over the country. An assessment of the changes in women's attitudes brought about by the increasing mobility of women would have been welcome. An equally important subject for consideration would have been the reaction of males to the sight of ever increasing numbers of both Yemeni and expatriate Arab women to be seen working in administration, health education and banking establishments.

The reader also searches in vain for an analysis and evaluation of the presence of the British Save the Children Fund at al-Rawḍah and that of their American and Swedish counterparts in al-Maḥwīt and Zabīd respectively.

Ms Myntti, an American anthropologist, spent most of her two years' field work in Banī Ghazī in Ḥujarīyah. A short part of this time she spent at Al-Nadhīr on Jabal Razīḥ. While typical of other parts of the country in that they are areas of high emigration — in the case of Ḥujarīyah to the United States and South Yemen, and in the case of Jabal Razīḥ to neighbouring Saudi Arabia — Jabal Razīḥ and Banī Ghazī have not received any international aid until very recently. They therefore do not qualify as areas for a study in development aid: they do, however, present a typical picture of the *status quo*, a study of which Ms Myntti believes, is essential before aid projects should be undertaken. In discussing areas which have been the recipients of international aid projects, Ms Myntti has relied almost exclusively on information gleaned from U. N., West German, American, British, Dutch and Swedish experts, some of whom are certainly less sympathetic than Ms Myntti to Yemen's economic, social, religious and cultural aspirations. No mention is made of projects undertaken by Islamic countries and socialist countries (USSR, Hungary, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea).

The book suffers from inconsistencies in the transliteration of place names, one system having been adopted for the text and another for the map. The final proof reading shows signs of considerable haste.

Contradictory statements are not infrequent. Thus, for example, on page 39 Ms Myntti states that 'Everywhere in Yemen... the consumption of meat... depends on the economic status of the household', while two pages further on, she writes that 'a typical midday meal in Jebel Razih would be... meat'. Again on page 39 Ms Myntti quotes Bornstein in seeming agreement and without comment to the effect that a woman 'spends several hours of the day' in a dark, unhealthy, poorly-ventilated kitchen. Yet later in the book Ms Myntti considers that 'Three "woman-hours" maximum would be spent in the kitchen each day'.

Other statements made by Ms Myntti are not supported by the facts. On page 48 she says chickens 'are very common' in Yemen, yet the chicken population was decimated by Newcastle disease at the time she was writing, and it has been only at the end of 1980 slowly replaced.

The book contains several statistical tables, but these are accompanied by scarcely any commentary. For example, when discussing the small number of students who graduate from the three-year nursing courses of the Health Manpower Institute, she makes no mention of the very much smaller number who are still nursing even three months after graduation. This is due not only to the social stigma attached to nursing but also to family opposition to the girls working on night shift.

Ms Myntti suggests very simplistic solutions to many of the problems facing women. Thus, she proposes that a 'campaign should be mounted by the Ministry of Health' to deal with the problem of female circumcision which is widely practised in the Tihāmah.

Ms Myntti avoids discussion of another crucial point, the sort of society towards which North Yemen aspires. Is it to be an industrial society with the rural population gradually moving to the towns in search of work in factories or as unskilled and semi-skilled workers? Or is it to be principally an agricultural society? Already the pattern is being set: in 1979 much of the cotton crop in the region of Bayt al-Faqīh went unpicked since agricultural wages were so low that former farm labourers abandoned their villages and moved to al-Ḥudaydah or sought work in Saudi Arabia. She also fails to discuss the political direction the country may follow. Will the Y. A. R. follow in the steps of its southern neighbour, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, where there is no place for shaykhs and where women are actually encouraged to abandon the veil? Many women have risen to prominent positions in the administration and police forces, for example in the P. D. R. Y. and fully participate in the 'modern sector'. Or will North Yemen adopt a less revolutionary policy towards development and change, thereby retaining many of its traditional structures? Ms Myntti must provide an answer to such questions before arguing that 'development for women in Yemen must be two-pronged; making sure that women participate and are positively affected by changes in the traditional sector as well as integrating women into the modern sector through education, training and employment'.

The first part of Ms Myntti's book deals with the traditional role of women in Yemeni society. She then briefly examines how this role is changing as a result of the remittances of Yemenis working abroad, the shortage of male labour created by emigration and finally the 'substantial development aid'. The author makes the important point that hitherto much of this aid has tended to neglect women in project areas due to an absence of 'general sociological data and information on women', but suggests that this could be remedied by the inclusion in projects of 'improvements in the agricultural equipment which women use, a broadened extension service which would educate men and women equally on subjects ranging from agricultural practice to nutrition and hygiene, housing improvements with more healthful kitchens, extensive use of the media for educational purposes, and more appropriate health and educational services'.

297

Chapter IV is perhaps the most constructive one in the book. Here the author observes that 'continual monitoring' of projects is essential and 'flexibility is the key'. She adds that 'The extent to which a project can respond to felt needs both at the feasability study stage and to changing needs during project implementation depends on a sound understanding of the social situation and a flexible approach based on continuous evaluation'. Elementary perhaps, yet Ms Myntti has found projects which neglected to collect adequate socio-economic data about the region they were working in. Other projects are condemned for their failure to publish (for the benefit of other projects) the vast amount of such data they have gathered.

In Chapter V, entitled Recommendations on how women can participate in and profit from the Development process, Ms Myntti clearly states that 'The real purpose of development is to make people better off'. To assess just how much better off people are, she rejects such figures as the GNP provide : she also opposes quantifying health and educational services or the consumption of meat. Instead, she urges that an understanding of the *status quo* is essential, for it is from this that 'strategies and goals can be formulated with an appreciation of who is likely to be involved in the progress and projects, as well as how the benefits are to be distributed'.

It is in this chapter that the author clearly comes out in favour of rural development for Yemen. With this in mind and for the benefit of future donors, she has drawn-up an eight point check-list. In this she recommends acceptance of a project by a development agency only if the project will address itself to locally perceived needs. The project should also be aware of the manpower situation and in order to effect change, the donors must know who has the power to make decisions at all levels. Attention should be paid to the age, sex and social status of those engaged in each agricultural task. She goes on to recommend that the harmful effects of a project should be predicted, so that those affected can be incorporated into the modern scheme. Women should be recruited as part of the project staff, with due attention being paid to how women 'are restricted in cultural terms and how this might negatively influence their participation in the project'.

The author urges the teaching in rural areas of first-aid, nutrition and hygiene to whole villages, the modernization of livestock feeding practices, and then proposes an improved system for the distribution of Butagaz bottles and the implementation of reafforestation projects. For the kitchen, improvements in lighting and ventilation are recommended. In the domain of health, she believes that more Yemeni female staff should be trained. She cites as a positive example of this kind of training the work done by members of the British Volunteer Programme on Jabal Raynah. These programmes, she concludes, cannot be realized without the active support of the Yemeni radio and television which should transmit a greater number of programmes directed to women in rural areas.

The final pages of the book contain eight appendices, the most important being a summary of a speech on the role of women given at the Yemeni International

Development Conference held in Ṣanʿāʾ in December 1977 and translations of the Yemeni Labour Laws of 1970 and 1978.

Ms Myntti's book, intended for 'both foreigners and Yemenis who are now — or will be in the future — responsible for the planning and implementation of development projects and programmes in Yemen', will provide a useful general introduction to such subjects as marriage, bride wealth, divorce, inheritance, customary restrictions on women, the traditional roles of women in the home and at work in rural areas. It will also serve as a warning against committing some of the errors that certain foreign agencies have fallen into.

*John Baldry*

*Istoricheskaya nauka v stranakh Afriki* (Historical Studies in African Countries). Moscow, Nauka Publishing House, Central Department of Oriental Literature 1979. 302 pp.

This collective work is the second volume published in the new series Afrika Zamani — African History. Studies and Publications after Istochnikovedeniye afrikanskoi istorii (Sources on African History) which was launched by the same publishing house in 1977.[1] This survey of historical studies in sub-Saharan Africa which adds another item to the formidable corpus of the Soviet Africanist production, reflects the tremendous upsurge of historical research and writing in the countries lying to the south of the Sahara Desert. The rapid advance of African historical scholarship in the last twenty or so years and its achievements in research and reinterpretation of African history have naturally attracted the attention of those specialists whose main interests lie with the history of Africa. New centres of historical research have been formed in Africa, the number of African academic historians have significantly increased and schools of historical scholarship has developed in different African countries. A review of the historical studies research and writing in Africa asserts the growing centrality of African scholarship to the development of African history.

The Soviet monograph is a pioneering synthesis. A team of authors, noted for their knowledge of particular areas and periods of African history, have presented a detailed survey of the genesis and formation of historical studies from their modest

[1] Istochnikovedeniye afrikanskoi istorii. Afrika Zamani. Sources of knowledge. Tentative review. Moscow, Nauka Publishing House 1977. 300 pp. It is divided into twelve chapters discussing different sources of African history — language, archaeological relics and monuments, oral tradition, African sources in Arabic, Hausa, Amharic and Swahili, autobiographies and memoirs, political parties' documents, the press and the evidence provided by British travellers in Africa as historical sources.

origins to the unparalleled growth of historical research and writing in sub-Saharan Africa between 1960 and 1980. The publication is a very workmanlike piece of research, thoroughly competent and of great value in attempting to understand this important phenomenon. The book offers not only an overview, but also a reasoned argument about the growth of a tradition of historical research and writing in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa. There is an appraisal of the origins of historical tradition in the works of African amateur historians and the work also contains a clear, concise discussion of the writings and arguments of foremost African scholars in the growth of African historical studies and an outline of some of the basic trends of the development of African historical studies in different parts of the continent. The genesis and evolution of African historical studies have found expression in a form which combines a historical narrative with an analysis of the contributions of African historians to the development of African historical studies.

The study consists of seven chapters describing fairly exhaustively the stages of formation of African historical research and writing and the main trends of the study of pre-colonial, colonial and independent Africa by African scholars. After some penetrating opening remarks in the introduction from the pen of A. B. Davidson (not to be confused with Basil Davidson), the collection opens with L. E. Kubbel on the distinctive developments of the French African historical tradition in Upper Volta, Guinea, Cameroon, Congo, Mali, Niger and Senegal. N. B. Kochakova's study is devoted to African amateur historians in the British colonies of West Africa and to the formation of national historiographies in Nigeria and Ghana. Within second section — the work is organized into three geographical portions: West Africa, East Africa and Ethiopia, South Africa — one study, written jointly by V. E. Ovchinnikov, I. I. Filatova and A. S. Balezin, traces the genesis and evolution of historical studies in the three East African countries — Tanzania, Kenya und Uganda, the second paper by G. V. Tsypkin examines historical studies in Ethiopia. Of the three essays on historical studies in South Africa, that by N. F. Pronchatov deals with the bourgeois historiography in the Republic of South Africa, the German historian Helmuth Stoecker analyses contemporary liberal historiography in South Africa written in English about African peoples of South Africa and A. B. Davidson discusses Marxist and national-democratic tendencies in South African historiography. There are also three indexes, one covers periodicals, scientific, teaching and cultural establishments, then there is an index of names and an index of geographical names. Great attention is paid to the ideological struggle in the study of African history, to the influence exerted on African historical studies by Western historiography of Africa and to the perspectives opened to progressive historical studies in different African countries.

As far as methodology is concerned, the theoretical approach is firmly grounded in Marxist methodology, African historical scholarship is assessed against the background of the struggle between the two opposing ideologies, Marxist and non-

Marxist, and all African theoretical concepts and wide-ranging hypotheses are tested against the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development of mankind and the ever growing influence of the ideas and methods of historical materialism. The detailed review of different theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of African history and of the various scholarly contributions contains items of general historical interest in the application of the Marxist-Leninist theory and in the criticism, both theoretical and factual, of different non-Marxist theories.

The Soviet survey of historical studies in sub-Saharan Africa makes an interesting and valuable reading. Its treatment of the theme is not altogether comprehensive. Some of the conclusions may be also considered as premature, but they contain a challenge to carry on with the research and the book should certainly help to advance further research on historical studies in Africa. The book can be considered as an 'interim' report of ongoing research. True, it is only by compiling such a volume that the main trends of African historical research since its emergence, the omissions and basic contributions, shortcoming and virtues in the past research design can best be seen. Historians then should find much of interest and stimulation both in the collection and in its well-written, useful and balanced introduction which discusses briefly the various aspects, concepts and problems in general, of African historiography in the West, East and Africa itself. This volume may whet the appetite of the reader for the volume on Africa: History, historiography which is projected by Nauka Publishing House.

One last comment, despite the effort made in translating at least a little fragment of the huge Soviet Africanist production into English, most of the work has, sadly, remained somewhat inaccessible to the reader outside the socialist camp because of the language barrier, and few historians of Africa in the West and in Africa itself are properly acquainted, if at all, with the often distinguished writings by Soviet historians of Africa. And it is rather a pity.

*Viera Pawliková*

Maurer, Barbara—Schwarz, Klaus: *Hochschulschriften zu Schwarzafrika 1960—1978. Deutschland—Österreich—Schweiz* (Dissertations and Theses on Black Africa 1960—1978. Germany—Austria—Switzerland). Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1979. 226 pp.

The revolution witnessed in African studies in the last twenty or so years has led to an enormous increase in African research and publishing and, simultaneously, it has also made it very difficult, if virtually no longer possible, to keep up with the results of research carried out at the universities and embodied in doctoral dissertations and other theses. The natural consequence of the dynamic growth of African studies all

over the world has been the publication of numerous bibliographies and guides to theses and dissertations which reflect the amount of research carried out in all subjects in the humanities, the social and the natural sciences in different countries of the world.[1] At the International Conference on African Bibliography held in Nairobi in December 1967 it was decided to compile an international bibliography of theses and dissertations on Africa which would be truly international in its scope and would incorporate the doctoral research of European, African, American, Asian and Australian scholars, regardless of the language in which their dissertations were written. The first outcome of the international effort stimulated by this conference has been the publication of an international bibliography on one region, namely South Africa, containing some 2400 dissertations and theses from thirty-three countries of the world, including the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.[2]

The booklet published in the series Materialien zur Afrikakunde as Volume 1 reflects the rapid development of African studies in the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. The list of 1238 theses covers the boom period for African studies in these four countries. Interdisciplinary in nature, it covers research not only in the humanities and the social sciences, but also in the natural sciences and provides an overview of the trends of research carried out in various Africanist disciplines. It gives the picture of what has been done and what is still to be done and is thus an indispensable guide to all those still doing research into similar or identical research topics and trying to extend the knowledge then accumulated.

The territory covered is that usually referred to as Black or sub-Saharan Africa, though works on Ethiopia and Somalia have also been included. The geographical subject coverage of the publication thus extends from Senegal in the west, to Somalia in the east, to the Republic of South Africa in the extreme end of the continent. Those interested in the northern part of the continent should consult Klaus Schwarz' *Verzeichnis deutschsprachiger Hochschulschriften zum islamischen Orient (1885—1970). Deutschland — Österreich — Schweiz,* published in 1971 by the same publishing house. The bibliography under review also supplements Jochen Köhler's *Deutsche Dissertationen über Afrika. Ein Verzeichnis für die Jahre 1918—1959.* Bonn, Schroeder 1962. Included are doctoral theses as well as other dissertations such as Habilitationsschriften and, though rare, also akademische Gelegenheitsschriften on Black Africa. Diploma and master theses have not been

---

[1] See Reynolds, Michael M.: *A Guide to Theses and Dissertations.* An annotated international bibliography of bibliographies. Detroit, Michigan, Gale 1975. 599 pp.

[2] Pearson, J. D.—Jones, Ruth: *The Bibliography of Africa:* Proceedings and Papers of the International Conference on African Bibliography, Nairobi, 4—8 Dec. 1967. London, Cass 1977; Pollak, Oliver B.—Pollak, Karen: *Theses and Dissertations on Southern Africa.* An International Bibliography. Boston, Hall 1976.

included. Because of the growing body of research on African diaspora and on African communities in the Americas and the adjacent islands, dissertations dealing with such topics have also been included. Quite naturally, most theses and dissertations were written in German, the titles of foreign language dissertations were given in their original wording without a German translation. There is also an appendix, an index of authors and a subject index.

A regional approach is adopted, after the section on Africa, general aspects, the whole territory covered is divided into five regions — North Africa (Sahara-Raum), West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa and South Africa. After regional subdivisions, separate countries follow, arranged in alphabetical order. Within geographical sections, the list is arranged, with great clarity, by subject headings in alphabetical order — general, architecture, astronomy, education, biology, geography, geology etc., history, agriculture, medicine, music and art, politics, law, religion, social sciences, language and literature, traffic, economy. The result is that the reader's eye is easily led to relevant work outside his own discipline. Close scrutiny yields rewarding insights into research priorities during the period. Obviously, any reviewer is likely to examine in detail sections relevant to his own area of specialization, in this case to African history. Such a scrutiny reveals a certain geographical and chronological imbalance (existing in African historical research and writing in other countries as well) and helps to specify academically favoured and less popular and investigated geographical regions of Africa and periods of African history. Two countries that historical research in the two Germanies, Switzerland and Austria has covered in great detail belong the two former German colonies Tanzania and Namibia, but also Ghana and Ethiopia; more has been written about West Africa than about the remaining three regions together and the chronologically favoured period of African history in general works seems to be the colonial period.

Many of the theses listed have been published, these are of course indicated. The main value of the publication is to direct attention to those which, for whatever reasons, have remained unpublished but may be available in some form. The publication is also useful as an aid to students who are in the process of selecting their own thesis topics and want to know what subjects have already been studied. It is a welcome reference source for information on recent doctoral research on Black Africa carried out in these four German-speaking countries.

*Viera Pawlíková*

303

Kropáček, Luboš—Burda, Hynek: *Svahilsko-český a česko-svahilský kapesní slovník se stručným přehledem svahilské gramatiky* (Swahili-Czech and Czech-Swahili Pocket Dictionary with a Brief Survey of Swahili Grammar). Prague, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství 1980. 584 pp.

Swahili is at present, no doubt, one of the most important languages of Africa. The present-day language situation in East Africa has been characterized by the continuous spreading and promotion of Swahili in all spheres of social life, particularly in Tanzania — since 1967 Swahili is Tanzanian national language — and to a lesser degree in Kenya, where Swahili was declared in 1974 to be the official language. Swahili is also spoken and widely used in the surrounding countries, namely Uganda, Zaire, in the northern parts of Mozambique, in the Comoro Island, in the southern parts of the Somali Republic and even in Zambia. The number of Swahili speakers is estimated to reach some 40 millions.

Since Swahili has been systematically adapted to the expansion of its social functions, its vocabulary has been enriched and developed to meet the new requirements and newly-coined words and expressions have been introduced, older standard dictionaries, quite naturally, do not reflect the enormously advanced conceptual wealth of Swahili. Two most comprehensive Swahili dictionaries published so far and still available at present are the latest reprints of Frederick Johnson's pioneering work in two volumes — *A Standard English-Swahili Dictionary* and *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary,* the first full edition of which was published by Oxford University Press in 1939, and a similar work by Charles Sacleux *Dictionnaire swahili-français* and *Dictionnaire français-swahili,* both published in Paris in 1939—1941 and 1949 respectively. Since then there have been numerous reprints of the classical Johnson's Dictionary, nevertheless, the English-speaking student is obliged to work with a book that is over forty years out of date. Less comprehensive works have been, of course, published in Great Britain, such as Snoxall, R.: *A Concise English—Swahili Dictionary.* London, Oxford University Press 1958 or Perott, D. V.: *Concise Swahili and English Dictionary.* London 1974. In the meantime, the German scholar Hildegard Höftmann with the help of Irmtraud Herms has produced a very good comprehensive and up-to-date dictionary[1] and some Swahili dictionaries have also appeared in the Soviet Union, providing, however, a somewhat smaller general coverage than the German dictionary.[2]

The present Czech work is intended primarily for Czech and Slovak students of Swahili. It is, in fact, the first dictionary of a sub-Saharan African language ever

---

[1] Höftmann, Hildegard unter Mitarbeit von Irmtraud Herms: *Wörterbuch Swahili-Deutsch.* Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1979. 402 pp., 3 tables.

[2] Olderogge, D. A. *Suakhili-russkii slovar.* Moscow 1961; Kutuzov, A. I.: *Kratkii suakhili-russkii i russko-saukhili slovar (Kamusi fupi ya Kiswahili-Kirusi na Kirusi-Kiswahili).* Moscow 1965; Kutuzov, A. I.: *Slovar russko-suakhili gazetnoi leksiki.* Moscow 1963.

published in Czechoslovakia. The most important question asked about any dictionary is how good a general coverage will it provide. As stated in the Foreword, the Swahili-Czech and Czech-Swahili dictionary presents the lexicon of the contemporary socio-political and literary language of Tanzania and Kenya, as well as the general vocabulary of science, technology, agriculture, medicine, zoology, botany, the arts and sports. Special attention has been paid to zoological and botanical terms and Latin names are always given. The material was gathered from older Swahili handbooks and dictionaries as well as from contemporary printed materials, newspapers, journals and magazines of Tanzanian and Kenyan provenance, such as Baraza, Uhuru, Kweupe, Nchi Yetu, Ujamaa — gazeti la wajenga nchi, Nyota Afrika and the monthly Sauti ya Urafiki published in Swahili in the GDR. The Swahili is up to date, as the authors have taken account of modern tendencies shown in the press and the work includes a wide range of modern political terms and words taken from daily life. The arrangement of the dictionary is clear and simple, verbs and derivatives are arranged in alphabetical order. The glosses are sufficiently detailed and informative for a dictionary of this kind. There are numerous examples which betrays a familiarity with daily language. Because of its limited volume, this Czech work, though identifying adjectives of Arabic origin, does not give the origin of all loans.

The dictionary proper is preceded by a short Foreword, Notes on the lay-out of the dictionary, Abbreviations and a selected bibliography of Swahili dictionaries as well as Swahili textbooks and grammars both in Czech and some other languages — English, German and Russian. At the end of this Czech work there are two useful appendixes. The first one provides some valuable lists including ordinal and cardinal numbers, the calendar and time, seasons, months and days, weights and measures, monetary units, colours, greetings and forms of address. The authors are particularly to be congratulated on these extras. Most students of Swahili would also appreciate the short survey of Swahili grammar — orthography and pronunciation, morphology and syntax included as Appendix No. 2. Most welcome are also the Swahili names of various political and social organizations in Tanzania and of international organizations and abbreviations occurring frequently in the press and radio. Many of the entries here listed and placed with the main body of the Swahili-Czech work, being merely Swahili spelling or even English spelling of geographical names, would be · redundant in a Swahili-English dictionary but are included here as they need to be explained to non-English speakers, e.g. Ivory Coast, Ireland, Cameroon, Cairo, Cyprus, Habeshi, etc. Names like Senegal, Kinshasa, Nairobi, Kampala, Malawi, Zambia, Namibia, Gambia, Dakar, may seem, however, redundant even in a Swahili-Czech dictionary since the words are used in this spelling in both Slovak and Czech usage.

In conclusion, this eagerly awaited dictionary will be, no doubt, very warmly welcomed, filling as it does a serious gap in the equipment for the study of Swahili in

Czechoslovakia. Due credit should be given to both compilers for being the first in the field.

*Viera Pawlíková*

Droogers, André: *The Dangerous Journey. Symbolic Aspects of Boys' Initiation among the Wagenia of Kisangani, Zaire.* Foreword by Jan Vansina. The Hague—Paris—New York, Mouton Publishers 1980. 416 pp., 18 figures, 29 photographs.

The monograph, published under the auspices of the Afrika-Studiecentrum in Leiden, is the result of an extensive field research carried out by the author in the period from January 1968 to September 1971 among the Wagenia of Kisangani. Because of their spectacular fisheries near the falls of the Zaire river, these peoples have been well known to tourists, but not to anthropologists. The Wagenia living on the outskirts of the third major city of Zaire belong to a rather inadequately described group of peoples in the rainforest.

The author, who taught social and cultural anthropology at the university of Kisangani, managed to get together a team of observers, consisting of two Dutch graduate students in anthropology and a number of educated Wagenia assistants, and do a very detailed and meticulous research into numerous aspects of the initiation ritual. This ritual accompanied by circumcision took place in 1970 when the Wagenia held a boys' initiation for the first time after fourteen years. This research made possible the preparation of a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Free University of Amsterdam and published in the original Dutch version in 1974. The present English version is slightly revised on the basis of new fieldwork, on a different subject, carried out among the Wagenia in 1976—1977.

In a substantial introduction Dr Droogers gives the history of the project, explains its theoretical background and the techniques used to conduct the research for the book. In Chapter One he provides the historical and social background to Wagenia initiation. The rest of the book is devoted to a description of the ritual, of the four aspects of Wagenia initiation and of the changes that have occurred in the complex and expensive popular festival since the beginning of this century. Theoretical questions are touched upon in the last chapter Structuring and Restructuring. Here also the author attempts to assess the effect and the future of this transition ritual which the Wagenia with great ingenuity managed to adapt to the changing times, and to give reasons for the remarkable tenacity of initiation under the pressure of the modernization process. There are also three appendices, among them a stenciled invitation to a circumcision feast drawn up in both French and Swahili, a list of Wagenia terms, a bibliography, an index of names and an index of subjects.

To use Professor Vansina's words in the Foreword to this book, "it is a meticulous ethnography of the event", "perhaps the most detailed microstudy of a boys'

initiation to be found in the whole recent literature about the topic", "one of the best observed and recorded". In this reviewer's opinion, the real value of such works lies, not so much in the meticulous description of the ritual, as in the answer they give to the question, once again quoted from Jan Vansina's Foreword, "why would an urbanized, predominantly Christian people, with schools, hospitals, missions and churches still cling to a complex expensive initiation accompanied by circumcision?"

*Viera Pawliková*


Levtzion, Nehemiah: *Ancient Ghana and Mali*. New York—London, Africana Publishing Company, A division of Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc. 1980. 289 pp.

Professor Levtzion's great concern has been the revaluation of the Muslim historiography of Africa; he has done some important pioneering work in the criticism of some frequently consulted Arabic sources for the history of West Africa, and Arabic sources also form the basis of his book on the great empires of the Western Sudan. His work of synthesis is a plausible, but above all readable reconstruction of the past of the early states in the Western Sudan from fragments of Arabic and Portuguese sources and oral evidence. The book reflects the author's erudition and vast personal experience, it is a measured affair, treating in sober, undramatic language the tantalizing evidence of the rise and fall of Sudanese kingdoms and of the importance of gold and slaves in the black Sudan which have fascinated generations of scholars and travellers. Levtzion is rightly cautious about the all-too-meagre evidence and handles the story in his usual meticulous fashion, carefully knitting together the available evidence, relying on continuous written documentation to supplement oral evidence. He has written a scholarly and valuable book, the strengths of his study are obvious; there is the extraordinary amount of detail which his meticulous research has assembled from the reports and chronicles of Black Muslim literati and Arab travellers, existing oral traditions, and Arabic and Potuguese texts, and there is his systematic and perceptive deployment of this material to illuminate the history of the great Sudanic empires of Ghana and Mali as well as to question specific scholarly hypotheses.

The different chapters contain in a large measure the fruit of the author's meticulous researches, some of which have appeared in print as journal articles, studies in collective works and monographs, as well as a mass of results of recent historical and archaeological research and its appraisal. Dr Levtzion should be congratulated for assembling all this information and discussion in one single volume.

The book begins with a review of the origin of Ghana and goes on to construct an account of state development and to follow the historical process in the Western

Sudan. The book is arranged into two parts; in the first part the author traces the history of the Western Sudan from the eighth to the sixteenth century and describes the emergence of the kingdom of Ghana and, after its decline, of the empires of Mali and Songhay. The approach in the second part of the book is topical and it is devoted to the discussion of some principal themes — the basic features of government, politics, organization and the economic basis of government, the importance of the gold trade and trans-Saharan trade routes in the expansion of Ghana and Mali, their economic prosperity and political growth, relations and contacts of Ghana and Mali with the outside world — North Africa, the Middle East and Europe and the role of Islam and of Islamization in the cultural development of Ghana and Mali, especially the spread and the role of Islam at the royal courts and commercial entrepots along the trade routes such as Timbuktu, which became centres of Islamic learning.

The 1980 reprint of *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, first published in 1973 by Methuen, has been complemented with a bibliographical list and topical survey of recent publications related to ancient Ghana and Mali bearing evidence of the ongoing research in this field. The bibliography is impressive, containing perhaps all available sources and literature in several languages so far as both primary and secondary sources are concerned. A surprising omission is the author's own study in the History of West Africa, Vol. I, edited by J. F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder and published by Longman in 1971, on the early states of the Western Sudan to 1500. His level-headed presentation of the history of the ancient Sudanese kingdoms of Ghana and Mali justifies a reprinting of the original text without revising and amplifying it in view of some new factual and interpretative evidence revealed by recent research.

*Viera Pawlíková*


Ladouceur, P. A.: *Chiefs and Politicians: The Politics of Regionalism in Northern Ghana*. London—New York, Longman 1979. xv+288 pp.

Regionalism, sub-nationalism, minority nationalism or whatever we term it, is a phenomenon much experienced in Africa, and one can even assert that in no other part of the world has it ever been so widespread as to form one of typical features of an entire continent. True, there are African countries where regionalism and reactions to it have not come to the forefront of national politics, yet the examples of the opposite are numerous. Particularly in West Africa, where colonial boundaries seem to have been set out across all geographical and historical limitations, the emergence of regional attitudes has been well preconditioned.

Of course, all blame cannot be laid on the ignorance of the boundary makers and neither has it evidently been P. A. Ladouceur's object. Given the situation as it settled down after the establishment of colonial rule, he rather concentrates on the

development of regional consciousness and regional politics in the territory he studies — Northern Ghana.

The first part of the book, presenting the background to regionalism in Northern Ghana, pays special attention to the problem of colonial legacy from the years 1898—1945. British isolationist policy towards the then Northern Territories, which tended to reinforce the already existing natural and historical differences between the North and the rest of the country, is defined here as the single most important factor in the emergence of Northern regionalism.

It was only after the end of the Second World War that regionalism in Northern Territories became an active political force, and in the second part of his book (Chapters 4—6) the author examines various questions concerning this period (1945—1956). He points to one important feature of this change: it did not come from an internal evolution of the North itself, but rather from external forces, such as events in the South propelling the country towards self-government, or a decision on the part of the colonial administration to integrate Northern Territories into the rest of the Gold Coast. In the underdeveloped North, fears of oncoming domination by Southerners arose and forced Northern chiefs and a small group of newly educated élite to organize their ranks into what became the first Northern regional leadership. The author's thorough examination of the profile of these politicians is of great help in understanding their general conservative approach.

The breakdown of Northern unity before the 1954 election and the emergence in the North of two different political group — one supporting the Nkrumah's nationalist Convention People's Party and the other reacting to the CPP's penetration into the North by the founding of the regionally oriented Northern People's Party — is another issue which has been subjected by the author to a profound analysis. NPP's policy of regional opposition to the national level, seeking the preservation of a distinct regional identity and old traditions, is here contrasted with the CPP Northern supporters' aim to incorporate within national political institutions and break with the past.

The seventh chapter examines the principal reasons for the rapid defeat of Northern regionalism as an effective political force after the coming of independence. The author stresses that such a sudden change could only have occurred because the NPP had never developed a strong popular base and it has always remained merely a movement of the élite.

Concerning the role of Northern politicians in Nkrumah's Ghana, the author shows that although a number of Northerners occupied high positions, they had little real power and influence, and their integration within the national élite structure was only superficial. On the other hand, as far as the development of the North under Nkrumah is concerned, the author calls it "an almost euphoric period, when it seemed that the North might finally break away from its debilitating poverty" and comparing it with other periods of colonial and independent Ghana's history, he

maintains that it was just between the years 1957—1966 that the North made most progress.

Although formally Northern regionalism ceased to exist after the demise of the Northern opposition during the first years of independence, currents of regional sentiment could still be observed, and at the end of the Nkrumah regime, Northern nationalism was far from dead. To prove this assertion, the author points to the strong resurgence of regional sentiments in the North with the emergence of the Northern Youth Association whose short-lived but rather vociferous activity under the first military regime was exclusively pro-Northern.

Examining Northern attitudes under the Busia regime (1969—1972), the author shows that the larger accession to high political office after the 1969 election silenced prominent Northern politicians and their old regionalism was transformed into a broader national outlook. Nevertheless, he concludes that the continued dissatisfaction of the majority of Northerners (founded, as in the past, on the perception of the still enormous gulf separating the North from the South, and made more explicit with the greater education opportunities) is likely to cause Northern consciousness and the idea of regionalism to grow in time.

On the whole, P. A. Ladouceur's book will probably be most appreciated for its profound examination of the origins and politics of regionalism in an African country. Those readers who in any study on 'the regional' are above all interested in its implications on 'the national', should not be discouraged by the fact that throughout the book the author keeps rather strictly to his viewing it all 'from inside the region'. Besides being to them a detailed partial study, it will also prove an excellent book of reference. A particular dimension has been brought to the book by the author's personal contacts with most of the post-Second World War Northern political prominents, to interviews with whom he refers abundantly.

*Ján Voderadský*


Oyediran, Oyeleye (Ed.): *Nigerian Government and Politics under Military Rule.* London—Basingstoke, Macmillan 1979. xii+319 pp.


For Nigeria, 1979, which saw the coming of the new civilian government after nearly thirteen years of military rule, was a crucial year and the timely appearance of this book is praiseworthy indeed. Its other a priori value consists in the list of its contributors. Written by an all-Nigerian team of scholars and prominent public figures, it provides an on-the-spot examination of the effects military rule had on the processes and institutions of certain aspects of government and politics in Nigeria.

The book consists of a dozen essays on major themes in Nigerian politics since 1966. Examining the critical factors that led to the military coup of January 1966, the

first chapter provides the reader with a historical background to the fall of the constitutional government in Nigeria. Along with the problems inherited from the colonial era and a series of political crises of the first half of the 1960s, O. Oyediran points to the influence of the internal structural dilemmas of the Nigerian army which, undoubtedly too, affected the decision to stage a coup. Among the post-independence events that led to the military take-over, the author lays stress upon the Action Group crisis, the census controversy and the 1964—1965 federal and western election conflicts. The list of these "signposts to disaster" (pp. 12—22) would perhaps be fuller with an appropriate attention given to the labour unrest, and the General Strike of 1964, in particular. The victory of the workers over the government indicated the weakness of the latter and it proved that the malcontent with the Nigeria's post-independence political system had been nation-wide. One and a half years later, when a group of army majors around C. Nzeogwu considered critical decisions on whether to act or abide neutral, these must have been factors which spoke strongly in favour of 'action'.

When T. Muhammadu and M. Haruna express their view on some questions concerning the most important landmark in the independent Nigeria's history, the civil war, they quite rightly argue that all blame cannot be laid on faults of the independence constitution. As they put it "... political stability and national integration... involve not just working out suitable rules... More than anything else, the problem of unity and stability... is of a lack of deep-seated, nationally shared values" (p. 25). It has often been stated that thirty months of civil war, which would have brought many a developing country to the brink of an economic catastrophe, did not break Nigeria, but served the country as a proof that it was economically the strongest state of tropical Africa. Not avoiding this aspect of the civil war, the authors adduce some interesting financial data at the end of their contribution.

A. Iwayemi's study The military and the economy is a proportionate assessment of the positive and negative effects more than a decade of military rule had on Nigeria's economic development. While the rapid economic growth, the internationalization of the benefits of the exploitation of oil resources, indigenization decrees and the Land Use Decree make positive headlines, rocketing defence expenditure, serious inflation and stagnating agriculture prove that the army's impact on the economy has been ambivalent. The well-chosen tables appended here are very revealing.

What comes forth as a very good editorial idea is the inclusion of two different opinions on the problem of the Nigerian civil service. While an insider's view, written by a former top civil servant P. Asiodu, tries to defend, somewhat unconvincingly, the "thousands of innocent, patriotic, hardworking and dedicated civil servants" (p. 90) who lost their job in the 1975 great anticorruption purge, S. Olugbemi's critical assessment of the impact military-civil service coalition had on post-1966 Nigeria, leads up to the definition of what he calls 'phenomenon of bureaucratic imperialism' (p. 107) which, the author maintains, was a significant feature of the behaviour of the

311

Nigerian civil service during the period of military rule. The arguments of 'the outsider' are on the whole so much more persuasive than the ones presented by 'the insider' that the reader may really wonder whether the latter were not embodied in the book just to make the former appear stronger.

The next chapter by L. Jakande, a prominent figure of Nigerian journalism, examines the problem of the press under military rule. The author points out the fact that under special conditions of a military regime, when most of the normal channels of communication between government and people are in abeyance, the role of the press significantly increases. Unfortunately, general reflections of this kind form only a minor part of this paper and the rest presents a mere description of "the most dramatic and the most exciting of the confrontations" between brave journalists and intolerant military government.

Foreign policy is another topic which has been awarded two essays in the volume. The first one, by R. Ofoegbu traces this issue chronologically since the first military coup in January 1966, while R. Akinyemi's contribution concentrates on the foreign policy of the Mohammed/Obasanjo government. Here, Nigeria is being praised especially for the strong line it took in support of the Angola's MPLA and for its firm stand on South African affairs, the effect of which has been that "Nigeria became the Mecca for liberation fighters in Africa" (p. 158). The country's vigorous foreign policy of the second half of the 1970s backed up by the enormous resources generated by the oil boom, is rightly seen as the principal reason of many an observer's belief that "a continental power has finally emerged in Africa" (p. 168).

Having described the pre-1966 situation, the next chapter on local government and administration goes on to examine the changes which the lowest level of government underwent under the military. At the end of this paper the basic features of the 1976 reform providing for a universal local government in Nigeria are discussed in brief.

Another critical factor for Nigeria, and for most federations elsewhere, has been the policy of revenue sharing. O. Oyediran and O. Olagunju maintain in their contribution that the attempt by the military to completely depoliticize this issue must have failed just because "the sharing of the revenue, like budgeting, is inextricably linked to the political system" (p. 211). As a matter of fact, the approach of the military government itself cannot quite justifiably be termed as apolitical. The foremost result of the revenue allocation decrees implemented in the first half of the 1970s (in spite of the previous rejection of similar measures by the state commissioners) was the rapid ascendancy of the federal government over the weakening position of the states, which made the promulgation of the said decrees an act of a highly political nature.

J. Adekson's Dilemma of military disengagement is one of the best studies included in this book. Before examining the Nigerian example which he describes as "an unequalled case of a ruling military faithfully presiding... over the peaceful

self-liquidation of their acquired power" (p. 222), the author presents his typology of West African military disengagement. While speculating on various possible levels of the military post-withdrawal participation in politics, Adekson, too, is of the opinion, nowadays often expressed, that "it is one thing to get soldiers to withdraw to the barracks, from power, and quite a different thing to guarantee against their political re-entry" (p. 231). Indeed, as several examples in West Africa have already shown, the come-back of the military is to a large extent only a matter of the officers' (or even soldiers') own resolution which makes the position of any post-military civilian government very delicate.

Chapter 12 analyses the various attempts during military rule to make a constitution for Nigeria. E. Gboyega has quite naturally devoted most attention to the making of the 1979 constitution which led to the handing-over of power to the elected government. Readers interested in the basic political laws Nigeria is to follow in her civilian future would certainly appreciate having the full text of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria appended to the book, not only the Legislative Powers section, as is the case with this edition.

In his essay The struggle for power in Nigeria 1966—1979, A. Yahaya concentrates on the role politicians were allowed to play under the three different military governments of this period. The part of his paper brings the basic features of the principal political parties whose emergence immediately followed the lifting of the ban on politics in September 1978.

The final chapter, another written by the editor of this volume, focuses on two interesting themes. Thus the first part is an attempt to present a balance sheet of the thirteen years of military rule in Nigeria. Having considered in brief the main pros and cons, the author arrives at the conclusion that "it is only in areas which are related to the normal functioning of the military as an institution that success has been much achieved. On issues or politics which are heavily political... success has eluded the Nigerian military..." (p. 280). Of course, a military government can only be accepted as a temporal solution and its protracted rule can do a country more harm than good, yet, assessing the military period in Nigeria, a fact of basic importance for any emerging nation cannot be bypassed — that at the departure of the military from the political scene, the country was far more united than at its arrival.

A rather provoking question is presented in the second part of O. Oyediran's paper: "For how long will civilian government last?" Although being asked at the time of its coming to power it may sound too pesimistic, the political reality of Nigeria (and of quite a few other African countries) makes considerations of this kind very topical. Nevertheless, those who believe that the process of military disengagement, lasting several years and successfully culminating in the October 1979 hand-over to civilians, has not been futile, may be quite worried by the author's final assertion which considers "a long civilian rule in Nigeria very doubtful" (p. 287).

On the whole, the book under review is a very welcome contribution to the problem of the impact military rule has had on politics of most African countries which is much studied nowadays. Although the view of Nigeria it presents would perhaps be more complex if essays on subjects such as labour or corruption under the military were included, it can be recommended as an essential reading to every student of the post-independence political development of the 'Africa's emerging power'.

*Ján Voderadský*

Kaczyński, Grzegorz J.: *Bunt i religia w Afryce czarnej. Z badań nad ruchami religijnymi w Zairze* (Rebellion and Religion in Black Africa. A Contribution to Studies on Religious Movements in Zaire). Wrocław—Warsaw—Cracow—Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk 1979. 304 pp.

Socio-religious movements from the period of crisis of the world colonial system, manifesting anti-imperial and national liberation tendencies, developed in various parts of the world from the beginning, in places from the middle of the nineteenth century, their expansion occurring about the time of the First, but particularly after the Second World War. These movements bear for the most part the character of millenarianism, Messianism and prophetism. Millenarianism is usually associated with Messianism, i.e. with the idea of the coming of a Reformer and Messiah who would lead the people out of the crisis situation. "Millenarium regnum" or the idea of a thousand years of God's kingdom on earth has been known to European nations from the times of their mediaeval history when the role of Reformer and Messiah was attributed to the emperor (Frederick Barbarossa) who, according to legends and myths, did not die, but was to have returned and regenerated the society, or belief was centred on a second coming of Christ. During the past hundred years, historians of contemporary events, sociologists, ethnographers and folklorists had opportunity to follow up, so to say, with their own eyes all these movements as living protest expressions of our times under conditions of colonial expansionism and oppression. As far back as the year 1799 an Iroquois prophet Handsome Lake was active in the United States of America; early in the nineteenth century, a prophet known under the name of Tenskvatava preached among the Shawnee Indians insisting that the expansion by the Whites, their taking up of Indian soil, epidemies and alcoholism are all punishments of Manabozho, the highest being, because the Indians had rejected their good ancient customs and laws. Around the year 1828, Tenskvatava was followed by Kanakuk, in the mid-nineteenth century the prophet Smohalla worked among Indians from the Columbia River basin, followed somewhat later by Kolaskin; in 1870, the prophetic movement spread over the States of Nevada,

314

Oregon and California, and another wave swept over the extensive region of the Plains in 1890. In 1881 a young Indian prophet John Slums — his Indian name was Skrusahtun — an adherent of the "Shaker Church" came to the public scene, and one could thus go on through the movement of "The Ghost Dance", peyotism, up to that of the Cherokee's Keetovach, and the Indian-Muslim "Red Power".

Millenarian movements based on the idea of expectation or preparation of a period of supranatural bliss flourished in the past century also on numerous Pacific Islands and are known as "Cargo Cults" (Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound. A Study of "Cargo" Cult in Melanesia*. London 1957). Early in the nineteenth century the Mamaia sect appeared on the Tahiti islands, the Siovili cult in Samoa, in the second half of the nineteenth century the prophet Te Ua Haumene preached in New Zealand where also the syncretic movement of Wairua Tapu (The Holy Ghost) and others characterized by a syncretism of the traditional maori religion and Christianity originated (Viktor Krupa, *Za siedmimi morami* (Beyond the Seven Seas). Bratislava 1970).

Similarly as in other colonial or semi-colonial countries, socio-religious sects with strongly national liberation orientations developed also in Africa. These movements, too, represented syncretic formations in which certain elements of Christianity fused with autochthonous religious traditions, that in places gave rise even to Christian-Musulman sects. The aim pursued by these "Black Churches" was to found a new society in which the Blacks would rule through wealth and would achieve independence, freedom from colonial oppression. This was evidently a reaction against the ideological and politico-economic domination of the Whites. The colonial administration was, of course, well aware of the aspirations of these movements and consequently would suppress them with vigour.

Voluminous works of the science of religions, as well as sociological and ethnographic literature has accumulated to this day on the ideology and doctrine of these movements. Mention might be made at least of the comprehensive synthesizing work by Vittorio Lanternari *Movimenti religiosi di libertà e di salvezza dei popoli oppressi* (Milan 1960). A decade ago, Weston La Barre published an exhaustive bibliographic review of studies dealing with questions of millenarian and messianic-prophetic movements which be termed "Crisis Cults" (*Materials for a History of Studies of Crisis Cults: A Bibliographic Essay.* Current Anthropology, Vol. 12, No. 1, February 1971, pp. 3—44). During the intervening decade this review could be supplemented with further scores of studies. Among them figure also the works by the Polish Africanist G. J. Kaczyński, published in recent years on the pages of Polish professional journals Kultura i Społeczeństwo (Culture and Society, 1972, 1973), Euhemer (1978), the African Bulletin (1974, 1977), and Religia w procesie przemian w Africe (Religion in the Process of Changes in Africa, 1978).

G. J. Kaczyński has summarized his factographic, theoretical and methodological

data in his work *Bunt i religia w Afryce czarnej. Z badań nad ruchami religijnymi w Zairze* (Rebellion and Religion in Black Africa. A Contribution to Studies on Religious Movements in Zaire).

As implied by the subtitle of the book, the author concentrated on the socio-religious movements in Zaire, the former Belgian Congo. In the Foreword to the book, Józef Chałasiński sees the core of the work to reside in an investigation of the effect of religion on the African way of life in the past, the present and in prospects of the future. The author endeavours to show how and in what measure the religious systems, whether African or extra-African, influenced the efforts of the Congolese people at achieving independence and at shaping their own notions in freedom and welfare. The doctrines of religious movements propounded slogans of independence and of protest against the colonial domination and even today they still exercise a considerable influence on the moulding of a world outlook by citizens of independent African States, and also on their attitude towards various social and political issues of the day. The author's thorough analysis of religious movements is conducive to reflections on the mechanism of the social transformations in Zaire, as well as on the unusual concordance between their religious and political ideology.

The work as such is divided into eight sections. In the first one, the author sets religious movements in Zaire into the framework of political, social and cultural affinities and in this context recognizes two groups of religious movements, viz. movements originating in situations of a confrontation of two cultures under the effects of a colonial expansion and foreign domination, and such as were born in situations of a cultural diffusion within a free society. To this division, making use of external criteria, is associated that of movements on the basis of external criteria, i. e. of stabilized signs, a knowledge of which enables the author to present the most complete typological discription of the movements. In his typology he makes use of ideological and doctrinal criteria, differentiating the latter according to the role played in them by the messianic idea and the "leadership" charisma. In virtue of these criteria, the author goes on to divide religious movements in Zaire into reformative, prophetic, millenarian, and messianic. Another question the author raises in this part refers to the method of explicating religious movements, in which a significant role is played by an investigation of psychic phenomena in the social scale, and also of internal and external agents affecting the origin of a social movement. The closing chapter of this section is devoted to religious movements antecedent to the modern ones, that derived from superficial attempts at Christianizing the Congo of that time and that resulted in a rapid return of the newly-baptized back to the traditional religious views and notions, and in syncretic pagan-Christian forms of religious practices. The author dwells on the various movements of a prophetic or reformative nature and briefly outlines their characteristics.

The second part of the book analyses the political, economic, social and religious

316

conditions that gave rise to syncretic socio-religious movements in the Congo (Zaire).

The third, fourth and fifth sections are devoted to the history, doctrine, organization and rituals of the most important religious movements in the Congo which include mainly the Kinbangism, Kitavala and Khakism movements.

The sixth section presents the characteristics of regional religious movements, such as Epikilipikili, Mpeve Nzambi, Tupelepele, Serpent Parlant, Bola Mananga, Tonsi and others.

The seventh section is concerned with the psycho-social and political functions of religious movements under colonial conditions. Here, the author presents an analysis of the mentality of the Congolese people ; his apprehension of the Bible and Christianity against the background of local neo-fetishistic cults and African religious traditions generally, determines the roots of revolutionism in religious movements, and investigates the processes of cultural adaptation. In his analysis of the development of religious movements, on the one hand he stresses their heterogeneity, but on the other, underscores their common signs. Religious movements in the former Congo, despite their archaism, have nevertheless played a significant historical role as forms of a political protest and did not become an obstacle to the liberation efforts. Quite the contrary, these movements overcame tribalism and bore signs of an original nationalism, helped tendencies towards a supra-clannish, national consciousness and towards the formation of a national association.

The closing — the eighth section deals with religious movements that arose in a situation of a cultural diffusion and of conflicts within an independent society, when some of their signs speak for a weakening of the conflict situations that had formerly conditioned the birth of various religious forms of political protest. The growth of modernist tendencies within these movements and also a deviation from tribalism are an expression of a broader openness on their part towards all that is new, an expression of a greater tolerance towards European culture.

G. J. Kaczyński's book, by its new elements in the interpretation of the complex ideological processes in contemporary Africa, will certainly attract the attention of interested scholars. Its primary significance resides mainly in the exposition and elucidation of deep social, political, economic and religious movements and transformations through which the African continent has passed over the past hundred years.

*Ján Komorovský*

Sinitsyna, I. E.: *Obychai i obychnoe pravo v sovremennoi Afrike* (Customs and Customary Law in Contemporary Africa). Moscow, Nauka 1978. 284 pp.

The decolonization process that took place in numerous African countries following World War II brought about the creation of new independent State organisms and of heterogeneous programmes of development put forward by various African countries. In several respects these programmes took contact with local social institutions and thus, despite the ongoing modernizing efforts, the past made itself strongly felt in the work of renovation or regeneration. At first sight, traditions would seem to represent a heavy burden for the African society, one that would obstruct its further progress. However, the Africans in their social and economic advancement do not consider it necessary to burn their boats. Numerous publications from the pen of lawyers, sociologists, as also proclamations by leading personalities of African countries, conclusions of international conferences and symposia of the past decade, all tend to point incessantly to the persistence of local traditions and the necessity to exploit them in the creation of contemporary African cultures.

This applies in a special manner to the development of legal institutions that take contact with local traditions of the customary law. Under conditions of the ongoing social and economic transformations, the customary law in Africa continues to play a very significant role. Hence, it is quite understandable that enhanced attention should have been devoted of late to the traditional customary law in various African regions not only by lawyers and sociologists, but likewise by ethnographers and experts in contemporary history of Africa. Here also belongs the book *Obychai i obychnoe pravo v sovremennoi Afrike*, written by I. E. Sinitsyna from the Institute of General History, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first, the authoress provides an introduction into the topic along with a review of the records of customary law in the pre- and the colonial era deals with its role in the legislation of sovereign African States, and finally lists the sources of African customary law as found in works of ethnographers, sociologists and lawyers. The second part consists of supplements comprising translations from selected codices of the customary law of African States. All, except the Tanzanian codex, have been translated from English. The scope of the publication did not permit all the collections and norms of the customary law processed to date to be included in the book under review, and thus the authoress has restricted her selection of sources from the various branches so as to eschew redundance and repetition of congruent themes. These are: Matrimonial Law of Western Cameroon, Hereditary and Property Disposing Law of Swaziland, Hereditary Law in Kenya and Codex of Local Customary Law in Tanganyika, the last being reproduced in extenso.

The introductory chapter underscores the extraordinary significance of the

customary law which permits a deeper insight into the factors dictating and motivating various political phenomena in present-day Africa, enables us better to understand the causes of the dynamism and the stagnation of the different societies. Simultaneously, it represents an important source of knowledge of the social history of African nations, all the more so as the history of the African continent is not adequately recorded in written documents. And lastly, a study of the norms of customary law permits us to reconstruct the true practice of social relations, to grasp the mechanism of action of the society on the basis of a knowledge of the rights and duties of individuals, as regulated by the customary law.

The authoress dwells especially on the concepts of "custom" and "customary law". In her view, "custom" in a given milieu is a fixed, stabilized rule regulating the behaviour of people in a definite domain of social life. "Customary law" is then a compendium of the norms that have not been enacted by State authorities, but evolved slowly over a long period of time and in some given society; they acquire the status of legal norms when they come to be recognized as such by State authorities which may then enforce their observance by coercive measures.

The generally oft-repeated thesis to the effect that behaviour of people on a lower developmental level is regulated by "custom" is thus not quite accurate. "Custom" is a term much in use, whose content embodies a whole series of rules of various kinds and orientation. It is usually made to subsume such concepts as morals, ethics, conventions or etiquette, law and religion with its rituals, so that in a syncretic case it may sometimes be extremely difficult to distinguish the various types of customs.

The authoress then notes that records of customary law from the pre-colonial era are very modest. A few of the old legal norms have been recorded in the chroniques of the Hausa nation, and a thirteenth century codex has been preserved from Ethiopia. Other monuments come from the eighteenth (Madagascar), but especially from the nineteenth century.

Sinitsyna devotes particular attention to the codification of the customary law by the colonial administrations under the British, German and French rule; in this connection she makes a point of the concern on the part of these administrations lest a codification of the local law would influence African institutions and therefore also a growth of local nationalism, hinder the import of European law and European influence in general. Despite these fears, the colonial powers nevertheless understood the necessity of being familiar with the norms of local customary legal systems whose disregard led to situations of conflict between the native inhabitants and the administration. And thus, questionnaires were elaborated for a survey of the norms of customary law, even though the method of recording the customs was far from perfect. An inherent drawback of these questionnaires was that in setting them up, their authors were under the influence of the European legal way of thinking and the colonial official accepted, as a rule, only those data on the part of the informer for which he himself was prepared. Norms, not presumed or foreseen in the spirit of

European legal systems to exist in Africa, remained obscure, others were "modernized".

Of interest is the comprehensive Chapter II dealing with the customary law in the legislature of sovereign African States where the influence of legal systems of former colonial powers continues to be manifest. The governments of these African States naturally endeavour to do away with this state of things and orient the creation of their legal norms to a rapid overcoming of backwardness. However, they consider it of importance to prevent any possible rupture between legislation and the legal consciousness of the masses. Hence, it is no accident that law-makers make use of institutions of the customary law and strive to harmonize stabilized tradition with the new norms. But there also exist other reasons for the "rehabilitation" of the customary law. Its recognition is conditioned by various circumstances, one being also the illiteracy of the masses at present. In our view, wherever people can neither write nor read, customary law will always carry great weight, its procedures and symbolical gestures performed before witnesses substituting for written documents.

The authoress has some valuable insights into comparative law. Her fragmentary examples of parallels between customary law in Africa and that of antiquity, European legal norms of early Middle Ages (Lex Salica) and the later law of Central Asian and other nations go to show how fertile may be the method of comparing African systems of customary law with the legal systems of other nations. But before this can be satisfactorily achieved, a detailed typology of African legal systems as such will have to be elaborated in detail.

In the last chapter, the authoress notes that the first concepts on customary law on the African continent had been gathered by ethnographers. Books and studies on legal customs of African nations were generally written by English, German and French ethnologists or social anthropologists, colonial officials and missionaries. Naturally, these first concepts on customary law were unsystematic, often casual, and it was only later that ethnographic survey acquired the desired scope and purposefulness along these lines. An independent way towards an evaluation of local social and political institutions of autochthonic State systems and legal orders was found by several African scholars, such, for instance, as the eminent politician of the Gold Coast J. M. Sarbah, or J. B. Danquah, Apollo Kagwa — author of a treatise on the customary law in Buganda, A. K. Ajisafe, an investigator of the customary law of the Yorubas, and others. Mention should also be made here of the ethnographer and lawyer M. Gluckman whose scholarly interests were focused on Central and South Africa, but the significance of whose work considerably exceeded the framework of one region. They permit us to get a rounded image of the social types on the African continent as a whole, on the ways early Statehood ensued on the basis of the dying presocietal system. The authoress systematically mentions scholars who have been instrumental in one measure or another for the advancement of research on customary law in Africa.

The principal weight of Sinitsyna's book resides in her placing the survey of customary law in African associations on the agenda. The authoress realizes that there are many outstanding issues still requiring an answer and a solution. We deem it fitting to draw attention to the importance of dealing with the position of the norms of customary law in the overall system of various behavioural norms. Issues that would deserve priority of attention include symbolism of gestures in customary law of African nations, its procedures, the divide between or overlapping with religious rituals, etiquette, etc. To this is also associated the question of legal consciousness, interpretation of good and evil, and other issues that emerge from a perusal of the book.

Although Sinitsyna has set herself restricted goals in her book, her work represents a solid and fertile bridgehead for further investigation in the field of customary law in Africa and for a broader comparative survey of primeval legal systems.

*Ján Komorovský*

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Aijmer, Göran: *Economic Man in Sha Tin. Vegetable Gardeners in a Hong Kong Valley.* London —Malmö, Curzon Press Ltd. 1980. 151 pp.

Beldiceanu, Nicoară: *Le Timar dans l'Etat ottoman (début XIV$^e$—début XVI$^e$ siècles).* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1980. 122 pp.

Berque, Jacques: *Les Arabes, 3$^{ème}$ éd. refondue et augmentée.* Paris, Éditions Sindbad 1979. 190 pp.

Böwering, Gerhard: *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam. The Qur'ānic Hermeneutics of the Şūfī Sahl At-Tustarī (d. 283/896).* Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift "Der Islam", Neue Folge, Band 9. Berlin—New York, Walter de Gruyter 1980. 286 pp.

Ch'en Ch'i-yün: *Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China.* A translation of the Shen-chien with Introduction and Annotations. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press 1980. 225 pp.

*China und die Fremden. 3000 Jahre Auseinandersetzung in Krieg und Frieden.* Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Bauer. München, C. H. Beck 1980. 274 pp.

*Chinese Fiction from Taiwan. Critical Perspectives.* Edited by Jeannette L. Faurot. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1980. 272 pp.

Doerfer, Gerhard—Tezcan, Semih: *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch (Dialekt von Charrab).* Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XXVI. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1980. 231 pp.

Droogers, André: *The Dangerous Journey. Symbolic Aspects of Boys' Initiation among the Wagenia of Kisangani, Zaire.* Foreword by Jan Vansina. The Hague—Paris—New York, Mouton Publishers 1980. 416 pp., 18 figures, 29 photographs.

Fragner, Bert G.: *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden.* Freiburg i. B., K. Schwarz Verlag 1980. 389 pp.

Golden, Peter B.: *Khazar Studies.* Volume 1 and 2. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XXV. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1980. 290 and 252 pp.

Grötzbach, Erwin: *Städte und Basare in Afghanistan.* Wiesbaden, Dr. L. Reichert 1979. 211 pp.

Hook, Peter Edwin: *Hindi Structures: Intermediate Level.* Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies 1979. 338 pp.

*Introduction to Contemporary Japanese Literature. Synopses of Major Works 1956—1970.* Compiled by Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai. Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press 1972. iv+313 pp.

Israeli, R.: *Muslims in China. A Study in Cultural Confrontation.* London—Malmö—Atlantic Highlands, Curzon Press—Humanities Press 1980. 272 pp.

Jones, John F. (Ed.): *Building China: Studies in Integrated Development.* Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980. 138 pp.

Kam Louie: *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China.* Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980. 186 pp.

*Korean Studies.* Volume 3, 1979. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1980. 147 pp.

Kraft, Gisela: *Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca — Weltschöpfung und Tiersymbolik.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen. Band 50. Freiburg i. B., K. Schwarz Verlag 1978. 331 pp.

Ladouceur, P. A.: *Chiefs and Politicians: The Politics of Regionalism in Northern Ghana.* London —New York, Longman 1979. xv+288 pp.

Levine, Solomon B.—Kawada, Hisashi: *Human Resources in Japanese Industrial Development.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1980. 332 pp.

Levtzion, Nehamiah: *Ancient Ghana and Mali.* New York—London, Africana Publishing Company, A division of Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc. 1980. 289 pp.

*Literature of the People's Republic of China.* Edited by Kai-yu Hsu. Bloomington—London, Indiana University Press 1980. xiv+976 pp.

Loofs-Wissowa, H. H. E. (Ed.): *Asian and Pacific Archeology Series.* No. 9. Hawaii, University of Hawaii at Manoa 1980. 393 pp.

Maurer, Barbara—Schwarz, Klaus: *Hochschulschriften zu Schwarzafrika 1960—1978. Deutschland—Österreich—Schweiz.* Freiburg i. B., K. Schwarz Verlag 1979. 226 pp.

*The modern Japanese Prose Poem.* Translated and introduced by Dennis Keene. Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press 1980. 188 pp.

Müller, Hans: *Die Kunst des Sklavenkaufs nach arabischen, persischen und türkischen Ratgebern vom 10. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen Band 57. Freiburg i. B., K. Schwarz Verlag 1980. xiii+246 pp.

Oyediran, Oyeleye (Ed.): *Nigerian Government and Politics under Military Rule.* London—Basingstoke, Macmillan 1979. xii+319 pp.

Prokosch, Erich: *Studien zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Vulgärosmanisch-Türkischen.* Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkenvölker. Hrsg. von G. Hazai. Band 2. Freiburg i. B., K. Schwarz Verlag 1980. IX+269 pp.

Rosenberg, Klaus: *Die Geschichte der Kākī. Ein Jātaka-Stoff und seine literarische Bearbeitung in Thailand und Kambodscha.* Hamburg 1980. 109.pp.

Rosenberg, Klaus: *Nation und Fortschritt. Der Publizist Thien Wan und die Modernisierung Thailands unter König Culǎlongkọn (1868—1910).* Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG). Band 78. Hamburg 1980. 146 pp.

Schwarz, Klaus: *Der Vordere Orient in den Hochschulschriften Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz. Eine Bibliographie von Dissertationen und Habilitationsschriften (1885—1978).* Islamkundliche Materialien, Band 5. Freiburg i. B., K. Schwarz Verlag 1980. xxiii+72 pp.

Sublet, Jacqueline (Responsable): *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe.* Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1979. 175 pp.

*Two Writers and the Cultural Revolution. Lao She and Chen Jo-hsi.* Edited by George Kao. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980. 212 pp.

Wannig, Klaus Detlev: *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik.* Studien zur Sprache, Kultur und Geschichte der Türkvölker. Band 1. Freiburg i. B., K. Schwarz Verlag 1980. 737 pp.

Wehr, Hans: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English).* Edited by J. Milton Cowan. Fourth edition (considerably enlarged and amended by the author). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1979. XVIII+1301 pp.

Zâkir Şükri Efendi: *Die Istanbuler Derwischkonvente und ihre Scheiche (Mecmuᶜa-i Tekaya).* Nach dem Typoskript von Mehmed Serhan Tayşı herausgegeben, eingeleitet und mit Indizes versehen von Klaus Kreiser. Islamkundliche Materialien. Band 6. Freiburg i. B.,K. Schwarz Verlag 1980. XV+114 pp.

# ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES XVIII