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OBITUARY

MARK EVSEEVICH SHNEIDER

(23 August 1921—19 June 1981)

The name of Mark Evseevich Shneider, Doctor of Sciences, for many years a member of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow and foremost Soviet sinologist, is familiar to all Russian-reading scholars in the field of modern Chinese literature, as also to literary comparatists and all those who have a serious interest in modern China.

His scientific interest had for many years focused on the writings of the outstanding theoretician and translator Qu Qiubo (1899—1935), a considerable part of whose work he had translated into Russian and had also published a monograph on him entitled *Tvorcheskii put Czyui Czyu-bo* (The Course of Qu Qiubo's Creative Activity, Moscow 1964, reviewed in *Asian and African Studies*, 2, 1966). Since the mid-sixties, he had written several studies on the reception of Russian classics in China which brought new data on the translation of this literature into Chinese, on the response of Chinese men of letters to it and on its influence on the development of modern Chinese literature. Results of this work of many years were summarized by him in the pioneering monograph *Russkaya klassika v Kitae* (Russian Classics in China, Moscow 1978, reviewed in *Asian and African Studies*, 16, 1980).

Besides these two principal scientific topics, M. Shneider published scores of studies and articles in Soviet collections and journals on diverse aspects of modern Chinese literature, e.g. on literary journals of the May Fourth Movement Period, on the Left League of Chinese Writers, on theoretical problems of the development of modern Chinese literature, and also on recent Chinese literature, particularly on the reception, influence and response of Soviet literature in contemporary China.

It may be said without exaggeration that M. Shneider departed this life at the peak of his creative strength full of scientific projects. He has left behind not only an impressive scientific work, but also manuscripts of unfinished studies. He departed suddenly, unexpectedly, struck by a treacherous heart attack. He belonged to those people, departure of which does usually leave behind a painful vacuum not only in the domain of science, but also in the lives of all those who had known this wise, friendly and unselfish man.

Our Department of Oriental Studies had the sad distinction of having been the last scene of his scientific activity. We wish to honour the memory of Mark Evseevich

Shneider, a renowned sinologist, our very old friend and a good man, by publishing the text of the paper Reception of Russian Classical and Soviet Literature in China, which he had read to Slovak orientalists on 4 June 1981.

Anna Doležalová

ARTICLES

RECEPTION OF RUSSIAN CLASSICAL AND SOVIET LITERATURE IN CHINA

M. E. SHNEIDER, Moscow

The present paper traces out the periodization of the process of translation, critical analysis and creative mastering of Russian classical literature in China. From similar aspects it also deals with the reception of Soviet literature in that country, investigating these issues right up to the year 1981. It underlines the positive response and influence of Russian and Soviet literature on the development of modern Chinese literature until the early sixties, but makes also evident a striking anti-Soviet aspect occurring in both the selection of translations and the commentaries to Russian and Soviet literature after the "Cultural Revolution".

The propagation of Russian classical and Soviet literature in China has a long history. Works of Russian classics began to be translated in that country at the beginning of this century, while writings by Soviet authors had already become familiar in the early twenties. This long process, reaching up to the present, might be roughly divided in time into two periods — up to the "Cultural Revolution", and afterwards. The acquaintance with Russian and Soviet literature was most intensive following the year 1949.

This process, so beneficial to the development of Chinese literature, interrupted on the eve of the "Cultural Revolution", began in 1900 with the publication of a few of I. A. Krylov's fables in Chinese and went on for over sixty years in parallel with the popularization of other foreign literatures in China. Interest of the Chinese public in the works of Russian national classics went on growing and from year to year it became more intense; this, of course, had several reasons. Some of them had an essential, determining character, deriving primarily from the socio-historical conditions in the development of Russia and China, as also from the needs of the nascent new Chinese literature. But among the principal reasons it was certainly the interest of the Chinese public in Russia, its culture and literature, sharpened by the needs of development of a realist Chinese literature, first under conditions of a revolutionary and national liberation struggle, and then in the process of building up a new way of living.

The lapse over a long period in the spread of Russian classics in China (1900—1960) is to be divided logically into four basic stages, each of them showing specific and characteristic traits. The first stage comprises the first two decades of our century. The second began with the May Fourth Movement in 1919 and continued until the end of the twenties. The third stage spreads through the 30s and 40s and the

fourth was ushered in by the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 and lasted over 10 years, practically until the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution".

The distinguishing trait of the above stages was an enhanced interest of progressive Chinese intelligentsia in events taking place in the neighbouring country, namely in the spiritual culture of its nation. The powerful stimulus was naturally the growing revolutionary movement in Russia, particularly the first Russian Revolution. "The ardent love of the Chinese for Russian literature — wrote the historian Li Shu — was born under the direct influence of the 1905—1907 revolution in Russia" (Li Shu, *Pervaya russkaya revolyutsiya i Kitai* — The First Russian Revolution and China — in the book *Pervaya russkaya revolyutsiya 1905—1907 i mezhdunarodnoe revolyutsionnoe dvizhenie* — The First Russian Revolution of 1905—1907 and the International Revolutionary Movement, Vol. 2, Moscow 1956, p. 358). The roots of such an enhanced initial interest as well as of the love of Chinese readers to Russian literature were likewise concealed in the very needs of a social development in China of those times, namely in the political situation that formed on the threshold of the bourgeois revolution of 1911—1913.

Many years later, Lu Xun wrote of what the writings of Russian classics had brought to the Chinese. "Russian literature" — we read in his study 'I welcome the formation of literary bounds between China and Russia' (1932) — "has revealed to us the splendid soul of an oppressed man, his sufferings, his struggle ... We have come to understand the essential, that there are two classes in the world — the oppressors and the oppressed ones! Then, it was a tremendous discovery, a new discovery of the fire, when ... a bright flame illumined the darkness of the night."

The May Fourth Movement in 1919 meant a strengthening of the struggle for a new culture, the beginning of a further stage of spreading Russian literature in China. The political and spiritual upsurge in the country, the growth of a social consciousness of the nation at the time of the Movement directed against imperialism, national oppression and internal feudal reaction became manifest, among others, in the then unprecedented quantity of new editions of Russian authors, that played an important role in the diffusion of foreign artistic literature.

The stormy events of the third decade of this century, the 1925—1927 revolution, also laid claims on translators of foreign literature into Chinese. The selection of the translation of a given work was often determined exclusively on political grounds. For instance, it is well known that Qu Quibo, at that time one of the foremost leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), recommended in 1925—1926 to Guo Moruo to translate Tolstoi's novel *War and Peace* into Chinese, laying emphasis on the novel's anti-Bonapartist orientation, something of considerable significance to China of those days in view of Chiang Kai-shek's Bonapartist mannerism. But of course, the origin of the truly mighty stream of foreign literature (including the Russian) which burst into China around the 20s may not be explained solely through

political reasons, translators' taste or sympathies, or the kinship between the Russian works and their spiritual claims and moods. The process of diffusion of foreign literature in China was provoked by a whole series of factors of a social, ideological and even psychological character.

The portrayal of the second stage delineated here would remain incomplete without mention being made of yet another specificity, which, by the way, is related to an even greater extent to the subsequent periods. This refers to the fact that beginning with the 20s, translations of Russian classics into Chinese went in parallel with those of Soviet writers.

As already intimated, the third stage of Russian classical literature penetration into China includes the 30s and 40s. Its specific features were conditioned by the Japanese imperialist aggression lasting over one and a half decade and the growing friendly relations with the USSR, which provided all-round aid to the Chinese nation in its just fight against the occupants. As regards the literary life per se, this period was marked by the activity of the Left League of Chinese Writers (1930—1936), whose contribution to the popularization of Russian classical literature and foreign literature generally, can hardly be fully appreciated. Translations appeared of V. I. Lenin's articles on literature, on Tolstoi, his works containing his teaching on the relation towards the cultural heritage, as also translations of further works on Marxist aesthetics. This very period is characteristic of the peak achieved in the translation and literary-critical activity of Lu Xun and the group of his adherents and followers (Qu Qiubo, Tian Han, Xia Yan and others).

The occupation of north-eastern China by the Japanese imperialists, and particularly of the inland provinces that began in 1937, roused the entire Chinese nation. The Chinese began to associate still more their hopes of liberation from the foreign invaders with the USSR. Interest in this country, its culture — modern and past — its rich literature ceased to be a matter of a restricted progressive public, yet it became an all-national issue.

At this time an important role in making Chinese readers acquainted with Russian classical and Soviet literature was played by the Chinese Writers' Anti-Aggression Association, headed during the years of the anti-Japanese war by a foremost representative of Chinese culture, the writer Lao She.

During the 30s—40s, a time of a great ordeal for the Chinese nation, the number of translations of writings by Russian authors was far from diminishing, and it even began to increase markedly.

It was precisely during that time that a complete translation appeared of the novel *Voyna i mir* (War and Peace), together with new editions of *Eugen Onegin*, *Taras Bulba*, *Rudin*, *Nakanune* (On the Eve), *Dvoryanskoe gnezdo* (A Nest of Gentlefolk), *Voskresenie* (Resurrection), short stories and plays by Chekhov, and most of Gorky's work. Gerzen's *Byloe i dumy* (Memories and Reflections) appeared together with further well-known works, e.g., *Chto delat* (What To Do) by

Chernyshevsky with many of his critical essays, the collected writings of Belinsky and Dobrolyubov. Likewise new translations of L. Tolstoi, Gogol, Turgenev, Lermontov, Nekrasov, Gorky, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov and Pushkin came out during that period.

The fourth stage of Russian classical literature propagation in China analysed in my book *Russkaya klassika v Kitae* (Russian Classics in China, Moscow 1977) began with the proclamation of the PRC and lasted for over ten years. The translations of works of art and popularization of the writings of Russian classics in general reached factually grandiose dimensions during these years.

During the first decade of the existence of the PRC Chinese readers became acquainted with Russian literature — beginning with *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (A Song about Igor's Regiment), up to the works by Gorky. And simultaneously, at that time did the Chinese publishing houses very successfully meet their relatively extensive plans in publishing translations of the treasures of the world classics. Several collections of works written by Hugo, Maupassant, Zola, Balzac, Dickens, Thackeray, Hardy, as well as poetic collections of Burns, Byron, Shelley and other poets have been published. Multi-volume editions appeared of the collected works by Gorky, Chekhov, L. Tolstoi, Dostoyevsky, Pushkin, Lermontov. Translation and publication of Gogol's works still continued. His *Vechera na khutore bliz Dikanki* (Evenings at the Farm near Dikanka) appeared in Chinese together with *Revizor* (The Inspector-General), *Mertvye dushi* (Dead Souls). Plays were translated into Chinese, such as D. I. Fonvizin's *Nedorosl* (Stripling) and *Brigadir* (Brigadier), the novelette *Levsha* (L.) by N. S. Leskov, the comedy *Gore ot uma* (The Misfortune of Having Brain) by A. S. Griboedov, M. Y. Lermontov's novel *Geroi nashego vremeni* (Hero of Our Times) and I. S. Turgenev's works *Ottsy i deti* (Fathers and Sons), *Punin i Baburin* (Punin and Baburin). New translators were than being educated in China and consequently the artistic standard of translations improved steadily.

When dealing with the periodization Russian classical literature propagation in China, I touched especially on the extent of the ongoing process — one might say the quantitative aspect of the phenomenon. The qualitative characteristics of the reception of Russian classics are to be found in the mostly positive evaluations that appeared in numerous literary studies by Chinese authors concerning the works written by Pushkin, Dostoyevsky, A. S. Ostrovsky, Gogol, L. Tolstoi, Chekhov, Andreev, Gorky and many others, as also in generalizing writings of Chinese scholars on the history of Russian literature (Zheng Zhenduo, Outline of the History of Russian Literature, Shanghai 1924; Jiang Guangci, Russian Literature of the Soviet Union, Vol. 1, Shanghai 1954). It may generally be stated that during the first years of the existence of the PRC, familiarization with Russian classics was a general phenomenon. Suffice it to say that special courses on the history of Russian literature were given at universities, pedagogical faculties and further educational institutions throughout the country.

Another unusually important qualitative aspect of the reception of Russian classics in China during the period 1900—1960 is to be seen in the fact that numerous Chinese men of letters had mastered their experiences and creative results in their writings. In general it may be said that Russian literature played a significant role in China in the formation and development of the literature of critical realism and it had decisively influenced the work of its founder Lu Xun and further prominent writers.

The statement concerning direct literary influences of Russian classics on Chinese writers, however, requires to be interpreted judiciously and with caution. Let us consider, for instance, the mutual relationship between the work of Chekhov and that of Lu Xun. I am one of those scholars to whom Lu Xun's genius appears as a self-contained phenomenon standing in its own right, a product of a certain epoch, concrete socio-economic and historical conditions in the development of his country. Hence, a comparison of Chekhov's and Lu Xun's works most often reveals not as much the facts of a direct influence, as the typological similarities in their creation, deriving in many respects from analogous life conditions of two countries, two nations, represented by these two writers with their manner of seeing the world, their realistic method of portraying facts, their humanism and unreserved sympathy with disinherited ones, their hatred of pettiness, evil, of everything ugly in life, and finally their faith in a happier future.

It was, in fact, the Chinese reality that stimulated Lu Xun to create the image of A Q which embodies the philosophy of "moral victory" and became the peak of a type pattern of a realistic writer, his significant, unique contribution to the treasure-house of world literature. At the same time, sufficient reasons can be adduced to show that Lu Xun in his creative work made use of the very abundant artistic experiences, as an efficient support, of his predecessors in Chinese and foreign literatures — including, and not in the last resort — those of Russian classics — Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, and others. The images they created, embodying the phenomenon of a psychological defence, so frequent in life, stood him in good stead. Here resides, in our view, the essence of the relations Lu Xun entertained towards Russian classical realism. And this may be clearly seen in the topics of "wise madness", "wretched people" and "injured childhood", common to both the Russian writers and Lu Xun.

In my view, the significance of the images created by Chekhov to the Chinese playwright Cao Yu resides in that they helped him to discover similar images in Chinese reality. This is a special type of contact-taking — "not directly from one work to another, but from a work through the intermediary of life to another work" (A. S. Bushmin).

There are likewise good grounds for speaking of typological similarities in L. Andreev and Ba Jin ; when they describe a town as perceived by a man oppressed by solitude, or the problem of uprooting slavish psychology, posed by both writers. In

the same way, despite all the differences in the images and characters of children portrayed by L. N. Andreev and Lu Xun, we may observe that the topic of injured childhood was unusually close to both authors. The creative mastering of L. N. Andreev's heritage in Chinese literature found its expression precisely in such a contact-taking.

Quite irrefutable is also the beneficent effect of M. Gorky's heritage on the works of Chinese writers. And what is more, his influence became manifest also in the development of Chinese literary-critical thinking. This may be seen most clearly in the works of the first Chinese Marxist critic Qu Qiubo, as well as in the stirring pamphlets and feuilletons by Lu Xun and Qu Qiubo that are full of real pathos taken up from Gorky's writings. The existence of numerous studies by Soviet and Chinese literary scholars on the reception of works of Soviet writers in China in the period 1920—1960 exempts me from the necessity of dealing with this problem in detail. It seems to me that it was adequately dealt with in the works of V. M. Alexeev, N. T. Fedorenko, L. Z. Eidlin, V. F. Sorokin, V. V. Petrov, E. A. Serebryakov, V. I. Semanov and many other Soviet sinologists.

Nevertheless, some attention should be devoted to certain special studies in this domain, namely to R. S. Belousov's monograph *V tysyachakh ieroglifov* (In Thousands of Hieroglyphs, Moscow 1963) and Cherkassky's *Mayakovskiy v Kitae* (Mayakovskiy in China, Moscow 1976). I shall confine myself to the observation that in the years 1920—1940 and during the first decade of the existence of the PRC, in particular, Soviet classics were frequently and repeatedly published in that country, such as Gorky's works, Serafimovich's *Zheleznyi potok* (The Iron Flood), Fadeev's *Razgrom* (The Nineteen) and *Molodaya gvardiya* (The Young Guard), N. Ostrovsky's *Kak zakalyalas stal* (How the Steel Was Tempered), Sholokhov's *Tikhii Don* (The Silent Don) and *Podnyataya tselina* (The Ploughed up Virgin Land), Furman's *Chapaev*, Mayakovskiy's poetry, *Dvenadtsat* (Twelve) by Blok, and further recent works of Soviet fiction writers, playwrights, poets and publicists.

During these years, the Chinese reading public, especially the young ones, showed an immense interest in Soviet literature. Chinese writers, literary scholars and readers often expressed themselves in enthusiastic terms about the works of Soviet authors and called Soviet literature their "best friend and teacher". We know of many cases when soldiers of Chinese revolutionary armies going out into the battlefield, packed the novels the Iron Flood, Chapaev, or How the Steel Was Tempered in their knapsacks as an essential part of their equipment. Pamphlets by N. Tikhonov, K. Simonov, and especially I. Erenburg from the time of World War II served as compulsory reading in the political preparation of soldiers.

The proclamation of a particular political course by Mao Zedong and his adherents in the late fifties and early sixties, their deviation from the approved line of the international communist movement, the break of friendly relations with the USSR

and other socialist countries became reflected also in the policy of the Chinese Communist Party in the domain of culture, literature and art.

Under the veil of a struggle against “Soviet revisionism”, violent attacks were initiated in 1963 in the Chinese press against Soviet literature which allegedly forgot Gorkian traditions. On the other hand, as may be expected, by tendentious quotations from Gorky’s pronouncements and their distortion, did the Chinese critique strive to exploit them in favour of Maoism.

Already at that time, Chinese falsifiers of Gorky’s heritage endeavoured to remove from the consciousness of the Chinese people the well-known responses by Lu Xun, Qu Qiubo and other personages of Chinese culture, regarding M. Gorky, the great humanist and internationalist who, by his work of art and inflamed writings, fought against capitalism, war and fascism, defended man’s self-respect and dignity, his absolute liberty, happiness and love, and who played an active role in creating a conscious attitude towards the cultural heritage of all nations and in forming a new universal culture.

In 1966 the “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” was begun. All the classical and modern Chinese, as well as foreign literature, suddenly found itself on the index as “feudal, bourgeois and revisionist” trash. And the flames of burning books burst out on public squares of Chinese towns...

The only reading for the Chinese people during those years were “quotations” from Mao Zedong’s thoughts, their spiritual food were the eight “model works” of Jiang Qing, permeated through and through with the personality cult of the “great leader”.

The official Maoist critique started a nihilist campaign against the world classical cultural heritage, denying in particular any influence of Russian classical and Soviet literature on the formation of the new Chinese realist literature. The revolutionary traditions of Chinese literature from the thirties — most closely linked with the world’s progressive writings of those times, were anathematized.

I personally had the opportunity of witnessing the first attacks against Russian classical literature and Soviet works at the very start of the “Cultural Revolution” in Dazibao, posted up on the walls of the Faculty of Philology in Peking University where I worked at that time. One who then came under a sharp attack for his “revisionism” in literature was M. A. Sholokhov. His novel *Sudba cheloveka* (Man’s Fate) was accused of distorting the role of the Red Army, of creating moods against revolutionary wars, and of preaching capitulation in the face of the enemy. R. M. Stanyukovich was accused of “bourgeois abstract humanism” for his short story *Maximka* and Gorky of “bourgeois individualism and nationalism” for the character of Danko in his *Starukha Izergil* (Old Woman Izergil). Tolstoi’s works, such as *Posle bala* (After the Ball), Lermontov’s *Bela*, Pushkin’s *Stantsionnyi smotritel* (The Station Master) and Turgenev’s *Nakanune* (On the Eve) were reproached with the

description of amatory feelings and portrayls of decadence of landlords and aristocracy. Goncharov's *Oblomov* was totally condemned for his portrayal of the way of life of landlords. V. Kochetov's novel *Bratya Yershovy* (The Yershov Brothers) was declared to be a banal, bourgeois work, penetrated with a bourgeois revisionist world outlook. Together with other works of Western and Chinese literature, Tolstoi's Resurrection and *Anna Karenina*, Turgenev's *Sochineniya* (Collected Works), Sholokhov's *The Silent Don* and many others were declared to be "poisonous plants".

Also the Chinese press didn't lag behind the mockery and scoffing of the Peking University students over the works of Soviet literature. The Russian revolutionary democrats Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and Belinsky were called, on its pages, apologists of the bourgeois order, bourgeois literary critics, who had exerted a pernicious influence on Chinese literature and literary criticism during the 30s.

Insofar as the spread of Russian and Soviet literature in China is concerned, the years 1965—1971 should be considered as a "dead season". Nevertheless, following a long pause brought about by the "Cultural Revolution" and its categorical repudiation of world and national culture, literature, art and science, translations have again begun to be published in China.

In 1972, also some works of Soviet literature began to be published again, but this was often misused for anti-Soviet propoganda. Here is a case in point. In connection with the new edition of Fadeev's novel *The Nineteen* in Lu Xun's translation published in *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily) in the spring of 1976, it was categorically stated that "literature and art in the USSR are used to stupefy the consciousness of the masses and to manipulate public opinion for a return to capitalism". The Peking critics endeavoured in this way to set Soviet classics in antagonism to the works of contemporary Soviet writers. And moreover, while melting away in profuse eulogies of the novel *The Nineteen*, they assured their readers that in the USSR this book now, too, "serves to educate Soviet youth in a militarist spirit" and "serves an imperialist policy of aggression and expansion".

In 1973, Gorky's *Mat* (Mother) and *Detstvo* (Childhood) were published in Peking and an announcement appeared concerning an early reprint of two further novels: his autobiographical trilogy *V lyudyach* (Among the People), *V mire* (In the World), *Moi universitety* (My Universities), as well as A. Serafimovich's novel *The Iron Flood*.

As an example of calumny aimed against Soviet literature, we should mention an article published under the characteristic title *Formation of Public Opinion for Promoting Fascist Militarism — On the Reactionary Essence of the Military-Patriotic Literature of Soviet Revisionists* (*Guangming ribao* — Bright Daily, 14 February 1976). The article was based on a total distortion of facts, mutually unrelated quotations taken out of context, and on fabrications of every kind. A Chinese reader, who had not read the works spoken of here, is bound to believe all the stuff. The

article in question had damned the following works without any faint praise: S. Dangulov's play *Nepodsudnyi Gorchakov* (Gorchakov Exempt from Justice), V. A. Stepanov's novel *U Brandenburgskikh vorot* (At the Brandenburg Gate), the film script by Y. Nagibin and S. Khelmebek *Oktyabr -44* (October -44), A. P. Kuleshov's novel *Golubye molnii* (Blue Thunderbolts), Marshal I. S. Konev's memoirs *Zapiski komanduyushchego frontom* (Notes of a Front Commander), A. S. Yelkin's novella *Atomnye ukhodyat po trevoge* (Atomic Submarines Leave after the Alarm Warning), N. I. Kambulov's novel *Raketnyi grom* (The Roar of a Rocket), V. A. Stepanov's novel *Venok na volne* (A Wreath on the Wave).

On the other hand the article clearly shows efforts at justifying, in the eyes of the Chinese people, the militaristic, chauvinistic policy and practice of, at that time still living, Mao Zedong and of his group, at the expense of the USSR's policy. And of course, the principal aim of this work of falsification was to rouse and inflame an anti-Soviet, anti-Russian psychosis in China. In general, the attacks against Soviet literature became in China more virulent in 1976. Characteristic in this sense is also an article by students of the Faculty of Russian Philology at Heilongjiang University in Harbin, published under the title *Rehabilitation of Old Czars Will Lead to Nothing Good. Critique on an Anti-Chinese Novel written by Soviet Revisionists "The Amur Versts"* — Guangming ribao, 23 October 1976).

Essentially, the authors of the article did not touch on the content of the novel in question, on its ideological and artistic qualities. Naturally, the Chinese reader does not know its content. This novel by N. D. Navolochkin, written in the Soviet Far East, came in handy to the critics from Harbin for further anti-Soviet attacks and especially as a pretext to justify again the territorial claims of the leaders in Peking towards the Soviet Union.

After Mao Zedong's death and following the removal of the "Gang of Four", a "rehabilitation" set in China in 1977 of Chinese and foreign classics, Chinese literature of the period 1930—1960 and of Soviet literature from the first decades of the existence of the Soviet Union. From the complete disavowal and perfidious denigration of the recent period, Maoist critics turned towards a "recognition" of Chinese and foreign cultural heritage.

This became manifest namely in a return to the preceding appraisals of Russian revolutionary democrats of the nineteenth century. On the pages of *Hongqi* (Red Flag) (1978, Nos 1 and 3), Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov are no longer portrayed as apologists of the bourgeois order, or reactionary thinkers, but as representatives of a progressive social way of thinking, from whom contemporary Chinese writers and critics should learn.

In 1977, Gorky's *Mother* was published again in the PRC, together with Mayakovsky's poem *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*, Ostrovsky's *How the Steel Was Tempered*. However, as already said the Peking propaganda used the re-edition of Soviet classics to denigrate the contemporary Soviet reality. Such was the case in an article

by Zhou Cheng dealing with N. Ostrovsky's novel, which was full of bitter anti-Soviet fabrications (Guangming ribao, 29 November 1977).

An article by Yan Jun (Renmin ribao, 24 December 1977) states globally that Soviet historians and writers do in their works about World War II preach the militarism and praise the war.

On the occasion of the 110th anniversary of M. Gorky's birth, two rather positively oriented articles on his life and work appeared in the Guangming ribao (28 and 29 March 1978). However the second one (its author was the Moscow correspondent of the Xinhua agency) ends in veiled innuendoes, such as "the clouds in the sky became thickened, but the storm-bird flew over the rough sea, lightning flashed, the thunder crashed. Nevertheless, the storm-bird is tough, unswerving. The clouds will never succeed in hiding the sun, never!" Further similar writings fully correspond to the official Peking propaganda striving to show that a revolution is maturing in the USSR.

The well-known translator of Russian and Soviet literature into Chinese, Prof. Cao Jinghua, wrote an article in Guangming ribao (12 November 1978) under the heading Notes on the Iron Flood. Here he recalls how in 1930—1931 he had been translating this novel into Chinese and how his work was then highly appreciated by Lu Xun, who became directly involved in the publication of this book in China. Cao Jinghua writes about Serafimovich — author of the novel, who in his last letter written in 1947, shortly before his death, rejoiced over the victories of the Chinese people. In the conclusion of the article, Cao Jinghua expresses high appreciation of the Chinese revised edition of *The Iron Flood*, which had appeared shortly before with illustrations by Wu Biduan and from which, as he surmises, both Lu Xun and Serafimovich would have had derived pleasure.

But alongside such favourable reviews, Chinese propaganda exploits on a grand scale the press and other means of mass communication to denigrate the contemporary Soviet literature and art. Profiting by the fact that Chinese readers and spectators have no possibility of becoming acquainted with the content of Soviet writings, Maoist authors pick out disconnected quotations from the works and discourse on them outside their context, having recourse to distortions of various types and to direct falsifications.

The article by Gong Daoming *Why Theatre Masks Have Been Reintroduced...* (Guangming ribao, 3 January 1978), is a good case in point. Starting with a broad outline involving attacks aimed at Soviet plays dealing with topics of 'construction' and 'building up of socialism' — such as I. Dvoretzky's *Chelovek so storony* (Man from the Other Side), A. Grebnev's *Iz zhizni delovoi zhenshchiny* (From the Life of a Working Woman), G. Bokarev's *Stalevary* (Steel-Workers), V. Chernykh's *Den priezda — den otyezda* (Day of Arrival — Day of Departure) and their principal heroes — does this Maoist critic endeavour to convince his readers that the building

up of communism in the Soviet Union has been a total fiasco. To prove this is precisely the central goal aimed at by Peking propaganda.

Nevertheless, despite this, further works of contemporary Soviet literature began to be translated and published in 1978—1979. One of the provincial magazines (Anhui wenxue — Anhui Literature, 1979, No. 12) had published a translation of V. Rasputin's novel *Urok frantsuzskogo* (Lesson of French). The translator's note speaks of the novel's values and artistic mastery of the writer who, allegedly, unmask the policy of the Soviet government both in questions of agriculture and in the domain of enlightenment activity. In an article published likewise in that magazine, Lesson of French — A Lesson of Morals, the critic Shi Guoxing speaks of the positive values of Rasputin's novel. The magazine Waiguo wenyi (Foreign Literature, 1978, Nos 2—4) brought in instalments the translation of V. Rasputin's novel *Zhivi i pomni* (Live and Remember), for which the author had been awarded the USSR State Prize for literature in 1977. In the same year, the translation appeared in the PRC of V. Tendriakov's prose *Rasplata* (Retaliation), and later that of A. Rybakov's novel *Tyazhelyi pesok* (Heavy Sand). In addition to this, Chinese readers had the possibility of becoming familiar with some plays — e.g. those of A. Vampilov, A. Arbuzov, A. Gelman, and with the works of Ch. Aitmatov, V. Bykov, B. Vasilyev, J. Trifonov.

The very choice of Soviet works now being published in China permits the uncovering of a certain design, viz. to draw the reader's attention to the most complex and pressing issues of Soviet society, thus spreading an anti-Soviet mood among the Chinese people. To this end, use is being made more and more of downright lying, falsifying articles by Chinese critics on works by Soviet writers that, however, are not published in China.

Works of Russian classics are again being published in China. Evidence of the ineradicable interest in this literature among the Chinese intelligentsia may be gathered from the following: When, following the prolonged bacchanalia of the "Cultural Revolution", the Peking State Library was open again to readers, pride of place among lent books, as reported in the Chinese press, went to A. S. Pushkin's *Eugen Onegin*.

In 1978, the publication of the magazine Shijie wenxue (World Literature) — banned at the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" — was resumed. The first issue brought the first instalment of the translation of L. Tolstoi's short story *Kholstomer*, his article *Ne mogu molchat* (I Cannot Keep Silent), N. N. Tolstoi's recollections of his father and also an article by the female translator Cao Ying How *Kholstomer Came into Being*. According to Mrs Cao Ying's opinion, Tolstoi's accusation of the counter-revolutionary terror, by his article I Cannot Keep Silent, is in harmony with the present-day moods of Chinese intelligentsia.

In 1978, translations appeared in China of the following Russian works: Turge-

nev's *Nov* (Virgin Soil), L. Tolstoi's *Anna Karenina*, Chekhov's *Rasskazy* (Short Stories), complete translation of Lermontov's *Hero of Our Times*, four-volume translation of L. Tolstoi's *War and Peace*, Gorky's *Rannie rasskazy* (Early Stories), *Mother*, the collection *Foreign Short Stories* comprising the works by Pushkin, Gogol, L. Tolstoi and Chekhov. A new translation of Lermontov's *Tamane* appeared in the journal *Shanghai wenyi* (Shanghai Literature, 1978, No. 7).

On the occasion of the 180th anniversary of Pushkin's birth, the prominent Chinese literary scholar and translator Ge Baoquan wrote an article *Places Related to Pushkin* (*Renmin ribao*, 10 June 1979). In that same year were published: the collection *Blizzard* comprising 26 novellas and short stories of Russian writers translated by Cao Ying, Nekrasov's poem *Komu na Rusi zhit khorosho* (Who Fares Well in Russia?), Selection of Works by Chekhov, Pushkin's *Izbrannye skazki dlya detei* (Selected Tales for Children) and his *Dubrovsky*, Tolstoi's *Resurrection* and *Otets Sergei* (Father Sergei); Gogol's *Izbrannye povesti* (Selected Tales) and a selection of his plays; the first volume of Belinsky's *Izbrannye statyi* (Selected Essays); Gertsen's *Kto vinovat* (Who Is Guilty); Tolstoi's *Hadzi-Murat*; *N. G. Chernyshevsky o literature* (N. G. Chernyshevsky on Literature); *Basni Krylova* (Fables by Krylov); Goncharov's *Oblomov*; Dostoyevsky's *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* (Crime and Punishment); Turgenev's *On the Eve*, *Fathers and Sons* and *Zapiski okhotnika* (A Sportsman's Sketches); Gorky's *Among the People* and *Istoriya russkoi literatury* (History of Russian Literature): the first volume of Gertsen's *Memories and Reflections* translated by Ba Jin.

The publication of Russian classics was not confined to Peking alone. In 1980 were published: Gorky's *My Universities in the Guangxi Province*; Chekhov's *Pyesy* (Plays) in Shanghai; Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* in the Zhejiang Province; Saltykov-Shchedrin's *Izbrannye rasskazy* (Selection of Stories) in Nanking; a selection of Nekrasov's poems in Shanghai. In Shanghai work is in progress on an edition of Lermontov's *Selected Poems* and also the first volume of a twelve-volume of Chekhov's *Selected Writings* has appeared in that city (see *Gunangming ribao*, 13 August 1980).

The 70th anniversary of Tolstoi's death was commemorated in China by the republication (issued in the Hunan Province) of the book — which had become a bibliographic rarity — *Wu gimao* (Road in a Year). It was written in 1903 by Shan Shili — the wife of a Chinese diplomat, and deals with a trip to Russia made in that same year. But it was published only in Tokyo in 1904. Twenty years ago, did the prominent Chinese literary scholar A Ying characterize this work as “the first testimony to the first enthusiasm of a Chinese woman for Tolstoi” (*Renmin ribao*, 17 November 1980).

In 1980, special magazines began to be published in the PRC, viz. *Sulian wenxue* (Soviet Literature) in Peking, and *Esu wenyi* (Russian and Soviet Literature) in Wuhan. A year earlier, an All-China Association for the Study of Soviet Literature

had been founded in the PRC. However, in 1980, the publication of the Harbin Literary Magazine — *Wenyi baijia* (Hundred Schools of Literature) was suppressed. The main reason for this repressive act resides in the following: A report, published in the second issue of this magazine, on the All-China Conference on Contemporary Soviet Literature (held in Harbin from 12 to 21 September 1979) stated that the majority of the Conference participants “are of the opinion that although the USSR is pursuing an expansionistic, hegemonic foreign policy, its inner policy is essentially socialist...”. Naturally, in the view of the present Peking political leadership that stubbornly accuses the Soviet Union of practising social-imperialism, such a report was clear conspiracy. But the suspension of the magazine may have had yet another reason. Two issues that had appeared in 1979, carried, besides the usual denigration of the Soviet reality and literature, also an attempt at evaluating objectively certain works of Soviet writers and reappraising Soviet literature as a whole. As regards the denigration—e.g. Bondarev’s novel *Bereg* (The Shore) was labelled a “revisionist literary work, an artistic expression of big-power chauvinism and militarism”; N. Zadornov’s novels on penetration into the Far East were accused of “big-power chauvinist hegemonic ideology”, on the example of J. Trifonov’s novel *Dom na naberezhnoi* (House on a Water-Front), Maoist critics endeavoured to put the author and his works in opposition to the “régime” prevailing in the literary-artistic sphere in the USSR. On the other hand, a favourable appreciation was given to Y. Bondarev’s *Goryachii sneg* (Burning Snow), to the works of B. Vasilyev, D. Granin. In particular, the magazine suggested that they “should become familiar with the positive and negative experiences in the development of Soviet literature and utilize them in the interest of promoting socialist literature in China”. Evidently all this helped to incense and irritate the leadership in Peking and the magazine was suppressed.

The quarterly *Sulian wenxue* (Soviet Literature) is edited by the Institute of Soviet Literature at the Pedagogical Faculty of Peking University. Its first issue carried an article by Mao Dun, accusing the “Gang of Four” of having prevented the spread of the best works of Soviet writers in China.

The first two issues of the quarterly contained the following items: a fragment from A. I. Gertsen’s *Memories and Reflections* translated by Ba Jin, Pushkin’s and Lermontov’s poems; short stories by Chekhov, Kuprin and Korolenkov; new translations of Gorky’s work; chapters from A. J. Panaevova’s and Dobrolyubov’s reminiscences. Soviet literature is represented in the quarterly by Vetrov’s novella *Sigma-F*, short stories by N. Dumbadze, B. Vasilyev, B. Gorbatov, G. Kholopov and a play by A. Vampilov *Proshlym letom v Khulimsk* (Last Summer in Khulimsk). The relevant review by a Chinese critic gives a high appreciation of the work of this Soviet writer, who, in the critic’s view, had been influenced by Gogol and Chekhov. Readers of the quarterly learned that preparations are afoot in China to edit again M. Gorky’s complete works in sixty volumes.

Hence, we have good reason to state that much from Russian and Soviet literature is being translated and published in China. In any case, what is going on there at present differs considerably from that what went on during the "Cultural Revolution" when all literature — Chinese and foreign — was completely suppressed and liquidated.

As is evident, the necessity of raising the overall cultural standard of the Chinese population and its general education is a precondition without which it is impossible to carry through the ambitious programme of the "Four Modernizations". And the Peking leadership has had to initiate a revival of cultural and literary activity in the country, to stimulate the promotion of home literature, apparent in recent years, to increase the number of translations from foreign literatures, inclusive of books by Russian and Soviet writers. A significant role has here also been played by the enhanced traditional interest of the part of Chinese readers in Russian classical and Soviet literature.

However, when speaking of an increased familiarization of Chinese readership with Russian and Soviet literature as of a positive phenomenon, we must keep the following in mind:

In the first place, it should be noted that the spread and reception of Russian classical and Soviet literature in today's China proceed against a background of a frantic anti-Soviet hysteria instigated by the whole propagandist apparatus, according to the directions of the present Chinese leaders.

It will suffice to point out, for instance, that in 1980 the paper *Renmin ribao* alone had carried over 3,400 anti-Soviet topics on its pages, involving attacks aimed at the home and foreign policy of the USSR, the leading personalities of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Soviet State.

Of interest also is the specific principle in the choice of works by Soviet authors to be translated and published in China, as already mentioned earlier. I have also given examples of how the publication of some Soviet literary works in China was exploited for anti-Soviet deformation in Chinese press.

And in conclusion, just a note on Soviet literary works which, in the view of the Peking ideologists, are unsuitable for translation into Chinese and for propagation in China. The official Chinese criticism states that these works are inadmissible in China; it distorts their content and substance and the propagandistic machinery misuses them to foster anti-Soviet moods and war psychosis among the Chinese people.

TWO WAVES OF CRITICISM OF THE FILM SCRIPT BITTER LOVE AND OF THE WRITER BAI HUA IN 1981

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In April 1981, the central army newspaper initiated a criticism of the film script *Bitter Love* and of one of its authors, the army writer Bai Hua. This was the first time since Mao Zedong's death that such an extensive critique was levelled at one particular work in the sphere of literature and art, and at one particular author. The criticism of *Bitter Love*, symbolizing the criticism of "liberalization", was meant to prevent the ever deeper and more general exposure of the "dark sides" of reality in the PRC, revealed in Chinese literary and art works after the year 1977.

Since the end of 1977, following a pause of many years, not only was critical literature and art permitted in the People's Republic of China (PRC), but was actually initiated and stimulated from the highest political quarters. The target was the period of the "Cultural Revolution" (as the decade 1966—1976 is called in China) with its despotism and tragedies, responsibility for which was laid on the "Gang of Four". It must be said that literary and art circles made full use of this opportunity to ventilate the pent-up feelings of hate, bitterness and disappointment.

This critical trend in literature and art, backed up by well-timed mellifluous proclamations of leaders of the cultural policy roused considerable interest right from the start among students of contemporary China, and even ill-grounded "illusions" in many China-watchers and journalists from the West. These illusions — whether sincere or feigned — sprang in 1981 a serious fissure. For the first time since Mao Zedong's death a cultural-political campaign was let loose, concentrated on criticism of a single work and a single man: the film script *Kulian* [1] *Bitter Love* and one of its two authors, the army writer Bai Hua [2]. Just as in preceding cultural-political campaigns, so also in this case, there was no question by far of grappling with professional, matter-of-fact deficiencies of a script, but the criticism had a wider significance and a political background.

Literature and art whose task was to criticize the "Cultural Revolution" and discredit its representatives, often exceeded this framework; in suggestions and hints, they exposed the very essence of the Maoist system and led people towards deeper, more fundamental reflections. Moreover, works concentrated exclusively on the criticism of the recent past had already fulfilled their task: they had contributed in no small measure towards the creation of an atmosphere suitable to "pragmatists" and then, in view of the new power and political organization of the PRC and its

political ambitions, they became undesirable. And precisely the course and the outcome of the criticism of the film script *Bitter Love* became the springboard for this altered cultural policy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

Even before the outbreak of the criticism literary and art circles had good reasons to fear that the wave of critical works would be impeded. Bai Hua was one of the intellectuals who stood for the process of exposure of errors of the past to be carried on and deepened.

Already on 12 February 1979, at a symposium on short stories he expressed the view that “we have exposed the crimes and the malignancy of the ‘Gang of Four’ very shallowly, have not criticized them sharply enough and what we have done so far can in no way satisfy the masses of the working people. The hidden threat is far from removed!”¹ Five months later, at a meeting on drama, he said more explicitly what he meant by threat, and made an appeal to fight against it by “looking backwards”: “Because very many tragic lessons have not been recognized to date, some people still persist in their intention the dagger, in the back.” Bai Hua saw an analogous situation in the early 1960s when, in his view, precisely after the difficulties had been overcome, the “Gang of Four” began secretly to conspire with the aim of taking over power in the Party and the State. He expressed the opinion that there was no guarantee even now that the road followed would be smooth.² His address at a meeting of the Chinese Writers’ Association was equally critical and admonitory in tone; there he stressed with forethought that “it is not yet time to say that writers and artists are relatively safe” and made an appeal to the “leading comrades” that “they should not impose bans and restrictions and demand self-criticism of writers. They should allow the airing of views which differ from theirs. They should allow others to be their equals in discussing academic questions. They should be broadminded. Narrowminded leaders are harmful to the party’s cause”. At the same time he stood up sharply against “flagrant interference” and stressed that “there can never be unity between a judge and an accused”.³

At the time, i.e. September 1979 when Bai Hua aired these and similar ideas, the film script *Bitter Love* appeared,⁴ the co-author being Peng Ning [6], a director who, the following year, turned it into a film.

To this day (i.e. January 1982) the film has not been publicly criticized and neither did the script attract any unusual attention at the time of its publication. Its critique was triggered only nineteen months after its appearance.

¹ Shiyue [3] October, 1979, No. 3, p. 223.

² Juben [4] Drama 1979, No. 8, pp. 86—87.

³ Extensive excerpts from this address were published by Renmin ribao [5] People’s Daily (henceforth cited as RMRB) of 13 Dec. 1979. The English version cited here comes from China Report. Political, Sociological and Military Affairs (henceforth cited as CHR), No. 41 (Joint Publications Research Service — further cited as JPRS, No. 74748), 11 Dec. 1979, pp. 101, 102 and 104.

⁴ Shiyue, 1979, No. 3, pp. 140—171 + 248.

Bai Hua, born in 1930, has been in the army since his youth. Beginning in 1951, he published novels, poetry, plays and film scripts.⁵ With the exception of the years 1958—1961 when, as a “rightist” he had to work physically,⁶ and then in 1961—1964 when he was a playwright to a film company in Shanghai, he served predominantly in army literary groups, most recently as a playwright and deputy director of the political department in Wuhan.

His literary, particularly dramatic work from the period after the fall of the “Gang of Four” won popularity and recognition.⁷ A discordant response — not uncommon in 1980 — was provoked by the film *Jinye xing guang canlan* [12] *The Stars Are Shining Brilliantly Tonight*, turned according to Bai Hua’s play,⁸ describing events from the Civil War in 1948. In the summer of 1980, the film was sharply attacked, without the author’s name being given — which was not uncommon until the year 1981 — by an old soldier Chen Yi [13]. According to him, the film shows soldiers to be too frivolous and Chen Yi pauses the demagogical question: “Does it stimulate a fighting spirit in the army, does it improve its fighting ability? Or...”⁹ Bai Hua, nevertheless, reacted to this criticism. He stressed that he described in the script what

⁵ For data on Bai Hua’s life and works, see e.g. *Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian (Xiandai di yi fence)* [7] *Dictionary of Chinese Literates (Contemporary, Vol. 1)*, Hong Kong Reprint, July 1979, pp. 82—83; *Bai Hua ju zuo xuan* [8] *Selection from Bai Hua’s Dramatical Works*, Shanghai, February 1981; *Zhengming* [9] *Contending*, May 1981, No. 43, p. 16, in an English translation in *CHR*, No. 201 (JPRS No. 78412), 30 June 1981, pp. 36—37.

⁶ About the criticism of his person from that time, and the lesson he deduced from its methods, he said this in his address referred to above (see note 3): “When I was in my teens, ... I kept a diary, analysing my thoughts and writing down everything in which I was interested. During the late 1950s, my writings were used as evidence for the inexplicable charges made against me. The most innocent words became the most vicious anti-party speeches. I have not kept a diary, a notebook or anything like that since then.” English translation taken over from *CHR*, No. 41 (JPRS No. 74748), 11 Dec. 1979, p. 100.

⁷ When evaluating the results of the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists, the correspondent of the *Beijing Review* mentioned Bai Hua in the first place among young and middle-aged writers and artists. He referred to him as a “talented poet and playwright”, and “one of the most prolific authors today”, who in the past three years “has written more than ten plays, film scripts, short stories, 3000 lines of poems and more than 20 articles and commentaries”. *Beijing Review* (henceforth cited as *BR*), No. 52, 28 Dec. 1979, p. 10. The most recent, and as far as I know, the most comprehensive history of contemporary Chinese literature to date, *Zhongguo dangdai wenxueshi chugao* [10] *Draft of the History of Chinese Contemporary Literature*, Peking, July 1981, Vol. 2, p. 347, mentions Bai Hua’s play *Shuguang* [11] *Dawn*, among the most successful dramas of the last years portraying the history of the revolution. This play from the year 1978 is published in *Bai Hua ju zuo xuan* (see note 5) on pp. 89—159.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 167—231. The play is from the year 1978. The film was reviewed, e.g. in *RMRB*, 18 June 1980.

⁹ *RMRB*, 30 July 1980. The editors added a note to this article to the effect that they had received numerous letters expressing views on this film. They stressed that the majority of the letters praise the film, nevertheless, to adhere to the “Double Hundred” policy, they publish also one of the few negative appraisals.

he had personally experienced and added that “the supreme judge of a writer’s person and work may, as a rule, be passed only after a lapse of some years”.¹⁰ The Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Film Workers’ Association Yuan Wenshu [14] also responded to Chen Yi’s criticism. Without naming the authors, he essentially showed a conciliatory and even protective attitude.¹¹ But, allegedly soon the film was withdrawn.¹²

By the end of 1980 there already existed palpable signs of serious restrictions threatening Chinese literature and art.

One of the greatest actors of contemporary China Zhao Dan [16], when on his death bed, in September wrote an unusually daring article, an inflamed memento, a warning testament, ending with the words: “Custom is not truth. All the less can rules be beaten through silly customs into metal plate. No work of quality can originate under an omnipresent investigation, not a single viable, good work has come from investigation since ancient times up to the present! Every time a controversy arose in problems on films, I have eagerly expressed my view. Sometimes I thought I should refrain from speaking out. I have nothing to fear any more. Only I feel there has been enough jabbering, for, what profit did it yield?...”¹³ Zhao Dan’s message of warning was not unsubstantiated.

In February and March 1981, the Central Committee of the CCP (CC CCP) distributed through internal channels Instruction No. 7 and Instruction No. 9 directing a restriction of criticism. The contents and tone of the two Instructions concentrating on the sphere of the press, literature and art, reminded certain foreign commentators of the “anti-rightist struggle” from the year 1957.¹⁴ Instruction No. 7 explicitly forbade “to portray the dark sides of life” or to write on topics dealing with Mao Zedong’s activity and the “Cultural Revolution”.¹⁵

Even the restrained *Wenyi bao* [17] Literary Gazette (which, by the way, refrained for over 5 months from taking part in the criticism of Bai Hua’s *Bitter Love*, for which the editors were taken to task and they published a selfcriticism at the beginning of October 1981) — in an article commenting on short stories awarded a distinction for 1980, expressed the view that “scar literature” was objectively necessary, but in view of the present-day needs and problems, the protracted moaning is becoming quite superfluous and harmful. To moderate its attitude, the

¹⁰ RMRB, 3 Sep. 1980.

¹¹ The article appeared in RMRB on 17 Sep. 1980.

¹² *Zhong gong yanjiu* [15] Studies on Chinese Communism (henceforth cited as ZGYJ), 15, No. 6 (174), 15 June 1981, p. 78.

¹³ The article appeared in RMRB on 8 Oct. 1980, two days before the death of Zhao Dan.

¹⁴ E.g. ZGYJ, 15, No. 4 (172), 15 April 1981, p. 79.

¹⁵ *Byulleten informatsii Agentstva pechati Novosti* (Information Bulletin of the Press Agency Novosti), No. 44 (533), November 1981, p. 24.

article further explains that not every writing about scars is “scar literature”, just as not every description of the dark sides of life is “literature of exposure”: it depends on whether the work is transfused with the “Sounds of Spring”.¹⁶

However, the central Party daily in an extensive article by Ma Weian [20] gave a less ambiguous stand even though the author explicitly condemned only the “exaggeration of the meaning of exposure”: “When the erroneous view forbidding descriptions of the dark side of life had been corrected and when writers had been given permission and support to expose the dark sides of life, some people exaggerated the sense of exposure of the dark sides of the socialist society.”¹⁷ By “socialist society” the author evidently understands the whole period of existence of the People’s Republic of China, including the “Cultural Revolution”.

The script *Bitter Love* was not the only work of literature and art that then exposed despotism and human tragedies of the preceding years. As was common with authors of this critical wave, Bai Hua’s description, too, ended by painting a picture of better and juster times after the fall of the “Gang of Four” — only, the principal hero Ling Chenguang [21], exhausted by the persecution, dies just at that moment, in October 1976, not knowing that his harassment had come to an end. Nor was the hero’s death, a victim of the “Cultural Revolution”, any exceptional phenomenon in literary and artistic works of that time. Nevertheless, the arms of the critique were levelled with ever steadier aim at Bai Hua and his *Bitter Love*.

When reading the script, nobody could miss noticing the scene when Ling’s only daughter tells her father that she is marrying a Chinese living abroad and will leave China with him. The father, a painter, himself already persecuted, disagrees sharply. His wife tries vainly to remind him that they, too, had at one time left their country and had returned (young Ling saved his life from the white terror and war in old China by fleeing, though unwillingly, to the USA). At that, his daughter asks him a key question, crucial to the whole script: “Father! You love our country, bitterly hanker for this country . . . But does this country love you?” Ling in the moment was unable to answer his daughter’s question.¹⁸

Just as it was not possible to miss this scene, it was equally unlikely that one would fail to take note of a long article by an anonymous commentator to whom *Renmin ribao* of 19 March 1981 reserved the bottom part of the first and the whole fifth page. The article had the heading *Aiguozyui shi shehuizhuyide juda jingshen liliang* [22] Patriotism Is a Stupendous Moral Strength in Building up Socialism. An entire passage polemizes with the attitude given in inverted commas: “Not that I do not

¹⁶ *Wenyi bao*, No. 8, 22 April 1981, pp. 10–11. “Sounds of Spring”, *Chun zhi sheng* [18] is the title of an awardbearing story by Wang Meng [19].

¹⁷ *RMRB*, 4 March 1981.

¹⁸ *Shiyue*, 1979, No. 3, p. 167.

love my country, but my country does not love me” which is characterized as an “extreme feeling, an erroneous view”. This passage then goes on to stress the necessity to distinguish between the old reactionary State and the socialist people’s system, to see and appreciate the resistance and struggle of functionaries and the people against Lin Biao and the “Gang of Four”, not to identify the short-lived period of anti-Party, anti-State and anti-socialist activity of Lin Biao and the “Gang of Four” with the Party, the State and socialism. The article then poses the question: “How can one bring into doubt the creed of one’s own ardent love of the socialist country because of grievous faults of the ‘great cultural revolution?’ ” The author, or authors outlined the essence of forthcoming reproaches to Bitter Love.

Chinese intellectuals could hardly miss the striking similarity between the statement in *Renmin ribao* “Not that I do not love my country, but my country does not love me” and the question which Bai Hua asks in *Bitter Love* through Ling’s daughter. In addition, the relevant passage in *Renmin ribao* is concluded by two examples, apparently selected at random, of an ardent love for one’s country: the work of the revolutionary and writer Fang Zhimin [23] from the year 1935, and the verses of the ancient Chinese poet Qu Yuan [24]. Chinese men of letters, receptive to allusions, evidently took note also of this second connection between the article in *Renmin ribao* and the script of *Bitter Love*, which is introduced by a motto from a couplet by Qu Yuan. As a matter of fact, the immediate cause why Ling Chenguang had to hide in a reed marsh where he perished, was that during a demonstration on Tiananmen square in April of 1976, he was photographed by the authorities when together with his wife, he was sticking an inscription on a wall — Qu Yuan Tian wen [25] Qu Yuan’s Questions to Heaven, in order thereby “to pour out their sorrow, to lament the unfavourable situation, to give vent to the righteous wrath of their hearts...”¹⁹

A month following the publication of this article, the army newspaper *Jiefangjun bao* [26] *Liberation Army Daily* opened a sharp, direct critique of the script *Bitter Love* and of Bai Hua. The first signal of the forthcoming extensive critique was the publication on 18 April 1981 of three letters by readers in which three essential errors were pointed out: 1. The script identifies the “Gang of Four” with the Party and the State, and vilifies the socialist fatherland; 2. identifies the new with the old society, and denies the priorities of the socialist system; 3. identifies Mao Zedong’s mistakes from his last years with the crimes of the “Gang of Four”, and wrongly explains the causes or the motives of the “Cultural Revolution”.²⁰ Two days later, on

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 140 and 170. Tian wen is the title of the famous poem by Qu Yuan.

²⁰ *ZGYJ*, 15, No. 6 (174), 15 June 1981, p. 75. I had no opportunity to consult the original texts in *Jiefangjun bao*.

20 April, this same paper brought out an extensive article²¹ by a contributing commentator,²² headed Sixiang jiben yuanze burong weifan — p'ing dianying wenxue juban “Kulian” [30] Four Basic Principles Should Not Be Violated — Critique of the Literary Script “Bitter Love”. Bitter Love is here reproached with doubts about the Party and socialism. It writes that the script “not only violates the Four Basic Principles,²³ but in fact goes so far as to deny patriotism”, “reflects anarchism, extreme individualism, bourgeois liberalism”, “maliciously mocks” at Mao Zedong’s thought.²⁴ The article concludes with a warning that “If such erroneous ideas will be allowed freely to spread, it will necessarily do harm to the policy of stability and unity, which is inconsistent with the fundamental interests of the State.”²⁵

The campaign against Bai Hua and Bitter Love thus opened with an unusually sharp attack. Part of the army circles demanded that the author be made to face the consequences. At an all-army political work conference held in January 1981 “some political cadres formally announced that this film was an ‘antiparty poisonous weed’ and requested that Bai Hua be relabelled ‘rightist’ and expelled from the party and the army. However, this did not gain the approval of the Party Central Committee. Hu Yanbang [31] and Deng Yingchao [32] then spoke. In view of the tense situation in the literary and art circles at that time, they said that the atmosphere should not be made so tense. ‘Bitter Love’ would be all right when revised.”²⁶ The film was criticized (and probably after a control show for the authorities, also revised²⁷) internally only, openly only the script was criticized.

Radio Peking promptly broadcast information on all the principal objections to Bitter Love contained in the letters by readers published in Jiefangjun bao on 18 April.²⁸ The extensive critical article published in the same army daily on 20 April,

²¹ According to ZGYJ, 15, No. 8 (176), 15 August 1981, p. 104, the article comprised 20,000 Chinese characters, according to Dongxiang [27] Trends, No. 32, 16 May 1981, it had 8000 Chinese characters. The data in Dongxiang were taken over from CHR, No. 196 (JPRS No. 78286), 12 June 1981, p. 42.

²² Zhengming ribao [28] Contending Daily, 19 June 1981, p. 1 states that this contributing commentator was Liu Baiyu [29]. Liu Baiyu, born 1916, a known prose writer, was criticized during the “Cultural Revolution”. At present he is deputy-chairman of the Chinese Writers’ Association and chief of the Cultural Department, Political Bureau of the People’s Liberation Army. For more details about him, see, e.g. Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian (cited under note 5 above), pp. 95–98, and Kai-yu Hsu Ed., Literature of the People’s Republic of China, Bloomington — London 1980, pp. 125–132.

²³ Four Basic Principles are: Adherence to the socialist road, the people’s democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Party and Marxism-Leninism — Mao Zedong thought.

²⁴ Citations taken over from ZGYJ, 15, No. 8, (176), 15 August, 1981, p. 104.

²⁵ Quotation taken over from ZGYJ, 15, No. 6, (174), 15 June 1981, p. 75.

²⁶ Dongxiang, No. 32, 16 May 1981, English text from CHR, No. 196 (JPRS No. 78286), 12 June 1981, p. 44. Detailed report was also published in Zhengming, No. 43, May 1981, p. 14.

²⁷ ZGYJ, 15, No. 4 (172), 15 April 1981, p. 80 and Zhengming No. 43, May 1981, p. 14. See also note 57.

²⁸ Mainichi Shinbun, Daily News, 19 April 1981, p. 7.

was reprinted the same and the next day by several provincial papers.²⁹ Beijing ribao [33] Peking Daily came out with its own critique of Bitter Love on 23 April, the same day as Shidaide baogao [34] Report on the Era and Wenxue bao, Literary Newspaper.³⁰

These articles were not reprinted in the Central Party press. The Party Central Committee journal Hongqi, Red Flag No. 9, 1 May 1981, published its own critique of Bitter Love in relation with the question of patriotism of intellectuals. This critique is published in the form of a fictive dialogue of four old professors, written in much more sophisticated level, in smoother tone and using less demagogical arguments than army newspaper (e.g. one of professors gives several reasons defending the film script — nevertheless, on the end, also he is convinced of the distortion of intellectual's patriotic feelings by the film script).

Renmin ribao of 21 April published the address by Zhou Yang [35] delivered on the occasion of the prize awarding for short stories for the year 1980.³¹ In this text one may note a connection with the critique published in Jiefangjun bao. Zhou Yang pointed to the danger from the side of the “leftists”, but urged “seriously to follow up certain ongoing liberalist tendencies in literary and artistic circles . . . Now, in some of our literary and artistic works, including drama, music, painting and particularly the film and scripts, there is not only a lack of socialist thought, patriotic thought, but there is not in them even a minimum of national self-respect, self-confidence. Such works, are of course, few, yet we must not lose sight of the seriousness of the problem. Numerous comrades have criticized these phenomena in theoretical, literary and art circles, and this must awaken our attention.” He then went on to underline the need for writers to promote, under the party leadership, the socialist road, people's democratic dictatorship, Marxism-Leninism — Mao Zedong's thought.³² However, the overall tone and impact of Zhou Yang's address were far more moderate than the articles in Jiefangjun bao.

Five days later, 26 April, Renmin ribao, on the first page, and moreover in a frame, published an article by its commentator under the heading Zhenque jinxing fan

²⁹ ZGYJ, 15, No. 6 (174), 15 June 1981, p. 75, names three further papers that reprinted the article. Zhengming, No. 47, July 1981, p. 13 states that over twenty papers reprinted this article.

³⁰ According to Wenyi bao No. 10, 22 May 1981, p. 29, this critique was published on 23 April. In this one-page article Wenyi bao gives an information on the Bitter Love criticism and its response and summarizes the film script critiques published in different periodicals. It is stressed here that this criticism provoked a great echo within literary and art circles as well as among the readers and roused a stream of comments, letters and telegraphs. Wenyi bao editor's office obtained twelve letters reacting on the Bitter Love criticism. The article gives a brief comments to ten of them, discordant with the Bitter Love criticism and just mentions two letters approving the critiques published in the army paper.

³¹ Zhou Yang delivered this address on 24 March 1981 and Renmin ribao reprinted its text from Renmin wenxue [36] People's Literature, No. 4, 1981.

³² Hence, Four Basic Principles, see note 23.

qingxiangde douzheng [37] Correctly to Wage the Fight Against Deviations. While Jiefangjun bao wrote in fact against “rightist deviations”, this article emphasizes that “we must wage a fight on two fronts, against the ‘left’ and against the right wing.”³³

The singular fact that the Central Party organs on the whole, irrespectively of the above-mentioned exception of one critique published in Hongqi did not explicitly join in the sharp critique of Bai Hua and his script in the spring of 1981, certainly deserves notice. Very probably, this was not unrelated to the fact that the spring of 1981 was a period of the final preparations for the Sixth Plenary Session of the CC CCP. At this Plenary Session important personnel changes took place, a reshuffling that meant a further consolidation of the “pragmatists” positions. The assumption cannot be ruled out that the “pragmatists” who already before June had had the decisive word in the Central Party press, wanted to show the intelligentsia they were the ones whom it ought to support in the struggle for power, whom it ought to trust. The critique of Bai Hua let loose by “ultraleftist” forces in the army was too reminiscent of the tone and argumentation of the new members of the leadership frequently and sharply condemned campaigns of the preceding period. It was only logical that in the spring of 1981, the “pragmatists” should be loath fully to approve such a clearly demagogic attack and submissively to join in the action of their opponents.

Later, too, on 20 October 1981 the Peking correspondent of *Le Monde*, M. Lucbert, puts the attack against Bitter Love into relation with the preparations of the Sixth Plenary Session of the CC CCP and finds this relation in an ideological plane: “If we look on this attack from the intervening time lapse and if we transfer it into the atmosphere of the inner struggles preceding the Sixth Plenary Session of the CC CCP (27—29 June), it appears to have been a part — and not the least, at that — of an operation deriving from circles that were the most faithful to the Maoist legacy, and one destined, on the one hand, to maintain a critical approach to Mao Zedong within certain limits, to which the CC CCP intended to impart an official character, and on the other hand, to caution against too great an “emancipation of the mind”.

The “ultra-leftists” enjoyed a powerful hinterland among functionaries in the provinces in which the article against Bitter Love was immediately reprinted. They had been given a lesson from Peking. “Various provincial propaganda departments were advised by telephone by the central propaganda department to take note of the following several points: (1) In future, generally, criticism articles should include the names of the authors (since Mao Zedong’s death, in the literary and art spheres the first criticized author to be named was Bai Hua — note A. D.); (2) We should not vie with each other in reprinting articles published in a magazine or newspaper, and (3)

³³ It might be of interest to note that the term “leftwing” is always put into inverted commas, while “rightwing” is between quotation marks only once.

We cannot cope with literary and art problems through such means as a political movement or one in a disguised form (actually referring to the army paper).”³⁴ It is probably to this instruction that the article by Gu Yan [38], of 8 June, refers in *Renmin ribao*, prompting to “develop a healthy literary and artistic criticism in accordance with the requirement of the Party Central Committee: we must avoid searching for pretexts, fitting of caps, beating with a stick (hence, practices symbolizing the “Cultural Revolution” — note A. D.) and further vulgarizing and wrong methods... A critic has the right to criticize, but the criticized also has the right to explain his view and argue with the critic. Among the people, comradely relations on a basis of equal rights must exist between leader and literary and art worker, between critic and writer. A critic must lead towards good. If views differ, a free, detailed discussion must be carried out, but not defeat another by force”. The admonition was then published, but in the exemplary case of Bai Hua no “arguing against the critique” nor any “free discussion” took place.

Nor should the circumstance be overlooked that the sharp criticism and political argumentation attacked a work that appeared at a time when Hu Yaobang (as from June 1981 chairman of the CC CCP)³⁵ held the post of Head of the Organization and Propaganda Departments of the CC CCP, hence, he was also responsible for the ideological standard of literature and art (he did not hold this post at the time the film was being made). Consequently, the attack indirectly pointed also to him. If it be true that the co-author of the script and producer of the film Peng Ning “was privately on excellent terms with Hu Yaobang”,³⁶ then the concentration of the critique exclusively on Bai Hua might have indicated before the opening of the Sixth Plenary Session of the CC CCP a readiness of the critics to a compromise with Hu Yaobang.

The fact that the “pragmatists” did not openly refute the attack against Bitter Love, meant no mere tactical concession to the adversary. They too, were resolved at least to restrict social criticism as expressed in literary and artistic works. Evidence of this was provided also by the criticism of Bai Hua which they revived in August 1981. But of course, they kept insisting before and after June 1981 that there was no question of political reprisals against literary and art circles, but of an objective criticism of “errors”. And *Renmin ribao*, too, wrote and still writes in this spirit.

³⁴ *Zhengming ribao*, 19 June 1981, p. 1. English translation taken over from CHR, No. 204 (JPRS No. 78505), 14 July 1981, p. 115.

³⁵ A direct relation between the criticism of Bitter Love and the ongoing preparations of the election of Hu Yaobang to the chairmanship of the CC CCP is stressed by several sources. For instance, *Yomiuri Shinbun* of 20 May 1981, p. 3, referring to “trustworthy Chinese circles” writes that the aim of the criticism of Bai Hua was to prevent Hu Yaobang from becoming the chairman of the CC CCP as also the chairman of the Military Commission of the CC CCP. (Hu Yaobang did not become chairman of the Military Commission — note by A. D.)

³⁶ *Zhengming*, No. 45, July 1981, p. 13.

The criticism of Bitter Love immediately roused considerable interest. At two universities, the Peking University and Fudan University, open protests were staged against this criticism from the last week of April until mid-May.³⁷ On the premises of Peking University, history students put up wall posters asking a public discussion of Bitter Love. Although these students had allegedly taken a critical stand towards Bitter Love, they requested, on the other hand, that also Bai Hua and further persons involved be invited to the meeting.³⁸ But according to another source, the students of Peking University took sides with Bai Hua in their journal and designated his work as patriotic.³⁹

It was soon noted in Peking that the affair around Bitter Love had evoked considerable response in foreign press, reflections and “suspicions”. The weekly Beijing Review, destined for distribution abroad, gave reply to its own question on 25 May, whether the criticism of Bai Hua’s literary script mean that another “Cultural Revolution” is in the offing. The reply stresses that criticism of shortcomings and mistakes in the newspapers is a common practice and is conducive to the development of literature and art. “The criticism of Unrequited Love (translation of the title Bitter Love in Beijing Review — note A. D.) published in Jiefangjun bao (Liberation Army Daily), has attracted the attention of many foreigners and there are rumours about him (Bai Hua — note A. D.). The fact is that he is leading a normal life and carrying on his work as usual. Leading comrades of a Wuhan unit of the People’s Liberation Army to which Bai Hua belongs have had talks with him and hoped that he would consider these criticisms, sum up his experiences and produce more good works... It is groundless to say that criticism of Unrequited Love is an omen of a second cultural revolution... During those years it was impossible to do literary criticism the way we are doing today... There is every reason to believe that history will not repeat itself.”⁴⁰

At the time, in the early summer of 1981, some authors were still inferring far-reaching hopes from the fact that men like Zhou Yang had maintained a certain reserve in the case of Bai Hua and that the central organ of the CCP Renmin ribao did not reprint the article from Jiefangjun bao.⁴¹ Others held that the “Bai Hua incident had basically come to an end”.⁴² In August, however, the critique of Bitter Love broke out with renewed vigour, coming this time from the highest and most official quarters.

³⁷ ZGYJ, 15, No. 6 (174), 15 June 1981, p. 76.

³⁸ Mainichi Shinbun, 27 April 1981, p. 7.

³⁹ Article by R. Wiklinson and J. Florcruz in Newsweek, 4 May 1981.

⁴⁰ BR No. 21, 25 May 1981, p. 3.

⁴¹ E.g., Dongxiang, No. 32, 16 May 1981, p. 6.

⁴² E.g., Zhengming ribao, 19 June 1981, p. 1.

The question why in post-Mao Zedong China, precisely the script *Bitter Love* and *Bai Hua* came to be the target of the first cultural-political campaign could hardly be answered as yet accurately and exhaustively. Although it is clear that this criticism had a deeper background and was designed to follow ends of far-reaching intentions of greater weight than would be to point to “mistakes” of a single work and a single author, it is less clear why precisely *Bai Hua*’s *Bitter Love* had been picked out to this end. One, although evidently not the only reason for this choice may have been the fact that the criticism was initiated by the army and *Bai Hua* is an army writer. Hence, the army wanted to begin at home, to liquidate liberalizing trends within its own ranks. Moreover, the proposed and planned personal consequences to the author, designed to intimidate further literary and art workers, would be more readily implemented by initiators of the criticism within the army than by any other institution in the case of an author outside the army circles.

The script *Bitter Love* is certainly daring, sharply critical and deeply exposing, nevertheless, from none of these aspects is it a unique type in China of the late seventies. It is an impressive, moving piece of writing; one feels instantly that it was not written by a beginner, but by an experienced craftsman. The script is written with a considerable dose of screen imagination, but one would be hard put to it to say how much credit for this strong point in the script reverts to the co-author and director Peng Ning. *Bitter Love* belongs among the best works of this critical wave in Chinese literature and art, among the most powerful portrayals of a man’s hopelessness, crushed, though innocent, by the machinery of inhumanity, stupidity and cruelty.

The first version of the script was written by *Bai Hua* and Peng Ning as a film poem which, under the heading *Lu zai tade jiaoxia shenyan* [39] *The Road Extends Under His Feet*, appeared in Hong Kong.⁴³

Bitter Love describes the painter Ling’s life course from childhood until his death. The script shows various sectors of his life scenes artistically and effectively arrayed without any chronological sequence. His destiny is portrayed in the script from the age of twelve when his mother, unable to provide for him, sends him away from the house. A deep affection grows between this perceptive, gifted lad and a girl from an intellectual family, *Juanjuan* [41] whom he met and became friendly with on his peregrination — this affection grew into life-long love of the girl. Later, when hunted down by soldiers, a simple ferry-girl *Luniang* [42] saves his life. One day, while collecting money in the harbour for the fight to save the country, Ling again meets *Juanjuan* who, with her parents, is leaving for abroad. Ling refused to be persuaded to go with them, he does not lose faith that his country can be saved. Later, persecuted by the police for his patriotic activity, at the last moment he hides in a boat. Then he

⁴³ *Changchun* [61] No. 10—11, October—November 1979, pp. 6—19. *ZGYJ*, 15, No. 4 (172), 15 April 1981, p. 79 mention, that this film poem describes the episode of the painter *Huang Yongyu* [40]. This source erroneously omits the co-author Peng Ning.

sees Luniang desperately rowing to come to him, but fails to catch up with the outgoing ship. Ling finds out only when the ship is out in the open that she is bound for America. In America, he has a successful exhibition of his pictures and Luniang seeks him out on that occasion. From then on they remain together. As soon as they learn about the foundation of the People's Republic of China, without hesitation they sail full of enthusiasm with the first boat back to their country, and when close to its shores, Luniang gives birth to their daughter. They become acquainted with fellow passengers, the poet Xie and his wife, both equally ardent patriots. In the 1950s, all of them are happy in their country and work with success. And then the "Cultural Revolution" breaks out. The poet Xie is separated from his wife and both are sent to the countryside, just as is another of Ling's friends, a general. Ling witnesses personal tragedies of innocent victims, he himself is deprived of the possibility of carrying on in his work and is moved with his wife and daughter into a dark den. However, when the elegant Juanjuan comes from abroad to see him, Ling tells her that he does not regret having returned twenty years before to his country. Nor can he find it in him to forgive his daughter for having fallen in love with a foreign Chinese and going away with him. After having actively taken part in the demonstration on Tiananmen Square, he must flee from Peking. He hides in a reed marsh where he comes upon a well-known historian who is likewise hiding to avoid persecution for his manuscript of the history of China. Despite their precarious existence, Ling tries to paint. The historian wishes to help him, sets out to fetch him colours, but never returns. In October 1976, Ling's wife, the daughter who had meanwhile returned home, the historian waving a fresh edition of his book and the general calling out to Ling that his country needs him and loves him, all came to look for him. Exhausted Ling sees lights in the distance, hears some distant voices which he does not recognize and takes to flight, during which he dies, while friends call out to him: "Brother! These are not fires of hell! It's the light of the world of people that is coming to you! Brother! These are no ghosts! These are people! It's us!"⁴⁴ In the meantime, with his last strength, Ling treads out a question mark in the snow, his dead body forming the dot.

A well-thought out, constant alternation of time strips, pictures of happy moments with the miserable existence in the marsh, Ling's escape from persecution in pre-liberated China with his hiding in the marsh, all that evidently led critics to reproach Bai Hua to have identified the old with the new China. When still hesitating about going into hiding after the demonstration on Tiananmen Square, Ling himself says: "I am living in post-Liberation motherland and am to flee? I am living in a socialist motherland and am to flee?..."⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Shiyue, No. 3, 1979, p. 171.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 170.

The reader learns about the tragic dénouement of *Bitter Love* in the painter's death only in the closing, unusually impressively processed scene with a question mark. The sharpness of this tragic unravelling is but weakly blunted by the calls of Ling's family and friends testifying to the coming of new, better times (the fact that the historian already in October 1976 holds a copy of his book in his hand, is of course meant as a symbol). However, on page two of the script we see a scene of a summer night in 1976 when the reeds in the marsh move and a fugitive, dirty and in tattered clothes staggers out — the painter Ling. The reader is confronted right from the start with suffering and danger in which lives the painter — once happy and romantically devoted to his country. This confrontation is repeatedly presented across the entire script.

Another item that recurs several times is the lyrical motif of a flight of wild gees that in the air form the character ren [43] humanity, while a voice sings about the magnificence of man. Such a scene also concludes the script, when before that the question mark had grown into greater and greater dimensions and the commentator's monologue had come to an end — which, by the way, had also been heard repeatedly in the script: "Were it but the canvas of the picture, only colours, only lines fancied by the painter, we could tear that up, smudge it over, chuck it away! Unfortunately, it is our country! Our blood flows in its rivers, our childhood dreams have remained in its woods, there are millions of great and little roads on its breast and we have suffered much on these roads, discarded numberless pairs of worn-out shoes, yet have nonetheless gained one sacred right, and that is: Motherland! I love thee!" The script contains several such exalted expression of patriotism. There are in it also several fine song texts and poems; alongside lyric songs, it is in particular a poem which the poet Xie recites on the request of Ling's daughter, when the friends, banned from Peking into the countryside, take final leave:

Since you are my comrades, comrades-in-arms, and compatriots,
Why do you set traps for me?
Since you plan to handcuff me,
Why do you wear a smiling face?
Since you are ready to stab me in the back,
Why do you embrace me?
You put sealing tapes all over my mouth,
We hang question marks all over our heads,
Oh! True comrades, comrades-in-arms, and compatriots,
Why do you not shine on one another like stars?⁴⁶

According to several authors, the film turned on the basis of this script, was given the title *Taiyang he ren* [44] *Sun and Man*.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 163. English translation by S. J. Chang. In: *Issues & Studies*, XVII, No. 5, May 1981, p. 12.

The final question mark with Ling's dead body as the dot, which according to the script is gradually to grow on the screen, this deeply symbolic question, stirred ill-will in the censors. During a control show of the film, even before the publication of the criticism in *Jiefangjun bao*, order was given to remove the question mark and replace it with six dots.⁴⁸ The Hong Kong journal speaks of three revisions required by the CC CCP: "The first is the deletion from the dialogue of the sentence 'You love your motherland, but does your motherland love you?' — which is regarded as reactionary. The second is deletion of the scene of a golden Buddhist statue being darkened by smoke — which is supposed to reflect superstition towards Mao individuality. The third is modification of the end, which showed a big question mark on the screen. But friends who have seen the revised film say: 'Perhaps the problem still arises at the end.' This is because the director has changed the big question mark at the end into a red sun with six big dots, used as omission marks, coming one after another from the centre of the sun, accompanied by the ringing of one bell after another. This probably once more suggests 'reflection'."⁴⁹

The image of a darkened statue of Buddha singularly exasperated the critics also in the second stage of the criticism of *Bitter Love* that took place in the late summer and autumn of 1981. This image emerges in the script twice, very briefly and without any effect on the plot development. The first time, little Ling Chenguang enters a Buddhist temple and asks an old monk: "Why is that Buddha so dark?" The monk answers: "The incense of the faithful has blackened him..." and adds: "Are you surprised? Child, in the world many results of matter and good hopes change into their opposite..."⁵⁰ Years later, the painter is hiding in the marsh, "... Clouds appear in the picture with long, very long steps from the clouds. Chenguang goes up, higher and higher, hears the chime of bells from the temple roof, goes still higher, from such high steps man appears very small... He sees the splendour of the temple, hears the beating of drums. He enters the dark main hall, thyme is burning in it, the giant Buddha is not golden any more, but black." As an aside to the picture the above dialogue between the boy and the monk takes place.⁵¹ In the next scene, the painter walks as if in a dream along a Peking street "full of people waving volumes of Quotations, all devoted, naive, fanatic faces..."⁵²

⁴⁷ There is total divergence of views as regards showing of the film: according to some, the film has never been shown publicly; according to others it has been run under the title *Sun and Man*; according to a personal witness, it was shown publicly, or at least announced on the advertise poster, in autumn of 1980 in Peking under the name *Bitter Love*.

⁴⁸ *ZGYJ*, 15, No. 4 (172), 15 April 1981, p. 80.

⁴⁹ *Zhengming*, No. 43, May 1981, p. 14. English translation taken over from *CHR*, No. 201 (*JPRS* No. 78412), 30 June 1981, p. 34.

⁵⁰ *Shiyue*, 1979, No. 3, pp. 147—148.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 160—161.

⁵² *Ibid.*

When *Renmin ribao* of 7 October 1981 devoted the entire sixth page to a criticism of *Bitter Love*, the commentary of these short scenes took up fully one quarter of the length of the article.⁵³ “It is clear”, the article states, “that (*Bitter Love*) compares the revolutionary leader with Buddha, allegorically suggesting that the government of the ‘god’ caused a decade of anarchy”. The essence of the long exposition following this statement, is summed in the standpoint: “It treats the complex of historical phenomenon of personality cult in a negate-all manner. This extreme approach, which is a legacy of the cultural revolution, is bound to lead to total negation of the revolutionary leader and of the Communist Party leadership as well as of political life under socialism. It also aggravates the unhealthy tendency resulting from the ‘cultural revolution’ — a nihilistic attitude towards the Party and socialism.”⁵⁴ Thus, the criticism of *Bitter Love* does not lack in really far-reaching inferences and conclusions.

But this matter did not fall into oblivion even between the two waves of criticism of *Bitter Love* — not only among Chinese literary and art workers, but also in the mass media.

A stir was caused in the first days of June by the announcement that Bai Hua’s poem *Chunchao zaiwang* [46] *Spring Tide Is Close*, had been awarded a prize at an all-State competition of the new poetry. It is hardly probable that this would have been a mere gesture of sympathy and solidarity on the part of literary circles with a criticized colleague, without the approval of people from the Party Propaganda Department. The idea was rather to show to the Chinese intelligentsia and to foreign countries that China is not reverting to the situation of the “Cultural Revolution”, that criticism in 1981 does not necessarily lead to the damnation of the criticized person. This aspect is being unceasingly stressed since the instigation of the second stage of criticism of *Bitter Love*.

In this connection it might be of interest to note how, for instance, *Yuwen jiaoxue tongxun* [48] *Philosophical-Pedagogical Bulletin*, referring to the report by *Xinhua she* [47] *New China News Agency*, comments the award to Bai Hua’s poem: “Following the critique of Bai Hua’s literary script ‘*Bitter Love*’, in literary and art circles, much rumour has spread concerning Bai Hua’s personal situation.”⁵⁵ It then goes to say that on 19 May, *Jiefang ribao* [49] *Liberation Daily* (hence, an army newspaper) had published a report — and it goes on to quote: “Bai Hua’s face is ruddy, he is full of energy, moreover, since he returned from Peking to Wuhan on 16 March, he has completed a literary script with a contemporary topic and

⁵³ *Renmin ribao* reprinted this article by two deputies of the editor-in-chief of *Wenyi bao* under the heading “*Kulian*” *de couwu qingxiang* [45] *On Wrong Tendencies of “Bitter Love”*, from *Renmin wenxue*, No. 19, 1981.

⁵⁴ Quoted from excerpts from the above article published in *BR*, No. 42, 19 October 1981, p. 28.

⁵⁵ *Yuwen jiaoxue tongxun*, 1981, No. 7, p. 60.

a historical play in several acts.”⁵⁶ Without mentioning either when or where Bai Hua had spoken, his statements are here repeated: “...all this is inseparable from the attention and solicitude of the Party organization towards me.” Similarly, the paper cites that “when speaking of the literary script *Bitter Love*, Bai Hua said: ‘Some people have been saying for some time that I have been expelled from the Party, discharged from the army, some say that I am under house arrest, many more fear that I shall be again labelled as rightist. In reality there is nothing of the sort! Why, am I not doing well all the time? Bai Hua further betrayed that he was revising the script and excitedly added: ‘I am very much moved by the attention and solicitude of the Party organization towards me.’ I shall in no case fail to meet the expectations of the Party and the people towards me.”⁵⁷ However, to this day (i.e. January 1982), neither revised script nor revised film appeared in public.

After the new leadership of the CC CCP had been established towards the end of June, a number of articles in the central press soon began to let out pointers that the new leaders were resolved to enforce a stricter policy in the sphere of literature and art.

Rather characteristic in this sense is an article by an anonymous commentator in *Renmin ribao* (which fact says that the article voices the official view), published in a frame on the first page, 18 August 1981, and making the appeal “To control the weapon of literary and artistic criticism”. It lays emphasis on the importance of improving literary and artistic criticism as an effective way of directing literature and art by the Party. It states that success has been achieved in literature and artistic production, never the less, “the impetuous flow of a big river inevitably stirs up the mud” and alongside good or relatively good works, also mistaken, even harmful ones have appeared. Also the “abnormal, pernicious state has ensued”, when “sympathy is expressed with the one being criticized without asking the question whether he is right or wrong”. The editors of *Renmin ribao* expressed here also words of self-criticism: “That certain deficiencies should appear on the way forward, is nothing surprising. The problem deserving our attention, however, resides in that often we have not been able in time, firmly, boldly and convincingly to carry on criticism and fight against works in which mistaken trends and mistaken statements appeared, whereby we have shown a lack of firmness and weakness.” And in conclusion, it adds: “The above deficiency, lack of firmness and weakness, also exists in literary and artistic criticism of this newspaper... we have often failed to criticize firmly, boldly and convincingly works in which mistaken trends and mistaken

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid. Some of quoted news of Bai Hua are published in the Hong newspaper *Da Gong Bao*. 10 July 1981. Here is also mentioned Bai Hua’s affirmation that the revised, together with Peng Ning, the script and the director Peng Ning is turning an essentially revised version of the film. Information about this interview published in *Da Gong Bao* are taken over from *China Actuell*, July 1981, p. 419.

statements appeared; we have not given adequate room to totally democratic discussions and polemics on works and problems, on which divergent views prevailed.” The editors then go on to promise that they would rectify these shortcomings. In keeping with a stereotype, now inherent in Chinese propaganda, the article points out the urgent need of doing away with the persisting problem of “leftism” in literature and art, and with the liberalizing trends that aim at “getting free of the Party leadership, argue with this leadership and even stand up openly against it”. Thus, the need is here proclaimed to fight simultaneously against “leftism” and “liberalization”; however, after the appearance of this article, only expressions of “liberalization” were criticized in literary and artistic works. “Were we not to resist liberalization, were we not to fight against it”, the article goes on, “it might grow into dangerous dimensions and it might simultaneously provide a pretext to those who obstinately persist in ‘leftist’ errors for rough interventions, and this again might lead to a sharpening of conflicts among the people; if we did not liquidate ‘leftist’ faults in the directing ideology, we could not achieve the goal which is a struggle against liberalization and its overcoming which might likewise lead to a sharpening of conflicts.” The aim of criticism, as the article stresses, must be to achieve unity. This article, just as the others dealing with promotion of criticism, underlines the need to use adequate methods of criticism, cautions against “simplifications and coarseness”, as also against identifying “realist criticism” with beating “with a stick”. The concept of “realist criticism” is, of course, a broad one and leaves open an entire scale of possibilities in practical application. The warning that a failure to do away with “mistakes” in literature and art might lead to “rough interventions” published on the first page of Renmin ribao, could hardly pass unnoticed by intellectuals. At that time it was absolutely clear that the decision had been taken to the effect that criticism would be promoted and that it would be aimed against phenomena considered to be “liberalization”, hence, against works of the type Bitter Love.

By its import, tone and several formulations, this article is in agreement with an address delivered by Deng Xiaoping [50] on 17 July to responsible officials of the Propaganda Department of the CC CCP — at least insofar as one may infer from the contents of the address that were made public.⁵⁸ It is not known that Deng Xiaoping in his address criticized some definite work or author; nevertheless, at subsequent meetings on ideology, literature and art where criticism was concrete — again the script Bitter Love and Bai Hua — reference was repeatedly made to his speech.

The second wave of criticism of Bitter Love and of Bai Hua was initiated by a report on the meeting of over three hundred high functionaries of the CCP of the whole of China, responsible for ideological work, including army Party workers, as also those from literature, art, theory, journalism and publishing. This report was

⁵⁸ The content of the address was published in RMRB on 10 Sep. 1981, p. 2.

published by Renmin ribao on 31 August, without stating where this meeting “on problems at the ideological front” summoned by the Propaganda Department of the CC CCP, had been held.⁵⁹ The principal address at the meeting was delivered by HuYaobang. He reiterated the need to promote and correctly to carry out criticism and self-criticism, as also to enforce leadership in the theoretical, literary, artistic, journalistic and publishing domain and “confirmed that the policy of the Central Committee towards the intelligentsia, ideological work, or towards literature and art is decidedly not being altered; simultaneously he expressed sincere hopes and concrete requests”. However, the published report fails to specify any further the content of these “hopes” and “requests”. It mentions only one concrete work referred to in Hu Yaobang’s speech, viz. Bitter Love: “He underlined that the ongoing criticism of Bitter Love in literary and art circles has to be handled well. Comrade Bai Hua has written good works, but ‘Bitter Love’ does not benefit the people, does not benefit socialism and must be criticized; moreover, it is not an isolated problem, it represents a wrong tendency.”

What sort of “wrong tendency” is involved, that was expounded at a session of the National People’s Congress Standing Committee by Zhou Weizhi [51], the acting Minister of Culture. “In literary and art circles, some people set the emancipation of the mind and the ‘double-hundred policy’ against the four fundamental principles. Some even label the four fundamental principles as straight jackets and four big sticks and certain people want to reject Party leadership. Some hold that creation is solely the self-expression of writers and artists; they deny the need to take the social effect of literary pieces into consideration. This reflects the fact that a small number of people in the art and literary world crave for ‘absolute freedom’ and extreme individualistic ‘rights’, that they want to get rid of Party leadership, depart from the socialist road and go in for bourgeois liberalization. The scenario Unrequited Love is an example of this and should be criticized seriously. But we should adopt an attitude of unity, help and education towards its author, Comrade Bai Hua.”⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The meeting was certainly held in the first decade of August. The Forum of Peking literary and art workers at which the participants “expressed support ... for Hu Yaobang’s speech at the national consultation on problems at the ideological front” (RMRB, 10 Sep. 1981, p. 2), was held, according to data from BR No. 38, 21 Sep. 1981, p. 14, on 20–25 August. Mrs. V. Graham informs through Associated Press report of 10 August that a six-day meeting of the Propaganda Department of the CC CCP was concluded on 8 August. Comprehensive details on the tasks of the ideological front deriving from the above meeting are contained in RMRB of 1 Sep. 1981. The excerpts from Hu Yaobang’s speech are taken over from RMRB of 31 August 1981, p. 1. Here is also mentioned that towards the conclusion of this meeting, the secretary of the CC CCP Secretariat Hu Qiaomu delivered a speech. His address was delivered on 8 August and contains a remark on the necessity of the Bitter Love criticism (Hongqi, No. 23, 1 December 1981, p. 10).

⁶⁰ Excerpts from this address were published in RMRB of 10 September 1981. The English translation is from BR No. 38, of 21 September 1981, p. 13. These excerpts imply that Zhou Weizhi did not criticize any other definite work.

Thus, the film script *Bitter Love* was criticized in the second wave by the highest Party functionaries and at the most representative forum. This time, the criticism was given an official tenor and official publicity which were missing from the first wave in April.

Between the speeches by Hu Yaobang and Zhou Weizhi, the Ministry of Culture and the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles had convoked a meeting of over fifty leading cadres, writers, artists and critics from Peking.⁶¹ In the introductory information about this meeting, we read: "The comrades who spoke at the meeting... stressed the need seriously to develop criticism and self-criticism, to overcome various faulty tendencies; it is particularly urgent to carry on a correct and convincing criticism and wage the necessary fight against tendencies leading to a departure from the socialist road and Party leadership and towards liberalization. Some comrades concretely analysed in their addresses and sharply criticized the literary script 'Bitter Love' from the aspect of its political content and artistic mastership." All the nine speakers referred to by the press admitted that ideological errors had appeared in the literary and artistic sphere that must be criticized. Several of them mentioned that expressions of bourgeois liberalization, a pursuing of unlimited democracy and freedom, doubts about the Communist Party and socialism which resort to bourgeois human feelings, humanism, human rights, eulogizing abstract dignity of humanity, etc. are a reaction, albeit undesirable, to the period of the "Cultural Revolution".

At this meeting, too, concrete criticism was levelled only at the script, and this by two speakers. Zhou Yang said in this connection: "The literary script 'Bitter Love' represents an erroneous trend, it ought to be criticized and the author must be helped to recognize this problem. A gifted, successful author may not refuse criticism. Without criticism and self-criticism our literary artistic and ideological domain would change into stagnant water. We bear the responsibility for the fact that 'Bitter Love' was not rightly criticized in time." Also the old writer Yao Xueyin [52] spoke on this work saying that "'Bitter Love' represents a mistaken trend of thought in society. He expressed the hope that through the criticism of 'Bitter Love', the problem of two creative ideas, of two creative methods will be clarified, whereby faulty thoughts will be rectified, literary and artistic ranks will be tempered, the masses of readers will be educated".

At this meeting, the speaker immediately after Zhou Yang, was Liu Baiyu, probably the author of the sharp criticism of *Bitter Love* referred to above, and published in *Jiefangjun bao*. Now, four months later, he stressed the necessity of changing the Party's weak leadership over literature and art and said that it is not

⁶¹ See note 59. Although the meeting had taken place on 20—25 August, RMRB published excerpts from it only on 10 September, referring to a teletype of New China News Agency of 9 September, in the same issue as the excerpts from Zhou Weizhi's speech.

surprising if “at the turn of a historical period various thoughts and attitudes appear, including expressions and works of bourgeois liberalization, endeavouring to depart from the socialist road and the Party’s leadership.”⁶² He observed that wrong methods of criticism cannot bring about good results.

The reproaches to Bai Hua and Bitter Love, particularly as formulated in Zhou Weizhi’s speech, were weighty, nevertheless, the tone of the criticism was more moderate than it had been in the letters and article published by Jiefangjun bao in April. The literary script Bitter Love was now presented, especially in addresses by men of letters, as an example of one trend that need not necessarily derive from anti-Party and anti-socialist attitudes of the author, but may be interpreted as a mistake, a spontaneous, though wrong reaction to the terror of the “Cultural Revolution”. Hence, it is intimated that the author has committed a more or less pardonable error, which, however will not be tolerated henceforward. The fact that the new post-June leadership of the CCP is resolved not to suffer “liberalization”, nor any sharp exposure of the social reality and that it has decided to impose a stronger, stricter control over literature and art, was quite evident in the summer of 1981.

Another fact is that the new chairman of the CC CCP, when enforcing this stricter cultural policy picked on the script Bitter Love as an example of undesirable works, was no mere chance. This might be taken as symbolizing a compromise arrived at in June among the CCP leaders. By this continuity of the criticism of Bitter Love, Hu Yaobang intimated that he did not quite disapprove of the April action of the “ultraleftists”. On the other hand, by his methodical lesson he made it clear that the implementation of a stricter cultural policy would be pursued in a tone and by methods that will be more acceptable to the Chinese intelligentsia and PRC’s foreign partners.

The renewed criticism of Bitter Love awakened considerable interest, excitement and the issue in the extensive article appearing on 7 October took a long and complicated preparation. It is evident also from the fact that Associated Press already 10 August 1981, hence, even before the publication of the contents of the July and August sessions, issued a report by its reporter, Mrs. V. Graham, based on information obtained from anonymous Peking sources, that Bai Hua was again to be criticized in August in an article due to appear in Wenyi bao which the deputy editor-in-chief Tang Dacheng [53] had already written. However, two further months elapsed before the critical article was actually published.

This extensive article appeared on 7 October in Wenyi bao and simultaneously in Renmin ribao.⁶³ Its authors are given as both deputies of the editor-in-chief Tang Ying [54] and Tang Dacheng. The article was not reprinted by other periodicals.⁶⁴

⁶² All the quotations are from RMRB of 10 September 1981, p. 2.

⁶³ The title of the article is given under note 53 above.

Although it appeared on the same day in *Wenyi bao* and *Renmin ribao*, it is stated that it was originally published in *Wenyi bao* No. 19 and reprinted in *Renmin ribao*. Hence, it was given to understand thereby that the article originated in the literary sphere and its reprinting in the central Party daily meant its approval by the CC CCP. It may be surmised that the authorities wished to show that this time the criticism of *Bitter Love* was mainly a concern of literary and art circles and their official theoretical journal.

In the introduction, the article states that a criticism of *Bitter Love* appeared in April in *Jiefangjun bao* and although necessary, criticism and selfcriticism did not develop well in consequence of the previous decade of chaos. But “as soon as the criticism of this work had appeared, it aroused the attention of numerous readers and varying views; it even came to be a topic of discussion and speculation in foreign mass media, suspecting that the spring of Chinese literature and art would pass and severe cold would again set in, which is obviously a misunderstanding. Some people in China and abroad, entertaining bad intentions, profited by it in provocations. *Wenyi bao*, as a national literary theoretical journal, must draw a lesson from the fact that it had not published a review in time about this typical example and had not met the expectations of numerous readers.”⁶⁵

The extensive article taking up an entire page of *Renmin ribao* then deals with a whole series of mistakes in the script: an exclusive emphasis on the painter’s hardships, setting up his love of his country in opposition to his country’s cruelty towards him, an isolated apprehension of the individual from the people, identification of the old China with the new, placing the blame on the country instead of on the “Gang of Four”, portraying the capitalist world as the paradise of Chinese intellectuals, mistakes dealing with the blackened Buddha dealt with earlier, as also shortcomings from the artistic point of view, hence, untruth, not proceeding strictly from reality. The fact is again stressed, that the political and ideological errors in *Bitter Love* are neither a random, nor an isolated phenomenon.

Although the article holds that *Bitter Love* “takes up a totally wrong attitude towards the Party and towards socialism”, that “such a work does not help the Party and the people to pursue activity in the struggle for implementing the four modernizations”, certainly grievous accusations all of them, yet the most serious of them all brought against the work in the April criticism, viz. violation of the Four Basic Principles was not repeated.

In the introduction of the article both authors of the script are named, Bai Hua and

⁶⁴ M. Lucbert in *Monde*, 20 Oct. 1981, states that this so happened in harmony with a direction coming from higher instances.

⁶⁵ Much sharper self-criticism was written by Shiyue editors who originally published the film script *Bitter Love* (see note 4). This self-criticism was published as a preface to another article criticizing *Bitter Love*, in *Shiyue*, 1981, No. 5, p. 228.

Peng Ning, but in the further text Bai Hua is designated as “author No. one” in whose world outlook there are deep contradictions. A note is made of Bai Hua’s revolutionary youth, his sympathies towards the Party, several of his works are positively appraised, but readers are reminded that at a time of complex social conflicts and ideological trends he failed to take up the correct stand. The conclusion expresses the hope that the authors of *Bitter Love* will succeed in summing up the experience and drawing a lesson and in future will write new works, beneficial to the people and socialism.

All the addresses and speeches noted above, as also the article criticizing *Bitter Love* in this second wave, refer to Bai Hua as ‘comrade’ which in itself is a tremendous difference from criticism during the “Cultural Revolution”. Chinese propaganda lays extreme emphasis on the fact that there is here no question of a campaign. It is in fact remarkable what efforts Peking is exerting to convince not only the Chinese, but also the outside world that there is no question of any campaign, but of a just criticism. In this second wave of criticism of Bai Hua the weekly *Beijing Review* emphasized that “In criticizing the screen play *Unrequited Love*, we are directing our fire at its wrong tendency... As for its writer Bai Hua, he has produced some good works. To criticize *Unrequited Love* does not mean writing him off altogether.”⁶⁶ In the rubric Letters, this weekly also published several letters from foreign readers writing with understanding about the criticism of *Bitter Love*.⁶⁷ When a London reader asked in his letter, published in this weekly, whether the film had been shown and if so, what had been the audience reaction and to what extent had Bai Hua and Peng Ning accepted the criticism, *Beijing Review* left the first two questions unnoticed⁶⁸ and gave the following reply to the third one, without however mentioning Peng Ning: “Bai Hua has stated that this article (he has in mind that of 7 October — note by A. D.) is well written. The criticism ‘appeals to reason in a comradely way and is therefore quite convincing’. He pledged to ponder over it. Comrade Bai Hua recently made a self-criticism at a Party meeting at the Wuhan Military Command, where he works. ‘It was with a warmhearted feeling that the leaders of the Party Central Committee criticized me’, he said, ‘in the hope that I would keep to the stand of the Party and not deviate from the Party leadership’.”⁶⁹

⁶⁶ BR, No. 38, 21 September 1981, p. 3.

⁶⁷ BR (in the rubric Letters) No. 31, 3 August 1981 ; No. 43, 26 October 1981 ; No. 46, 16 November 1981.

⁶⁸ No answer was given also to a question by a Pakistani reader whether any favourable comments about the script had been made, nor to a Japanese reader who evidently grasped the criticism of the script in a much simplistic manner, viz. whether China will not remain ossified when making “such a big fuss over trivial matters like the controversy over *Unrequited Love*”. BR, No. 2, 11 January 1982, p. 4.

⁶⁹ BR, No. 46, 16 November 1981, p. 4.

In the end, Bai Hua really openly made a self-criticism in a letter dated 25 November 1981 to the *Jiefangjun bao* and *Wenyi bao*.⁷⁰ In the introductory commentary, the paper writes: "After long consideration and exchanges with leading comrades in his own organization as well as with other writers and readers, Bai Hua gradually came to agree with the criticism and to see the flaws in his work." Bai Hua writes in the letter that the process of criticizing *Bitter Love* showed a serious determination to restore the practice of criticism and self-criticism and to use it on a normal basis, as also that the Party and the people attach great importance to the road a writer takes. "It was not meant to strike at me, but to help me go forward." Then, observing that he never before had such a strong, excited urge to write as after the "Gang of Four" had been smashed, he admits most faults to *Bitter Love* that were reproached during the course of criticism of the script: He failed to make a clear distinction between the "Gang of Four" and the socialist motherland, the Party and the people; he ignored the power of the Party and the people that smashed the "Gang of Four" and that is building a lively and healthy political atmosphere today; he admits that during the "Cultural Revolution" the Party, the nation and the people all suffered together and showed love and concern for intellectuals; he was guilty of a lack of balance when he concentrated on exposing historical errors and lessons, and was rather unfamiliar with current life, particularly with the efforts to redress past wrongs. In conclusion he expressed his resolve to correct his mistakes.

It seems that Bai Hua did not find it easy to decide and make a public self-criticism. This is clearly implied in his observation that formerly during the criticism he felt wronged and didn't listen to the criticism, and also in the moderate tone in which he admitted his mistakes. This self-criticism can satisfy very partially only the original initiators of the *Bitter Love* criticism, however, it goes a long way to meet the requirements and aims of the second wave of this criticism. Bai Hua corroborated the image that it had been right to criticize *Bitter Love*, that he himself had understood the criticism and essentially accepted it, and promised to improve — and evidently by the very fact that he finally made a self-criticism openly, he also improved his professional and social standing.⁷¹

⁷⁰ This letter was reprinted in RMRB, 24 December 1981 and, according to this source, published in *Jiefangjun bao* 23 December 1981 and in *Wenyi bao*, January 1982. Following English translations taken over from excerpts published in BR, No. 2, 11 January 1982, p. 29.

⁷¹ The positive response and effect of his self-criticism was shown quite soon. RMRB, 30 December 1981, informed on the meeting on feature film held in Peking and on the speech delivered by Hu Yaobang on this meeting 27 December. Hu Yaobang stated that "the criticism of 'Bitter Love' by comrade Bai Hua was necessary". But comrade Bai Hua "recognized his errors, made a self-criticism and it is very good. By this the problem of 'Bitter Love' is satisfactorily closed. Comrade Bai Hua remained Party member, remained a writer, he'll continue his writings".

In the past, the publication of a far more degrading self-criticism would not have saved a writer from persecution and silencing. Now, however, the authorities are not out personally to persecute an author, nor to condemn all his work, but only to give a serious warning. The criticism of *Bitter Love* and Bai Hua, as also his self-criticism meet the aims of an exemplary case of such literature and art as will not henceforth be tolerated in China. Bai Hua's poetry is further being published,⁷² he remains a council member of the Chinese Writers' Association.⁷³ It is practically certain that if Bai Hua will write in conformity with the present requirements, his works will be further published, performed in theatres and turned into films.

Hu Yaobang also promised pardon to offending writers in an important speech at the meeting in commemoration of the centenary of Lu Xun's [56] birth, when he said: "Some comrades have done well and written many good works, then owing to a temporary aberration, have published harmful writings. We cannot because of this negate their achievements; but neither can we condone pernicious writing because of their past contributions. Certain comrades unjustly treated in the past feel somewhat resentful. This is understandable. But if they nurse resentment against the Party and the socialist system when observing society and writing new works, this is entirely wrong. By means of persuasion and criticism we should help them to revise such harmful works or to scrap them. Our Party has rescinded or scrapped directives which practice has proved to be mistaken... All I can say is that our Party has learnt from the past and will never abandon comrades loyal to the Party, the people and our great cause, nor will our Party abandon those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them."⁷⁴

This address by Hu Yaobang carried also a broader criticism aimed at writers and artists: "In our cordial discussions with writers and artists, many new proposals were made for enriching our literature and art. Unfortunately, writers and artists have not paid sufficient attention to these proposals... At present, many good works do not receive the praise they deserve, nor do certain pernicious works receive forceful criticism and condemnation."⁷⁵ From this speech by Hu Yaobang and from a whole series of articles, it was evident that from all the possible mistakes, criticism should be concentrated on the principal one — that of liberalization; at the same time, the criticism should be serious, fundamental and strict. Among the strictest demands are

⁷² Chinese Literature in the December 1981 issue, p. 117, in a list of twelve titles of recently published poetry books compiled by the magazine *Shikan* [55] Poetry, — issued as a part of a series of poetry books by Jiangsu People's Publishing House — ranks in the sixth place the book *Feelings and Thoughts* by Bai Hua and states that "Bai Hua also writes stories and screenplays".

⁷³ BR, No. 2, 11 January 1982. p. 29.

⁷⁴ RMRB, 26 September 1981, English version taken over from BR, No. 40, 5 October 1981, pp. 14 and 16.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

the conclusions of an all-army conference of the heads of Cultural Departments, where it was stated, among other things, that "To investigate mistaken works is necessary. In investigating them the policy should be strictly adhered, it is necessary to search for the truth from the facts, to analyse concretely, not to close one's eyes before mistaken works, but on the other hand, not to present every problem as liberalization."⁷⁶

However, a charge of "liberalization" certainly provoked considerable unrest among the intellectuals, while on the other hand, criticism of liberalization evidently at least partially encouraged and left certain room to "ultra-leftists" who always saw in Chinese intelligentsia a politically suspicious social strata. Nevertheless, the ambitions of the most important group in the leadership to modernize China presume an active cooperation of the intelligentsia, particularly the technical and natural science branches and its passivity, into which intimidation in the past had driven it, would go counter to the programme of modernization. And thus, for instance, a commentator of Renmin ribao, reporting on the nomination of a new Dean of Wuhan University, considered it of importance again to polemize with denigration of the intelligentsia in the past, e.g. with the thesis that "the intelligentsia is politically unreliable", because "certain mistaken views on intelligentsia still persist". He stressed that "because certain people among intellectuals defend the trend of bourgeois liberalization, the Party policy towards the intellectuals may not vacillate, may not indiscriminately consider the intelligentsia as 'unreliable', 'untrustworthy'."⁷⁷

A total prohibition and ban on criticism and exposure in literature and works of art would neither make a good impression nor bring about a desirable response and effect. Hence, the aim in view is being followed by less unambiguous formulations and approaches, by laying stress on other accents in the "exposure of dark sides", on a different content and orientation of this exposure. "As regards works that expose the dark sides in the Party and social life, we must go even more among the masses and listen to their view. The aim of the exposure of dark sides is to overcome them and not merely to point them out according to one's moods and leave everything indiscriminately at that," Ma Weian preaches in an article urging "to listen more to the masses" and to use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, this "development strength of our business" for overcoming erroneous trends.⁷⁸ Something is therefore being propagated that might be called a constructive or optimistic exposure and evidently works more constructive and more optimistic are expected than was Bitter Love. That is, if exposure, then of the dark sides that reach less deeply and are less

⁷⁶ Guangming ribao [57] Bright Daily, 14 Oct. 1981, p. 1, with a reference to a report in the New China News Agency.

⁷⁷ RMRB, 22 September 1981, p. 3.

⁷⁸ RMRB, 16 September 1981. An article by the same author was quoted earlier (see note 17 above).

fundamental than in *Bitter Love*. It is not enough any more, as was done by the authors of this script and many other writers, briefly to show in the conclusion or just mention that the exposed evil is over and better days have dawned.

Criticism of undesirable exposures, of erroneous trends, liberalization in literature and art as also the appeals to promote criticism, still find echoes in Chinese press even after the criticism of *Bitter Love*.⁷⁹

One may already presume even now that the criticism of the film script *Bitter Love* and of *Bai Hua* will mean a certain landmark in the coming development of the CCP cultural policy during the post-Mao period.

Although several works, particularly dramatic writings had been criticized in post-Mao Zedong China even before *Bitter Love*,⁸⁰ the criticism had never been so sharp and so sustained, the author had not been named and had not been taken to task from a political aspect, no self-criticism of his had been published, no top-ranking leader of the CCP had taken part in any one of the criticisms, no criticism had taken place before the highest State forum and none had provoked such a general and many-sided attention. Prior to the criticism of *Bitter Love* and of *Bai Hua*, although the criticism was practically always carried out from ideological and political aspects, it was far easier to preserve the impression that there was question of a more or less current criticism within the framework of the literary and artistic sphere. In this case, however, Chinese propaganda felt the need constantly to stress and explain that no campaign, taken over according to old recipes, was involved here.

As has been emphasized earlier in this study, the criticism of *Bitter Love* and of *Bai Hua* differs in several important respects from campaigns of the past. On the other hand, these two waves of criticism may not be taken as a professional dispute in the sphere of literature and art, nor as a free discussion and a democratic exchange of views. The film script *Bitter Love* was just criticized and not a single article appeared that would have found in it some positive trait. Neither did *Bai Hua* defend himself, at least not publicly, although in 1980 he still showed that a passive acceptance of criticism does not belong to his temperament.⁸¹ The criticism of *Bitter Love* had an

⁷⁹ E.g. in an interesting criticism of the stories by the writer Li Jian [58] where he is designated as a man alternating between "leftism" in his theoretical proclamations and "liberalization" in his own literary works.

⁸⁰ E.g., at the beginning of 1980 when interest was awakened by a criticism of the play *Jiaru wo shi zhende* [59] *What If I Were Real*, known also under the name *Pianzi* [60] *The Impostor*. See addresses at the meeting on dramatic works in February 1980 by the then Head of the Propaganda Department of the CC CCP Hu Yaobang (*Wenyi bao*, No. 1, 1981) and by Zhou Yang (*Wenyi bao*, No. 4, 1981), as also, e.g., articles in *Guangming ribao* of 26 February 1980, in *RMRB* of 19 March 1980 and in *BR*, No. 11, of 17 March 1980.

⁸¹ E.g., in the case of the criticism of the film *The Stars Are Shining Brilliantly Tonight*, dealt with above.

extra-artistic, political background and its goals far exceed the designs of criticism of a single work.

Bai Hua and his literary script Bitter Love criticism indicates the end of a period in which exposure of the "Cultural Revolution" and the dark sides of social life as a main topic was desirable and welcome, and also of representing the beginning of a period of criticism of "liberalization" — a period whose impact on concrete destinies of literature and art will become evident in the future.

1. 苦恋 2. 白桦 3. 十月 4. 剧本 5. 人民日报 6. 彭宇
7. 中国文学家辞典, 现代第一分册 8. 白桦剧作选
9. 争鸣 10. 中国当代文学史初稿 11. 曙光 12. 今夜星光灿烂
13. 陈沂 14. 袁文殊 15. 中共研究
16. 赵丹 17. 文艺报 18. 春之声 19. 王蒙 20. 马思聪
21. 凌晨光 22. 爱国主义是建设社会主义的巨大精神力量
23. 古志敏 24. 屈原 25. 屈原天问
26. 解放军报 27. 鄧白 28. 争鸣日报
29. 刘白羽 30. 四项基本原则不容违反——评电影文学剧本苦恋
31. 胡耀邦 32. 邓颖超 33. 北京日报
34. 时代的报告 35. 周扬 36. 人民文学
37. 正确进行反倾向的斗争 38. 顾言 39. 路在他的脚下伸延
40. 黄永玉 41. 娟娟 42. 绿娘
43. 人 44. 太阳和人 45. 论“苦恋”的错误倾向
46. 春潮在望 47. 新华社 48. 语文教学通讯
49. 解放日报 50. 邓小平 51. 周巍峙 52. 姚雪垠
53. 唐达成 54. 唐因 55. 诗刊
56. 鲁迅 57. 光明日报 58. 李剑 59. 假如我是真的
60. 骗子 61. 长春

FOREIGN LITERATURE IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA BETWEEN 1970—1979

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The aim of this study is to present a concise overview of the reception of foreign literature in the PRC (excepting partly Russian and Soviet literature) during the period of the 1970s, based on a survey of translations, critical and historical works of Chinese men of letters.

Reception of foreign literature in China which had established solid traditions in the course of the twentieth century and achieved impressive dimensions during the second half of the 1950s, went through a complete cycle of vicissitudes during the past decade, beginning with a period of total negation of everything foreign in the literary domain (1970—1972), followed by an almost five-year long drought during which foreign literature just managed to trickle into the PRC in the form of a few specimens (1973—early autumn 1977), then by a gradual opening of the Chinese literary “market” to foreign works (end 1977—end 1978), and finally by a rapid return to the study of world literature and its introduction in the last year of the 1970s.

1

Practically nothing concrete is known about the extent of the damage of a material nature caused by the “Cultural Revolution” during the period 1966—1969 to the relatively extensive translation and scholarly work created by the preceding decades in the domain of reception and revaluation of foreign literature in China. Hence, all the more significant in this respect is the admission published in the daily *Guangming ribao* [1] (further GMRB) dated 19 January 1979, i.e. six weeks after the All-China Conference for Planning and Study of Foreign Literature (*Quanguo waiguo wenxue yanjiu gongzuo guihua huiyi*) [2], held in Canton from 25 November till 6 December 1978. This brief report has this to say on the situation during the barbarous decade of the “Cultural Revolution”: “Works of foreign literature were inaccessible, great quantities of foreign literary materials were burnt, research mechanisms were liquidated, work was stopped at institutions of higher learning where foreign literature was taught.”

Only a few days earlier, something like a preparation to this brief report, GMRB had published a letter by Wang Shutian [3], a worker from Soochow, describing the

difficulties that he had with a manuscript copy of the Chinese translation of the novel by A. Dumas fils, *La Dame aux camélias*. The whole had probably taken place in 1978. Wang Shutian came across a manuscript text of this novel. He brought it to his workplace where it was taken from him and handed over to the Party Secretary for his opinion. From the ensuing report it came out that it was “pornographic literature” unsuitable for the present times. Wang Shutian had to write self-criticism, had trouble with the local police and was saved from political persecution only through his blameless, unimpeachable past record. The editors of the GMRB sent Wang Shutian’s letter to the Municipal Committee of the CCP in Soochow. The Municipal Committee’s reply stated that they had looked into the matter and recognized that the investigation and criticism of Wang Shutian had been wrong, for the book was not “pornographic”.¹

A rather startling fact is that this second letter makes no mention at all of the author’s name, nor of any reference to the significance of *La Dame aux camélias* in the history of world literature. It is quite possible that its writers were ignorant of the background which the popularity of this work had created in their country as the first “translation” of French novel into Chinese and one of the most successful “translations” into Chinese at all, made towards the end of the last century by Lin Shu [4] (1852—1924), the father of Chinese translation literature of modern times. The quotation marks have been used intentionally because Lin Shu usually translated by the method of free adaptation of the original or even by paraphrasing. Often he would abridge or complete the texts at will. As stated in a study by the well-known scholar A Ying [5] (1900—1977), the “translation” of *La Dame aux camélias* was done in the summer and autumn of 1898 and appeared in print in 1899. As the work of a French author and a Chinese translator, it elicited the admiration of great figures of modern Chinese intellectual history, such as Kang Yuwei [6] (1858—1927) and Yan Fu [7] (1854—1921). The poet and Lin Shu’s biographer Chen Yan [8] (1858—1938) likened the courtesan Marguerite Gautier to the courtesan Li Wa [9] from the Tang short story by Bo Xingjian [10] (died 826) entitled *Li Wa zhuan* [11] The Story of Li Wa. Another poet Wu Dongyuan [12] imitated Bo Xingjian’s brother Bo Juyi [13] (772—846) and wrote an imitation of Bo’s famous narrative poem *Chang heng ge* [14] Song of Everlasting Sorrow — a long poem entitled *Fajing Bali chahua nushi Makenier xing* [15] Song About Marguerite, *La Dame aux camélias* of Paris, the Capital of France. The poem expresses the admiration which through Lin Shu’s intermediary Marguerite elicited from the Chinese readers at that time. The playwright Zhong Xinqing [16] wrote a novel *Xin chahua* [17] New Lady

¹ GMRB, 10 January 1979. For interesting information in regard to the foreign literature in the PRC in the late 1970s, see Link, P.: *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies. Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Cities*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1981, pp. 236—248.

of the Camelias, in thirty chapters, describing episodes from the life of the famous courtesan Wu Linlin [18] from the town of Hangchou.²

The novel *La Dame aux camélias* is of such significance to modern Chinese literature not only because it was the first European literary work to have made an unusual impression on Chinese readers, but also its inclusion into the systemo-structural reality of Chinese literature at the turn of the century helped to establish the first interliterary contacts with foreign literature. One such result was the novel *New Lady of the Camelias* by Zhong Xinqing, whose existence will remind the historian of comparative literature of certain parallels between Dostoyevsky's *Idiot* and *La Dame aux camélias*,³ even though Dostoyevsky fulfilled his task within the systemo-structural reality of classical Russian literature far better than Zhong within the Chinese reality. From an artistic point of view, the novel by Zhong is weak. Dumas' novel in Lin Shu's presentation, together with further European literary works translated later, such as *Joan Haste* by H. Rider Haggard or W. Scott's *Ivanhoe* (both "translated" by Lin Shu and published in 1905), helped to prepare a hot-bed for the subsequent romantic or rather post-romantic modern Chinese literature. *La Dame aux camélias* and many other works that followed, not only in Lin Shu's presentation, but also those by other translators, e.g. Wu Guangjian [21] (1867—1943), exerted a widespread influence in those and later years. Guo Moruo [22] (1892—1978) was one of numerous readers of those translations and later himself a writer. The first works of foreign literature which he became familiar with were precisely the "translations" from Haggard and Scott referred to above.⁴ Lin Shu's translations were read with preference by Zhang Ziping [23] (1893—1947),⁵ Duan Keqing [24] (1907—),⁶ Hong Weifa [29] (1900—),⁷ Cao Yu [31] (1910—),⁸ Huang Luyin [35] (1898—1934),⁹ and many others.

It appears like an irony of fate, but also a tragic event, that in 1978 *La Dame aux camélias* could be read in the PRC only secretly and hand-copied, that because of it

² A Ying: *Guanyu "Bali chahuanu yishi"* [19] On *La Dame aux camélias*. In: *A Ying wenji* [20] Collected Works of A Ying. Vol. 2. Hong Kong 1979, pp. 744—750.

³ Cf. Altman, M. S.: *Dostoyevsky i roman A. Duma "Dama s kameliyami"* (Dostoyevsky and the Novel by A. Dumas "*La Dame aux camélias*"). In: *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi russkoi literatury* (International Relations of Russian Literature). Moscow-Leningrad 1963, pp. 359—369.

⁴ Roy, D. T.: *Kuo Mo-jo. The Early Years*. Harvard University Press 1971, p. 30.

⁵ Schyns, J. et al.: *1500 Modern Chinese Novels and Plays*. Peiping 1948, p. 9.

⁶ Duan Keqing: *Yao zuo wenxuejia shih bu rongyide* [25] It is Difficult to Be a Writer. In: Zheng Zhendo [26] and Fu Donghua [27] (Eds.): *Wo yu wenxue* [28] Literature and Me. Shanghai 1934, p. 171.

⁷ Hong Weifa: *Cong Li Haoqiu dao Guo Moruo* [30] From Li Haoqiu to Guo Moruo. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁸ Yan Zhenfen [32]: *Cao Yu chuanguo shenghuo pianduan* [33] Cao Yu: Fragments of His Life and Work. Juben [34] Dramas, 1957, No. 7, p. 52.

⁹ *Lu Yin zizhuan* [36] Autobiography of Lu Yin. Shanghai 1934, p. 41.

people were persecuted and had to live in stress. In the past it had been published relatively frequently in China,¹⁰ especially in Lin Shu's version. In addition, a translation appeared in the vernacular prepared by Xia Kangnong [41] in the first half of the 1930s,¹¹ and a dramatic version was also known, translated by Liu Bannong [43] (1891—1934).¹²

The editors of GMRB conveniently put blame for the "Soochow case" on Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four". That, of course, was a masking manoeuvre. The culprit was primarily the cultural policy of the Maoist leadership of the period of the "Cultural Revolution" and some time after it. Wang Shutian's perplexed letter and the exculpatory though inadequate reply of the Soochow Municipal Committee of the CCP bear evidence to this policy and its zealous pursuit. The existence of a hand-written copy of *La Dame aux camélias* in a country counting almost one-quarter of the globe's inhabitants, more than 130 years after its appearance in France and nearly 80 years after its introduction into China, speaks in itself of the truly barbaric line followed by those who decided on the cultural policy of the country and who carried it out.

2

During the years 1966 till 1972 not a single book from foreign literature was published in the PRC. In 1973, something less than two years after the centenary of the Paris Commune, the collection *Baodai shixuan* [44] Selected Poems of Eugene Pottier appeared on the book market.¹³ This was evidently an effort (a short-lived one at that) to make of Pottier's art an alpha of revolutionary literature of the modern times. Its omega were allegedly *yangban xi* [45] model works written under the supervision of Jiang Qing and her group from the years 1964—1976. What took place following the publication of Pottier's poems up to the first half of the 1977, hence, up to the Eleventh Congress of the CCP, was fully in conformity with the ill-famed document of February 1966 called *Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching*, even though this document was never mentioned after Lin

¹⁰ The problems concerned with Lin Shu's translations are very thoroughly examined by R. W. Compton in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis *A Study of the Translations of Lin Shu, 1852—1924*. Stanford University 1971, 574 pp.

¹¹ Ping Xin [37] (Ed.): *Quanguo zongshumu* [38] *A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books*. Shanghai 1935, p. 434. According to Mao Dun [39]: *Hanyi Xiyang wenxue mingzhu* [40] *Great Works of Western Literature Translated into Chinese*, Shanghai 1945, p. 130, the name of the translator was Xia Shounong [42].

¹² Ping Xin (Ed.): op. cit., p. 397 and Mao Dun: op. cit., p. 130.

¹³ Chinese Literature, 1973, No. 6, p. 105 (henceforth only CL).

Biao's downfall. In its fifth section, the document took pity of the "relatively good Soviet revolutionary works of literature and art which appeared after the October Revolution", but with the remark that "they too must be analysed and not blindly worshipped or, still less blindly imitated".¹⁴ Although a study of the reception of Soviet literature is the topic of another paper in this volume, certain facts must be mentioned since they were decisive for the whole period between 1973 and the first half of 1977. The words just quoted differ in no respect as regards their message from Mao Zedong's views expressed in *Talks at Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, originally presented in 1942. Mao Zedong's remarks and their impact in the above *Summary* sufficed for the selection of a few Soviet works and also earlier works by Gorky. In 1973, translation appeared of Gorky's *Mat (Mother)* and *Detstvo (Childhood)*, and in the subsequent two years *Zheleznyi potok (Iron Flood)* by A. Serafimovich, *Razgrom (The Nineteen)* by A. Fadeev, *Kak zakalyalas stal (How the Steel Was Tempered)* by N. Ostrovsky, and also two autobiographical works by Gorky *V lyudyakh (Among the People)* and *Moi universitety (My Universities)*. Besides these, from earlier proletarian literature the Chinese published only translations of the Japanese author Kobayashi Takiji [46] (1903—1933): *Kanikōsen* [47] *The Factory Ship*, and *Fuzai jinushi* [48] *Absentee Landlord* in 1973, *Numajirimura* [49] Numajiri Village, and *Tō seikatsusha* [50] *To Live for the Party* in 1974. To these may be added five collections of Albanian, Vietnamese, South-Vietnamese, Korean and Laotian short stories, and two anthologies of Korean and Mozambic poetry.¹⁵

In 1975, shortly after the ultra-leftist Maoists represented by Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, and Yao Wenyuan had succeeded in the preceding period of 1973—1974 to occupy the leading posts in the army (up to the rank of division commanders) and also up to 40—60 per cent of the subordinate posts in the party and "revolutionary committees", and to trigger of the struggle against "capitalist roaders" and "bourgeois elements" in the then ruling strata,¹⁶ a translation appeared of the novel of a contemporary Japanese woman writer Ariyoshi Sawako [53] (1931—) entitled in Chinese *Huangshu de ren* [54] *Onerous Man*, which in 1973 had appeared on the Taiwan bookmarket.¹⁷ In the PRC it was not

¹⁴ *Summary of the Forum in the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with Which Comrade Lin Biao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching*. Peking 1968, p. 14.

¹⁵ CL, 1973, No. 10, p. 101, Chinese Catalogue, No. 4, Guanghua Company, October 1975, London, p. 28, and Tam Yue-him [51] (Ed.): *Zhongguo Riben shu zonghe mulu* [52] *A Comprehensive Bibliography of Chinese Translations of Japanese Books*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980, pp. 589, 599, and 622.

¹⁶ Gudoshnikov, L. M. et al.: *Kitai posle "kulturnoi revolyutsii"* (China After the "Cultural Revolution"). Moscow 1979, p. 251.

¹⁷ Tam Yue-him (Ed.): op. cit., p. 606.

intended for ordinary readers, but as a *neibushu* [55] internal reference for the cadres of the CCP and State only.¹⁸ Ariyoshi's work depicts the life of an old man from a middle-class family, the worries he causes to his daughter-in-law who cares for him, while touching on further problems deriving from structural changes in the Japanese society, in the life style and views typical of modern Japanese families. As some Japanese critics had asserted that such an "onerous man" is a symbol of capitalism,¹⁹ it is quite plausible that this may have moved the balance in favour of a Chinese version to be published on the mainland. In fact it became apparent in 1975 that numerous efforts of the ultra-leftists could not be implemented because of the resistance of the pragmatic faction in the Party and State leadership, and of the highest military hierarchy, too. During the summer and autumn of 1975, within the course of a relatively extensive rehabilitation campaign, a shift of forces took place in the leading posts in favour of the "old cadres".²⁰ Reading of Ariyoshi's novel was intended to discredit the old revolutionaries and officers in the eyes of younger ultra-leftists. Its publication was not followed with such a clamorous campaign as that one that took place on the occasion of the publication of the novel *Shuihu* [59] *Water Margin* whose aim was to "unmask defeatists", and remove them from the leading posts in the Party and State apparatus. The novel of Ariyoshi Sawako written with a quite different design, was to have been precisely such a "negative text-book" of senile incapacity as had been, according to Mao Zedong and his aids, *Water Margin* illustrating (according to their wishes) class defeatism and political opportunism.

In the PRC political campaigns of mass dimensions were always fed with works of indigenous origin, from the first one concerned with the criticism of the film *Wu Xun zhuan* [60] *The Life of Wu Xun* in April of 1951, up to the last one provoked by the novel *Water Margin* in August of 1975.²¹ Ariyoshi's novel could not become an object of a mass campaign since it reached only those who could not speak of its existence in public. Its readers, however, were expected to understand its content in a way useful for the ultra-leftists: the old cadres are a burden to the party and the society in general and should be replaced by the adherents of the "Cultural Revolution".

¹⁸ Loc. cit.

¹⁹ Lü Yuanming [56]: *Cong qishi zou xiang bashi niandai de Riben wenxue* [57] *The Japanese Literature Between the 1970s and 1980s*. Shehui kexue zhanxian [58] *Social Sciences Front*, 1981, No. 3, p. 341.

²⁰ Gudoshnikov, L. M. et al.: op. cit., p. 252.

²¹ Cf. Chih Pien: *The Current Criticism of "Water Margin"*, CL, 1975, No. 12, pp. 82—85; Chu Fang-ming: *Criticism of "Water Margin"*, Peking Review, 1976, No. 9, pp. 7—11; Yen Feng: *Why Are Capitalist Readers Afraid of Criticizing Water Margin?*, Selections From the People's Republic of China Magazines, 867—868, 20—26 April 1976, pp. 47—50; and Zhelokhovtsev, A. N., Rogachev, A. P.: *Kampania vokrug romana "Rechnye zavodi" v Kitae* (Campaign Against the Novel "Water Margin" in China). *Narody Azii i Afriki* (Peoples of Asia and Africa), 1978, No. 1, pp. 80—91.

The question of a reader of literary works in the PRC, particularly during the “Cultural Revolution”, hence, during 1966—1976, deserves some attention. The manner of literary communication working between the “text” and its “reader” differs in its character from that described by the representatives of Marxist or Western literary scholarship. The problem of literary creation and reception was judged in the PRC in a way quite different from that current in the rest of the world in our times. During those years the Chinese reader had the opportunity of becoming familiar with only an unusually limited range of literary works (whether indigenous or foreign) and he had to read them not as an individual, but as a part of an immense “pre-regimented” collective, not as a creative subject, but as a conforming object who could convey to the work and draw from it only the message satisfying the requirements of the contemporary cultural policy and the ruling group, eventually of the clique striving for such a hegemony. From the relatively extensive possibilities of the 1950s, particularly their second half, nothing at all was left to the Chinese reader of the years 1966—1972 of the foreign literary legacy, and after 1973, he had only a few works, less than a score, at his disposal. But this, too, was delusive, for the reader was more or less forced to mind those works only that were the centre of the attention and this never happened with any foreign works. Completely abnormal conditions prevailed in the domain of literary communication in the PRC. The work itself, its history and the history of a critical confrontation with it were explicitly distorted so that it might thus be made use of in enforcing the political goals of the ruling group. The novel *Water Margin* constitutes a striking case in point and the novel *Onerous Man* was meant to serve as supplementary circumstantial evidence. In the normal process of reception, it is the needs of the creative subject (whether reader or author) that decide on what to be accepted or rejected, against what to take up a critical stand and what to integrate into new creative structure. Reception in China of those years was entirely at the discretion of cultural politicians. That is why it was deemed sufficient for two or three foreign works to be published per year, that is why the previous results of research were negated and only that was taken from the literary texts which was absolutely indispensable to satisfy political needs. That is why texts had to be explained allegorically or politically regardless of their character. At that time there was no difference in the state before, during or after the reading of a literary work, for all the possibilities were determined beforehand: to read a work and apprehend it was possible only in relation to the prevailing political situation, e.g. to the struggle between “two lines”, struggle against revisionism, defeatism, rightists, etc.

To our knowledge, no separate study or review accompanied the publication of the novel *Spartacus* by the Italian writer Raffaello Giovagnoli in 1975. But like all the other translations from the years of the “Cultural Revolution”, this book, too, carried a foreword. As far as we could ascertain, only the edition of Gorky’s *Mother* had critical commentaries in the periodicals.²² This general lack of interest may be

explained by existing inadequacy in publishing possibilities, but particularly by the uncertainty how concretely to assess the work itself. True, after the protracted vacuum of the years 1966—1972 a few translations did appear in 1973—1977, but evidently there was no clearly defined concept concerning translation policy and the relationship to the foreign literary legacy. The *Summary* referred to above, spoke of foreign literature in one breath with traditional Chinese literature: “Old and foreign works should be studied, too, and refusal to study them would be wrong; but we must study them critically, making the past serve the present and foreign works serve China.”²³ Ultra-leftist cultural policy, nevertheless, pursued precisely that which its representatives declared as wrong. Works of foreign literature were either not studied, or only negligibly and the utilitarian slogan of foreign works “serving China” found no real implementation. Cultural policy, as regards its relation to foreign literary legacy, was disoriented, perplexed, and when it did somehow manage to take up a stand, then it always was sporadic and inconsequent. Reasons for the publication of the translations mentioned above can be relatively easily adduced. It was partly Mao Zedong’s authority that stood behind them and they were meant to show a certain good will gesture towards some Asian and African countries. *Onerous Man* and *Spartacus* were exceptions. The heroic figures of the slave uprising from the years 73–71 B.C., and the army of slaves and gladiators had to serve at least in some measure as a “positive text-book” of courage, optimism, harsh military and civil virtues, patriotism, and even chauvinism. Giovagnoli’s novel was written, as is generally known, in 1874 at a time of the struggle of Italian broad masses against papal supremacy and for a democratic unification of Italy. This explains why the author occasionally idealizes reality, gives uncritical praise to some characters, e.g. Caesar or Catiline, and in a great measure also Spartacus himself. Spartacus was intended to show Chinese readers, accustomed at that time to judge every literary work from a narrow allegorical and utilitarian angle, the vigour of “youth” (Spartacus and his army of slaves) in the struggle against the “old” represented by the Roman Senate, consuls and mercenary legions. *Onerous Man* was discussed above.

The publication of *Spartacus* was a unique event. It was probably intended as a first attempt reflecting the courage to get even with non-proletarian literature. It is quite possible also that Stendhal’s novel *Le Rouge et le Noir* was considered for future publication. This may be judged from the appearance of at least three articles dealing with Stendhal’s great novel,²⁴ by the way, quite a hard nut for literary criticism in the PRC. Chinese readers first met this novel in 1944 in the translation by Zhao Ruihong

²² Cf. Lu Yongmao [61] et al.: *Waiguo wenxue lunwen suoyin* [62] A Bibliography of Articles on Foreign Literature. Henan shifan daxue (Teachers College of Honan Province) 1979, pp. 187–188.

²³ *Summary*..., p. 14.

²⁴ Lu Yongmao et al.: op. cit., p. 202.

[63] (1915—),²⁵ and between the years 1950—1958, they could become acquainted with the views of H. Balzac, G. Brandes, L. Aragon, I. Erenburg, A. Artamonov, but also of their own critics, most frequently of Li Jianwu [65] (1906—).²⁶ It was primarily the events around the Hundred Flowers Movement and the subsequent Anti-Rightist Campaign that forced Chinese students of foreign literature to take a closer look at the favourite hero Julien Sorel and along with him, though in a somewhat lesser measure, at Jean-Christophe, the hero of Romain Rolland's novel of the same name. The reason for interest in these two characters was the almost panic fear of "bourgeois individualism" and "supra-class love". Towards the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, the unusually vulgar baton wielded by Yao Wenyan began to beat a note to the entire world of Chinese literature and art. As regards *Le Rouge et le Noir*, and *Jean-Christophe*, Yao considered the latter to be the more dangerous,²⁷ therefore between 1965 and 1977 nobody wrote specifically about R. Rolland. The study by Liu Dajie [66] (1904—1977) *Du "Hong yu hei"* [67] Reading "Le Rouge et le Noir", which as a very rare fruit of literary criticism from the years of the "Cultural Revolution" indicated extremely little hope, dealt directly with Stendhal and Julien Sorel. The aim of the author, otherwise a prominent historian of traditional Chinese literature and a critic of European, especially German literature, was to launch an attack on a "revisionist" understanding of literature which allegedly "arbitrarily rids 'Le Rouge et le Noir' of its political content, advocating that the triangular love is the principal theme in 'Le Rouge et le Noir'." Liu Dajie provides no argument to corroborate this, and when he does concretely accuse someone, it is Stendhal himself, reproaching him with "advocating supra-class 'equality in love', a decadent bourgeois idea that 'love and death' are the principal themes of literature."²⁸ He devoted most space to the study of the character of Julien Sorel. His accusation of the "revisionists" is meaningless: allegedly they saw in Sorel's sentence, following his attempt at murdering Madame de Rênal, an "expression of Julien's views on class struggle".²⁹ According to Liu, Julien's death and his last public pronouncement show that "he did not speak up for the rights of the people, nor of the proletariat; the contradictions that appeared in his words were those of a petty bourgeois individualist and a genteel-bourgeois adherent of the

²⁵ *Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian. Xiandai diyi fence* [64] Dictionary of Chinese Writers. Modern Literature. Vol. 1. Hong Kong reprint 1979, p. 372.

²⁶ Lu Yongmao et al.: op. cit., p. 202.

²⁷ Cf. Ragvald, L.: *Yao Wenyan as a Literary Critic and Theorist*. Stockholm 1978, p. 107.

²⁸ Liu Dajie: Reading "Le Rouge et le Noir", *Xuexi yu pipan* [68] Study and Criticism, 1975, No. 1, p. 66.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

ruling class”.³⁰ The deep human and moral strength admired by Marxist literary scholarship which in the face of death succeeded over Julien’s former ambition, hypocrisy and careerism, his human (in the moral sense of the term) victory over the world of the nobility and the bourgeoisie so shallow in values, although economically and politically powerful, Liu Dajie considered only as “weakness and pessimism”.³¹

In addition to these attacks, an important aim of Liu’s article was to discredit Julien’s image as a “representative of petty bourgeois individualism and individual heroism”.³² The solution of the stand taken by Chinese critics towards Stendhal’s kind of individualism reveals very well the gap existing between a scholarly appraisal of a literary phenomenon and its Maoist distortion. Chinese literary criticism from the times of the Anti-Rightist Campaign up to the end of the “Cultural Revolution” failed adequately to take in, or wilfully chose to ignore, the spirit of the times in literary works and literary types of their authors. Even if it was recognized that Julien’s image had “at that time a realist basis”,³³ the historical components of this image, the historical processes concerned with its origin, its genetic roots, contact relations with the environment, past or present, were not taken into account in a sufficient measure, because the “class principle” was hyperbolized, and that not only in art and literature, but in the entire superstructure. To reproach Julien that he “had moved away from the masses, had no revolutionary goals, and as an individual was concerned uniquely with individual profit”³⁴ is as absurd as it is naive, for such a reality was typical of “plebeian rebels” of the Restoration period (1814—1830) educated in the preceding period on reading and study of Robespierre, Danton, the Jacobins, admiration of Bonaparte, Helvétius, Montesquieu, but also the Cardinal Dubois, Pope Sixtus V, and Molière’s *Tartuffe*.

A vulgarization of the class principle and in addition the requirement that literature must unconditionally serve contemporary political needs, could in no way lead to a correct knowledge of the ideological and artistic message of Julien’s image, one of the greatest creations of French literary history of the first half of the last century. Students familiar with contemporary Chinese literary criticism will not be surprised to read in one of Liu Dajie’s conclusions that *Le Rouge et le Noir* has “its didactic meaning” at the present moment, for “if our bourgeois intellectuals will not assiduously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, if they really fail to correct their *Weltanschauung* and do not decisively take their stand on the platform of the proletariat, they will become bourgeois Rightists”.³⁵

³⁰ Loc. cit.

³¹ Loc. cit.

³² Loc. cit.

³³ Loc. cit.

³⁴ Loc. cit.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

“Didactic meaning” elicits in the mind of the research-worker a certain assonance with Mao Zedong’s words concerning a “negative text-book”. The responsible cultural bureaucrats, however, did not dare to put *Le Rouge et le Noir* into the hands of Chinese readers. The cultural politicians in the PRC failed to grasp Stendhal just as did his contemporaries or some later critics, though for other reasons, e.g. E. Faguet, H. Ashton, H. Martineau, and others.³⁶

3

The removal of the “Gang of Four” from important Party and State functions in October 1976 meant a victory for the pragmatic and military component in the top leadership of the PRC. But during the first months of Hua Gofeng’s government very little change took place in various regions. The ideological sphere continued to be characterized by a sharpening of the “class struggle” by which was meant a mutual competition among the various groups within the leadership, a “permanent revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat” having for its goal to promote such persisting, harmful, even criminal phenomena as was the then still existing “Cultural Revolution”. Gradually, certain changes were made through the efforts of the pragmatic faction backed up by old generals. Following the fiasco of 1975, the idea was introduced in December of 1976 and subsequently of the “four modernizations” (agriculture, industry, military defence, and science together with technology).³⁷ And in consequence of this, certain corrections were initiated also in the ideological sphere. If for instance, in October 1976 on the 40th anniversary of Lu Xun’s death, the official press held that this great man of modern Chinese literature regarded the translation work as an integral part of the revolutionary cause,³⁸ this cannot be taken as an endeavour to take contact with Lu Xun’s work in this field. The xenophobic moods against foreign literature began to disappear, and this very slowly indeed, only in the first months of 1977, when members of the Foreign Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences pointed out the need of translations from foreign literatures, referring to the authority of Marx, Engels and Lenin.³⁹ Later, towards the end of 1978, this timorous call began to have an unusual response in the Chinese literary world. But up to the middle of 1977, nothing changed.

³⁶ Fischer, J. O.: *Kritický realismus* (Critical Realism). Prague, Svoboda 1979, pp. 190—191.

³⁷ *Kitaiskaya narodnaya respublika: politika, ekonomika, ideologiya 1977* (People’s Republic of China: Politics, Economics, Ideology). Moscow, Nauka 1979, p. 75.

³⁸ New China News Agency, No. 6787, 27 October 1976, pp. 15—16.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 6936, 31 March 1977, pp. 4—5.

The first foreign literary book of some importance which came into the hands of Chinese readers after the fall of the “Gang of Four” was again Giovagnoli’s *Spartacus*. Its publication in October 1977 indicated that something has changed in the cultural policy after the “Cultural Revolution”. That is to say, in contrast to the 1975 edition, this one was accompanied with three articles which clearly meant a certain deviation from the narrow-minded political and allegorical criticism of the preceding period.⁴⁰ In the article *Yibu fangying nuli qiyi de yuxiu zuopin* [69] An Excellent Work Reflecting the Slave Uprising, the critic Feng Chun [70] takes a somewhat different stand in his argumentation from that of Liu Dajie.⁴¹ He is not interested in Spartacus solely on account of some “didactic meaning”, nor solely because of the momentary actualization. In one aspect, however, Feng Chun adhered to the vulgar tendencies prevailing in Chinese literary criticism earlier. The love of Spartacus and Valeria, former wife of and later widow after the dictator Sulla, was thoroughly censured as an embodiment of a “supra-class love” and “class harmony”.⁴²

After the novel *Spartacus*, by the end of 1977, hence, within less than two months, there appeared, but this time without any commentary either in newspapers or journals, four of Shakespeare’s plays, tales from *One Thousand and One Night*, the first two volumes of V. Hugo’s *Les Misérables*, H. Heine’s *Die slesischen Weber*, a selection of G. L. Weerth’s poems, N. V. Gogol’s *Myortvye dushi* (*Dead Souls*), selections from stories by the Japanese writers Inoue Yasushi [73] (1907—) and Ariyoshi Sawako.⁴³ At about the same time, the bi-monthly *Shijie wenxue* [74] *World Literature* resumed publication after a pause of eleven years. Until August 1978 it appeared for “internal purposes” only.

The first theoretical article dealing with the translation and introduction of foreign literature into China after the “Cultural Revolution” accessible to us, was written by Ye Shuifu [75] (1920—), at present Vice-Director of the Foreign Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. This article entitled *Pipan “Wenyi heixian zhuanzheng” lun, nuli zuohao waiguo wenxue gongzuo* [76]

⁴⁰ Lu Yongmao et al. : op. cit., p. 105.

⁴¹ GMRB, 29 October 1977.

⁴² Quite a different response was elicited among amateur critics of a certain unit of Canton military command by a translation of the well-known poem *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin* by V. Mayakovsky that appeared earlier in June 1977. The actualizing moment here was so strong that the Chinese reader could not help the impression that Lenin and Mao were twins and that at a few months after Mao’s death (the preface introducing translation was written in January 1977), Mayakovsky’s poem in China had the same impact as it had been in the USSR immediately after Lenin’s death. Cf. *Xuyan* [71] Preface. In: Mayakovsky, V.: *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*. Translated into Chinese by Fei Bai [72]. Peking 1977, p. 11.

⁴³ Cf. McDougall, B. S.: *The Reappearance of Western Literature in China in the Seventies*. *Modern Chinese Literature Newsletter*, 1978, No. 2, pp. 9—10 and Lu Yongmao et al. : op. cit., pp. 39, 43, 54, 211, 241, 257—258, 260. Four Shakespeare’s plays are as follows: *Hamlet*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Henry IV*, and *Timon of Athens*.

Criticize the Theory of the “Dictatorship by the Black Line in Literature and Art” and Strive to Make a Success of the Work on Foreign Literature is one of the stimulating contributions criticizing the cultural policy of the “Gang of Four” in the spirit of the endeavours that began in November and December of 1977.⁴⁴ Quite in agreement with the intentions of this effort, Mao Zedong’s very problematic slogan from the year 1964 yang wei Zhong yong [77] make the foreign things serve China is to Ye Shuifu a guiding principle, although it was also to ultra-leftists. He fails to corroborate his statement that Mao Zedong had “always held foreign literature in high esteem”,⁴⁵ nor is this statement adequately balanced, for the author does not quote Mao’s pronouncements on this point which are alluding the opposite.⁴⁶

A critical remark applicable to literary criticism of the period of the “Cultural Revolution” as well as to that under study is to say that literature is not an article destined for the “foreign trade”. Works of foreign literature represent clusters of values which when reaching in some way (by translation, scholarly studies, reviews, etc.) the sphere of various national literatures, behave quite differently from raw materials, industrial products or other export or import commodities. The dialectics in the relationship between the giving and receiving literary context (hence, between the various systemo-structural entities) is far more complex than mere book-keeping entries. Foreign literature can never become a servant of a national literature, nor may it ever be merely pragmatically exploited; it offers itself to national literatures (including Chinese) as a more or less extensive set of stimuli that may be incorporated during the reception-creation process into the receiving systemo-structural entities. This process involves both the giving and the receiving components as absolutely equal partners. In this relation foreign literature is only an object which may eventually help in the development of national literature.

With regard to the period of 1966—1976, Ye Shuifu held that the “Gang of Four” and its adherents “negated the entire legacy of foreign classical literature, negated all the works of proletarian literature, particularly Soviet revolutionary literature represented by Gorky from the times of Lenin and Stalin”.⁴⁷ Although this is not quite true, the years of the “Cultural Revolution” were the darkest period in the mutual relation between world literature and Chinese literature in the twentieth

⁴⁴ Cf. RMRB, 21 November 1977, GMRB, 26 November 1977, and RMRB, 22 December 1977.

⁴⁵ Ye Shuifu: Criticize the Theory of the “Dictatorship of the Black Line in Literature and Art”. *Wenxue pinglun* [78] Literary Critique, 1978, No. 1, p. 318.)

⁴⁶ E.g. the passage entitled *Xuexi* [79] Study from *Zhongguo gongchandang zai minzu zhanzheng zhong de diwei* [80] *The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*. In: *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 2. Peking 1965, pp. 209—210. According to Jerome Ch’en “Mao’s knowledge of modern literature seems to be confined to Lu Hsün and one or two Russian novels” (*Mao and the Chinese Revolution*. London, Oxford University Press 1965, p. 318).

⁴⁷ Ye Shuifu: op. cit., p. 50.

century. As a matter of fact, some alleged statements by Jiang Qing and one article by Yao Wenyuan from the year 1970, are mentioned, but they are not correctly quoted, hence, the analysed material and Ye Shuifu's opinions can hardly be taken at their face value.

From this article it ensues that by the beginning of 1978 the cultural policy in the domain of relations with foreign literatures had more or less returned to the arguments of the end of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s. Ye Shuifu, probably after agreement with responsible officials and participants in the discussion concerned with the "dictatorship of the Black Line in Literature and Art" made the following statement: "On the basis of criticism and reception, we shall make a deep study and analysis of classical foreign literature. On the basis of Chairman Mao's "Three Worlds Theory" we intend to criticize Soviet revisionist literature, criticize European and American, bourgeois and reactionary decadent literature and simultaneously study and introduce foreign socialist literature and progressive literature of Asian, African and Latin American countries."⁴⁸

In the subsequent months, however, this policy came to be modified rather fast, and in some aspects underwent an essential change. The most important was the publication of *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* in eleven volumes, otherwise a revised and complemented edition from the year 1954. By about the April 1978 the following foreign works were published: *The Teutonic Knights* by H. Sienkiewicz, *Don Quixote* by Cervantes, *Le Père Goriot*, *Eugénie Grandet* and *Les Illusions perdues* by H. Balzac, *Quatre-vingt-treize* by V. Hugo, *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* by H. Heine, *Hard Times* by C. Dickens, *Anna Karenina* by L. Tolstoy, *Tom Sawyer* by Mark Twain, *Nov (Virgin Soil)* by I. S. Turgenev, *Childhood and My Universities* by M. Gorky, *The Forsyte Saga* by J. Galsworthy, a volume of short stories by G. de Maupassant, one by A. P. Chekhov, and *Waiguo duanpian xiaoshuo* [81] Foreign Short Stories. In this last collection "Eastern European writers receive unexpected attention".⁴⁹ From the literature of Asian, African and Latin American countries *Paik-tu-san* by the Korean writer Cho Ki-ch'on, and Latin American One-Act Plays were published at this time. Later in 1978, at least three more titles were added: Premchand's (1880—1936) novel *Godān (The Gift of a Cow)* from Hindu literature, *Kuroshiyo* [82] Black tide by the Japanese author Tokutomi Roka [83] (1868—1927) and a selection of Egyptian short stories by Taimūr Mahmūd (1894—1973).⁵⁰

Between May and December 1978 the following books were published: *Lazarillo de Tormes* by an unknown Spanish writer, a collection of Molière's comedies, Balzac's novel *Le curé de Tours*, *Les trois mousquetaires* by A. Dumas père, *Don*

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 51—52.

⁴⁹ McDougall, B. S.: op. cit., p. 11.

⁵⁰ RMRB, 30 April 1978, Lu Yongmao et al.: op. cit., pp. 43, 47, and 57.

Juan by Lord Byron, *Ivanhoe* by W. Scott, *David Copperfield* by C. Dickens, *The Prince and the Pauper* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain, *Martin Eden* by J. London, de Maupassant's *Boule de suif*, Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, *Faust* by J. W. Goethe, *Wilhelm Tell* by F. Schiller, *War and Peace* by L. Tolstoy, *Lalka* (A Doll) by B. Prus, *The Good Soldier Schweik* by J. Hašek and a collection of poetry by N. Y. Vaptsarov. The publication of the novel *The Gadfly* by E. L. Voynich (a reprint from the year 1953)⁵¹ came as a result of readers' response to Liu Xinwu's [84] (1942—) short story *Banzhuren* [85] *Class Counsellor* from November 1977. Voynich's novel was also one of the few specimens of socialist literature. Among the above works, those of classical literature constitute an overwhelming majority, and there is not a single specimen of the literature of contemporary Europe and America.

4

The year 1978 was one of preparations for the extensive changes in the sphere of relations between Chinese literature (but also art and culture generally) and the rest of the world. Towards the end of February and beginning of March 1978 the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in Peking. At this meeting the "four modernizations" were proclaimed as the general line for the coming period.⁵² The policy of "four modernizations" was of an essential significance in the formulation of tasks in the every sphere of life in the PRC, not excepting relations towards literatures of other countries. From 27 May till 5 June, the Third Expanded Meeting of the Committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles took place in Peking.⁵³ It was decided that various unions (of writers, artists, dramatists, etc.) would resume their work interrupted in 1966. Rehabilitations went on throughout the year and on 16th November the daily *Renmin ribao* [87] announced that it was decided to "remove the caps" of the Rightists that had been put on their heads as far back as 1957. This decision had a positive effect on the lives of tens of thousands from the ranks of Chinese intellectuals. At about the same time, the first issue of the magazine *World Literature* appeared, destined to the general public, and in the second half of 1978, the first issue of the quarterly *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu* [88] *Foreign Literature Studies*, the first journal of this kind in the PRC, appeared, but the first two issues likewise were for "internal reference" only.

⁵¹ RMRB, 9 February 1979, GMRB, 26 May 1979; Lu Yongmao et al.: op. cit., pp. 113, 115, 123, 168, 188, 198, 209, 211, 220, 264, 267, and 277; *Dictionary of Chinese Writers. Modern Literature*. Vol. 2. Peking 1979, p. 759.

⁵² RMRB, 27 February 1978.

⁵³ *Liushi nian wenyi dashi ji* [86] *Great Events in Literature and Art in the Last Sixty Years (1919—1979)*. Unpublished Materials of the Preparatory Group of the Fourth Congress of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles 1979, pp. 256—257.

From 25 November till 6 December 1978, a conference was held in Canton — as mentioned above — sponsored by the Foreign Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. It had for its task to suggest and appraise a plan of study and translation of foreign literature in the PRC for the period 1978—1985. No concrete data are known, and probably have not been published, concerning the proposal submitted by Ye Shuifu who, together with Feng Zhi [89] (1905—), a well-known poet, and at present Director of the Foreign Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, was a convenor of the conference. The introductory address to 140 participants stated: “Such a big conference in the domain of study of foreign literature is not only the first one following the Great Cultural Revolution, but also since the foundation of the People’s Republic of China, and one might even say that it is the first one in the whole of Chinese history.”⁵⁴ As expected, this address pointed to the need of promoting the “four modernizations”: “In order to meet the needs of the four modernizations of our country, we must strive in a greater measure to understand and study foreign literature. As to the contents aspect, if foreign literature is ideologically progressive and sufficiently artistic, it does not matter whether it is classical or modern, we shall take it over and select from it what is useful for us. This is one important aspect. Another concerns contemporary bourgeois reactionary literature, and also revisionist literature which must be gradually studied and criticized, and used as negative educational material. In general, as regards study of foreign literature, we must abide by the principle ‘of the verification of the facts to get at the truth’ (shishi qiu shi) [91], and the policy of the ‘foreign things serving China’: we must emancipate minds (jiefang sixiang) [92], penetrate into forbidden areas, totally rid ourselves of the impact of the cultural xenophobia of the Gang of Four, have the courage to approach literary works, criticize them, to accept them and actively exploit their aid (jiejin) [93].”⁵⁵

This quotation makes it evident that use was made in this address (but also in other papers read at this conference) of clichés current in May 1978 and subsequent months when a discussion was going on in China on questions of gnoseology, on relations between truth and social practice, on criteria of truth, etc. This discussion prepared the soil for the subsequent political, economic and cultural development in the PRC. In the cultural sphere “emancipation of the mind” was meant to serve a negation of the prejudices from the times of the “Cultural Revolution”. In reality, however, there was question of a partial negation only, for right at the start certain limits were imposed that could not be crossed by these efforts. The author of the leading article of the widespread magazine *Social Sciences Front*, gave, for instance,

⁵⁴ All-China Conference for Planning and Study of Foreign Literature, *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu jikan* [90] *Studies in Foreign Literature*, 1979, No. 1, p. 377. (Distinguish the journal *Foreign Literature Studies*!)

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 377—378.

the following explication: “If we wish to emancipate the minds, then we wish to extricate them from the bondage of Lin Biao and the “Gang of Four”, to renew the original face of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. If we wish to penetrate into forbidden areas, then we wish to penetrate the most diverse areas forbidden by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four.”⁵⁶

A linkage with the “four modernizations” came to be the key issue in the entire cultural policy from March 1978 and particularly from the second half of that year. A student will at first sight be startled by the interest, practically nonexistent in the PRC before, in translation and study of contemporary and modern Western literature. Although several prominent personalities of Chinese cultural and literary life, including Zhou Yang [95] (1908—), were present at the conference, nevertheless, the most important speech in the domain of foreign literary relations was that by Liu Mingjiu [96], an expert on nineteenth century French literature. As implied by the editorial note to some of the papers published as *Waiguo xiandangdai zichanjieji wenxue pingjia wenti de taolun* [97] Discussion on the Evaluation of the Modern and Contemporary Bourgeois Literature, this issue was the subject of numerous discussions in the Foreign Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences during the second half of 1978.⁵⁷

Liu Mingjiu’s contribution to the conference entitled *Xifang xiandangdai zichanjieji wenxue pingjia de ji ge wenti* [98] Some Problems Concerning the Evaluation of the Modern and Contemporary Bourgeois Literature seems to have been written not so much on the basis of the author’s own study, as rather on that of the above discussions with colleagues and editors of *World Literature*, and also of the views that were later expressed at the Canton conference. Liu was probably better prepared for this task or had more courage than his colleagues. At that time he had been through a study of the question dealing with “literary legacy” in relation to the Enlightenment literature of the eighteenth and the critical realist literature of the nineteenth century, as also through a number of further studies, usually forewords to various works of French literature and literary criticism.⁵⁸ All these Liu’s studies had been made against the background of a total rejection of the views of the “Gang of Four” which had been reproached with “cultural absolutism”⁵⁹ and a “political line stultifying the people”.⁶⁰ In agreement with GMRB Liu also stated that during the cultural dictatorship of the “Gang of Four”, good literary works, meaning thereby both indigenous and foreign, “were completely banned, publishing houses could not

⁵⁶ Wang Zisong [94]: Let a Movement for the Emancipation of the Minds Come. *Social Sciences Front*, 1978, No. 3, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Cf. editors’ remark in *Studies in Foreign Literature*, 1979, No. 1, p. 1.

⁵⁸ Liu Mingjiu: *Lun yichan ji qita* [99] On the Legacy and Other Things. Shanghai 1980, 425 pp.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 41, 113—114.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 41, 113.

publish them, libraries could not loan them, people could not read them openly”.⁶¹ Liu Mingjiu in his address did not follow the programmed line of the conference that dealt with criticism of “bourgeois reactionary” literature, or he followed it and then revised his contribution either in view of suggestions and remarks by participants of the conference, and colleagues, or competent authorities.

The judicious reader will not be surprised at the aggressive and vituperative tone denouncing the relation towards modern and contemporary Western works in the period of the 1950s up to the second half of 1978, accompanied by a misunderstanding of the cultural policy towards modern Western literature in the USSR and in the socialist countries after the year 1956. What may surprise him is rather inadequately critical and unexpectedly positive relation towards literary works of international modernism (using this term we are aware of its conceptual inadequacy) of practically every shade, with perhaps the exception of dadaism and surrealism.

The sudden incursion of the requirements of the “four modernizations” into Chinese life came to be made a pretext for introducing modern and contemporary modernist literature into China. There must certainly be a considerable dose of opportunism when the study of “progressive technology of capitalist countries”⁶² and its introduction into the PRC, not excluding even literature which is to show how to understand the road of evolution of the social reality in capitalist countries, are offered as the principal motifs for such a course of action.

As Liu Mingjiu in his evaluation of the modern and contemporary Western literature could not draw support from the authority of classics of Marxism-Leninism, he had of necessity to fall back on Mao Zedong. True, he rejected Mao Zedong’s “Six Criteria” from the article *Guanyu zhenque chuli renmin neibu maodun de wenti* [100] On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People, as unsuitable for evaluation of the foreign, especially bourgeois literary works.⁶³ In this step we may see an important correction of Mao’s interpretation of the slogan “Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend” within the framework of the contemporary cultural policy. Otherwise, however, Liu positively accepted all the rest of Mao’s criteria, in which stressed especially the principle known as *yi fen wei er* [103] One Divides in Two. According to Maoists this allegedly represents a “penetrating and concise generalization of the law of unity of opposites”.⁶⁴ As far as can be gathered, this criterion had not been

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 22.

⁶² Ibid., p. 116.

⁶³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 157 and Mao Zedong: *Guanyu baihua qifang, baijia zhenming* [101] On “Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend”. In: *Mao Zedong lun wenyi* [102] Mao Zedong on Art and Literature. Peking 1958, p. 98. English translation see in Hualing Nieh (Ed.): *Literature of the Hundred Flowers*. Vol. 1. New York, Columbia University Press 1981, p. 18.

⁶⁴ *Three Major Struggles on China’s Philosophical Front (1949—1964)*. Peking 1973, p. 9.

employed in literary criticism prior to the year 1978. Following the discussion ongnoseological problems, this criterion is invoked in attempts at solving important literary issues, e.g. that of progress in literature, of the value of literary works, etc.

Among modern and contemporary authors of a modernist orientation, Liu Mingjiu ranks highest F. Kafka, J. P. Sartre and S. Beckett, for they “have pointed to the great problem of the spiritual crisis in capitalism, i.e. that the capitalist world is inhuman”,⁶⁵ and that “the interhuman relations in it and the essence of material culture are very absurd...”⁶⁶ In Kafka’s work the short story *Die Verwandlung* seemed to him to be an “important corner stone”.⁶⁷ The transformation of Gregor Samsa into a disgusting insect has a deep symbolic meaning in his interpretation: it alludes to a loss of human value as K. Marx had written when giving his view on the problem of alienation in capitalist society. *Die Verwandlung* was probably also the first of Kafka’s works translated into Chinese in the PRC.⁶⁸ Liu judges the novels of Kafka, namely *Der Prozeß* and *Das Schloß*, as a continuation of progressive critical realism; following the progressive traditions, even such which “in the capitalist society truly uncovered deeper contradictions” unobserved by the writers of the past.⁶⁹

Sartre’s existentialism, his literary works, social and critical activity “took contact with the progressive ideas of the past period of capitalism”.⁷⁰ Although Liu does not take as his task to present an evaluation and critical analysis of existentialism, he explicitly states that it contains active elements that may be taken over. He mentions two: the existentialis thesis “l’existence précède l’essence” and the second of “libre choix”, i.e. of free will of individual preceding every human activity.⁷¹ This second thesis, in particular, occupies a pivotal place in his reflections, as a counterweight to determinism and fatalism, as a pendant to subjective efforts, to creativeness in literature and art, striving to get on, and also a new form of bourgeois humanism and emancipation of the individual. He does not devote relatively much space to an analysis of Sartre’s story *Erostrate* from the collection *Le Mur*, by pure accident. The principal figure, an existentialist analogue of Herostrates, a villain who desiring to enter history set fire to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, represents in the work of Sartre an individual building up an impenetrable wall between himself and the world in the form of absurdity of life and its values. If the modern Herostrates has recourse

⁶⁵ Liu Mingjiu: *On Legacy and Other Things*, p. 158.

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁶⁸ *World Literature*, 1979, No. 1, pp. 191—241.

⁶⁹ Liu Mingjiu: *On Legacy and Other Things*, p. 141.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁷¹ *Loc. cit.*

to murder as a means of self-realization because he cannot love human beings and hates them, Liu sees in that a condemnation of a true possibility of “libre choix” of evil, of an amoral act.

The fundamental question fascinating the chief speaker in matters of modernism as an aid to modernization of China, was the problem of absurdity, the essence of literature if not of modern, then at least contemporary literature of the present-day capitalist world. Although Liu relates to the problem of absurdity only in dramatic works, yet the mere fact that he connects it with Kafka's name and work, imparts to it more broad validity. Beckett's play *En attendant Godot* is considered as a “valuable key”⁷² to the understanding of such questions as the insect-like character of human beings (Kafka), their existence as one of the forms of plague (Camus), or contents of waste bins (Beckett), or one of a species of disgusting animals (Ionesco). Liu grasps the desperate play with its fatalist ending (“We'll hang ourselves tomorrow... Unless Godot comes”)⁷³ as a play of hope. Godot, he writes, is the “saving star”⁷⁴ and *le théâtre de l'absurde* is something that makes, or at least may make beings that are not human, to be really human.

His pointing to the absurdity of the capitalist world as well as his defence of existentialist literature is a mere manoeuvre designed to conceal a powerful intrusion of reminiscences from the times of the “Cultural Revolution” and the long-lasting campaigns directed against the intellectuals. This amounted to an apocalyptic reality clamouring, at least ex post, for the “saving star” (earlier it was Mao Zedong), and was perceived as a form of “plague” caused by Maoist despotism, lawlessness, forced labour camps, ruthless dictatorship, and ended in disruption, suffering, nay even deaths to a very high number of Chinese people.

From the literary devices used in the delineation of reality, Liu Mingjiu lays special stress on the “stream of consciousness”. He points out that it is more complex, and because of the complexity of human soul, also more truthful than psychological descriptions of critical realists.

Twelve contributions to the discussion on modern and contemporary modernist Western or foreign literature are known to us. The first of them was written by the prominent poet, scholar and translator Bian Zhilin [104] (1910—). In his article *Fen yu he zhi jian : guanyu Xifang xiandai wenxue he “xiandaizhuyi” wenxue* [105] Between Division and Harmony : On Modern Western and “Modernist” Literature, he endeavours to point out the difference between these two “kinds” of Western literature, further the relation between “modernism” (he invariably puts the term in inverted commas) and traditions, realism, formalism, and modernization. According to him, the modernization of literature is a long-term task. It must be modernized

⁷² Ibid., p. 150.

⁷³ Beckett, S.: *Waiting for Godot*. London, Faber and Faber Ltd. 1968, p. 94.

⁷⁴ Liu Mingjiu: *On Legacy and Other Things*, p. 150.

also by learning from “modernism”, even though it be “modernism” of an imperialist epoch of Western capitalism.⁷⁵

The views of Li Wenjun [106], a specialist on American and English literature of the nineteenth and twentieth century, are very similar to Liu Mingjiu's. He considers as explicitly bad in modern and contemporary Western literature only pornographic, otherwise vulgar works, and products of mass literature of the present-day capitalist society. In comparison with nineteenth century literature, modern Western and especially modernist literature has achieved, according to him, a great formal perfection, and in its whole (comprising modernist, realist and romantic works) has reflected the spiritual profile of contemporary Western man. Li was one of the first to mention the name of T. S. Eliot and his famous poem *The Waste Land* in a positive sense and thus went counter to the prevailing judgment in the PRC of this world-renowned poet and critic as “the chief of the unbridled and inhuman monopolistic clique of reactionary and decadent literature of Anglo-American bourgeoisie after World War I”.⁷⁶

Zhu Hong [110], likewise an expert on nineteenth and twentieth century Anglo-American literature, expressed the conviction that “realism is not the only criterion of (the value of) a literary work”.⁷⁷ According to her, in the modern reality of the capitalist world, under conditions of the absurdity and the mutual human alienation the literary devices of realism are inadequate and therefore it is and will be necessary to “break through” (*tupo*) [112] through realism and romanticism towards new forms of art and literature — towards such as gave rise to expressionism, Kafka, stream of consciousness, the theatre of the absurd, etc.⁷⁸

All in all, it might be said that these contributions were written to persuade readers that the epoch of Dickens (that is of realism) was a matter of the past, that the entire literary reality has to be taken as a part of literary history, hence also Kafka's *Die Verwandlung* and Eliot's *The Waste Land*. In Chen Kun's [113] view, a colleague of the above two scholars, note should generally be taken of Don Quixote's alarming experience whose ridiculousness did not derive from his relation to reality but to the earlier chivalric literature.⁷⁹ These words were challenge both to Chinese literary historians and creative writers.

⁷⁵ Studies in Foreign Literature, 1979, No. 1, pp. 2—13.

⁷⁶ Li Wenjun: *Dui ping jia Xifang xiandai wenxue de ji dian kanfa* [107] Some Views Concerning the Evaluation of Western Modern Literature, *ibid.*, pp. 13—20, and Yuan Kejia [108]: *To. Shi. Ailute — Meiying diguozhuyi de yuyong wenfa* [109] T. S. Eliot — a Scribe in the Pay of the Anglo-American Imperialism. *Literary Critique*, 1960, No. 6, p. 14.

⁷⁷ Zhu Hong: *Dui Xifang xiandang dai wenxue pingjia wenti ji dian yijian* [111] Some Views Concerning the Evaluation of Western Modern and Contemporary Literature. *Studies in Foreign Literature*, 1979, No. 1, p. 26.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 26—27.

⁷⁹ Chen Kun: *Cong Digensisi la tan qi* [114] Beginning with the death of Dickens, *ibid.*, pp. 29—31.

The first article in the PRC on the modernist trend in the so-called new short stories (*nai kahānī*) in Hindu literature of the 1950s till 1970s was meant to show (although this was not explicitly stated) that literature employing modern techniques can originate also in a developing country. Works of representatives of this literature, like Kamaleshvar (1932—), Mohan Rakesh (1925—1972), Nirmal Varma (1931—) and others “have in some measure revealed the contradictions in the real life of the bourgeoisie, portrayed the crisis of human spirit, expressed dissatisfaction with the society and doubts about it”.⁸⁰ The Hindu new short story, too, was affected by the same authors who also influenced the promoters of the change of the cultural policy in the PRC at the end of the 1970s, i.e. Kafka, Sartre, and Camus. Only in contrast to the majority of the critics, the author of this study, Ni Peigeng [116], an expert on Indian literatures, remarked that these stories also have their shortcomings which he sees in a pursuit of the queer, the fantastic, even absurd, or eccentric, but particularly in a deficiency of a positive fighting spirit.⁸¹

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Early in 1979 a thaw set in. The ice broke completely as regards reception of foreign literature as a whole, although certain problems persisted. No was it quite a simple matter as regards modernist literature. Barely one week after the Canton conference, another one, again on the initiative of the Foreign Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, co-sponsored by the Pedagogical Institute in Wuhan, on questions of Marxist-Leninist literary theory was organized. Between 14 and 26 December 1978, about 150 participants discussed the questions of realism, the relations between *Weltanschauung* and creative method, and tragedy or rather tragicalness (*beijuxing*) [117].⁸² One of the demands dealing with realism was the “renovation of realist traditions” in contemporary Chinese literature and literary criticism.⁸³

These views meant certainly a brake on the efforts of Western modern literature and contemporary modernism, but did not amount to any serious criticism of these trends. The first issue of the journal *Foreign Literature Studies* from April 1979, destined to the wider reading public (but only Chinese, since the journal could not as yet be sold or sent abroad) carried an article by Chen Kun entitled *Xifang xiandaipai*

⁸⁰ Ni Peigeng: *Cong Yindu “Xin xiaoshuo pai” kan zichanjieji xiandaipai wenxue* [115] From the Hindu “New Short Story” to Look at Bourgeois Modernist Literature, *ibid.* p. 93.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94

⁸² *Malie wenyi lun zhu xueshu taolunhui zai Wuhan juxing* [118] A Symposium on Marxist-Leninist Literary Theory. *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1979, No. 1, pp. 108—115.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

wenxue he mengyan [119] Western Modernism and Nightmares. The so-called nightmare consciousness and nightmare world are here identified with or at least compared to the concept of modernist alienation, irrationalism and its specifically expressed humanism. Chen Kun sees the beginning of the nightmare consciousness in one not identified Dostoyevsky's work, further in A. Strindberg's play *Ett drömspel* (*A Dream Play*) from the year 1902, and its full expression in Kafka's *Der Prozeß*, Beckett's *En attendant Godot*, J. Heller's *Catch-22*, and E. Albee's *The American Dream*. Its relatively long history, its literary transformations in expressionism, existentialism, the theatre of the absurd, "black humour" are incorporated in two of Dostoyevsky's moods put down on paper over a hundred years ago: the feeling of terror that presses on human soul with a gripping, unrecognizable strength, and also the feeling of powerlessness face to face with this strength.⁸⁴ Although the author makes no acknowledgement, in writing this article he probably drew support from M. Eslin's *The Tradition of the Absurd*.⁸⁵

In order to facilitate the understanding of the modern and contemporary world through the works of modern and contemporary literature, the magazine Yilin [120] Forest of Translations was launched. The editors set as their task to publish, besides translations, also scholarly studies or shorter articles devoted to these problems. In a study on A. Camus and the literature of the absurd published in the only November issue of 1979, the author Feng Hanlü [121] refers to the "absurd world" and the efforts of Camus, particularly in his novel *La Peste*, to organize active elements of the human collective for its own protection. The short exposition of Camus' philosophical essay *Le Mythe de Sisyphe*, explaining the philosophy of absurdity, is likely to evoke in the Chinese readers, witnesses of the "Cultural Revolution" and of the past two decades of the history of the PRC, a similarity with the episode of the punished founder and first king of Corinth. Vainly did Sisyphus strive to push the heavy rock up the steep cliff. Camus was convinced that this was a "human lot" and nothing more, also the lot of the contemporary man. According to Feng: "Although every one wants to achieve at least some little happiness in life, the result of this striving is always the opposite."⁸⁶ Happiness never attained, success never achieved, barring certain minor exceptions seems truly to be a Chinese "lot", at least since "search for wealth and power" era at the end of the last century.

Similarly as the critic Feng Hanlü, better known authority on Anglo-American literature Yuan Kejia (1921—) failed to take any definite stand towards modern and contemporary Western literature, expressing neither particularly positive, nor negative attitude. In an effort at correcting his former vulgar condemnation of T. S.

⁸⁴ Chen Kun: *Western Modernism and Nightmares*. Ibid., pp. 29—36.

⁸⁵ Eslin, M.: *The Theatre of the Absurd*. New York, Doubleday and Co. 1961, pp. 229—316.

⁸⁶ Feng Hanlü: *Kamiu he huangdanpai* [122] Camus and School of the Absurd. Forest of Translations, 1979, No. 1, p. 320.

Eliot and of the modernist English and American poetry from the year 1912 till 1963 as a “distorted mirror”⁸⁷ of life, i.e. practically the entire poetic production with imagism of E. Pound and T. E. Hulme, through the “New Classicism” again of E. Pound and T. S. Eliot, then the efforts of W. B. Yeats, W. H. Auden, D. Thomas, E. E. Cummings and H. Crane, up to C. Olson’s “projective verse” and A. Ginsberg and his “Beat Generation”, as a consecutive series of “reactionary ideologies and decadent art”⁸⁸ — Yuan Kejia decided partially to contribute to the introduction into the PRC, or rehabilitation of certain representatives of modernism, e.g. F. Kafka or G. Apollinaire. And he also evaluated favourably R. M. Rilke, W. H. Auden and T. S. Eliot since they had some impact on Chinese men of letters in China before 1949.⁸⁹

A different view on modern and contemporary American poetry was expressed in the journal *World Literature* by the critic Yang Xiling [125]. Here an objective history of this poetry is presented from the end of the last century up to our times, but again, practically nothing is evaluated either positively or negatively. In the end, the author remarks that in modern American poetry there are no songs for which W. Whitman called. True, one hears America sing (an allusion to *I Hear America Singing* by the poet just mentioned) but these are not the songs of W. C. Bryant, nor of H. W. Longfellow. In his view, America should produce fragrant and rare flowers, not poisonous (perhaps narcotic was meant) stramonium.⁹⁰

A somewhat similar relation to Japanese modernism, except for the evaluation, was shown by the critics Li Dechun [127] and Chen Dewen [128]. In an article entitled *Zhanhou Riben wenxue gaimao* [129] *An Outline of the Post-War Japanese Literature*, Li Dechun surveyed Japanese literary creative works from the end of the World War II up to the year 1976 approximately. His is a broad-range take and hence, also his evaluations differ when he writes about works engaged in the political and economic field and when dealing with the so-called art for arts’ sake and decadent works. For instance, he takes a negative view of the group of poets centring around the journal *Arechi* [130] *The Waste Land* founded in 1947. The very title reveals the connection with the poem by T. S. Eliot and the programmed aim was a spiritual regeneration of Japan, destroying in but itself destroyed by war. The works of poets, such as Ayukawa Nobuo [131] (1920—), or Tamura Ryuichi [132] (1923—) are written, according to Li Dechun, in a “modernist style” and full of the “adorned darkness and desire of speaking, but also a failure to do so”.⁹¹ The reader

⁸⁷ Yuan Kejia: *Luelun Meijing “xiandai pai” shige* [123] *Some Remarks on Anglo-American Modernist Poetry*. *Literary Critique*, 1963, No. 3, p. 64.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁸⁹ Yuan Kejia: *Tantan Xifang xiandai pai wenxue zuopin* [124] *On the Western Modernist Literary Works*. *Forest of Translations*, 1979, No. 1, pp. 322—323.

⁹⁰ Yang Xiling: *Meiguo xiandai shige juyi* [126] *A Glimpse at Modern American Poetry*. *World Literature*, 1979, No. 6, pp. 272—303.

also derives the impression as if Inoue Yasushi and Ariyoshi Sawako were the most representative Japanese writers of these times. In the case of other writers, usually more complex, more difficult to understand, he is full of prejudices. Such men of letters are, for instance, Abe Kobo [133] (1924—) who became accustomed “to associate reality with the image of the desert”,⁹² and fluid, or sand, who was disgusted with the idea of man being only a mere cog in the wheel of modern society, or old Tanizaki Jun’ichiro [134] (1886—1965) who described certain erotic practices confined to the hierarchically ordered family of the principal hero,⁹³ or Kawabata Yasunari [135] (1899—1972) who endeavoured to revive specific Japanese ideals of beauty and morality, e.g. contrast between eroticism and virginity in *Nemureru bijo* [136] *House of the Sleeping Beauties*. In the work just mentioned Li Dechun merely found a senseless absurdity, moral decadence and pornographic description from the viewpoint of an abnormal psychology.⁹⁴ Chen Dewen only helped to complete Li Dechun’s article.⁹⁵

In 1979, far more was written on European and American classic literature (i.e. nineteenth century and earlier works) than about modernist and contemporary writings. And as will be shown in this study, far more was also translated from it. In 1979 similarly as in 1978, the greatest number of articles were written about Shakespeare and Balzac: while articles on Balzac predominated in 1978, the situation was reversed in 1979. But in the case of both these authors, it was the authority of K. Marx and F. Engels in which Chinese critics took support in their analysis of these two giants of world literature. In the case of Shakespeare, practically all the references in their works were used,⁹⁶ but pride of place went to the concept of “shakespearisieren” which Marx required in a letter addressed to F. Lasalle regarding his historical play *Franz von Sickingen*.⁹⁷ In 1979 at least two authors wrote about “shakespearisieren” — Cheng Daixi and Wang Xiangfeng [141].⁹⁸ As

⁹¹ Li Dechun: An Outline of the Post-War Japanese Literature. *World Literature*, 1979, No. 5, p. 274.

⁹² *Introduction to Contemporary Japanese Literature. Synopses of Major Literary Works (1956—1970)*. Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press 1972, p. 1.

⁹³ Li Dechun: op. cit., p. 287.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 287—288.

⁹⁵ Chen Dewen: *Jin ji nianlaide Riben wenxue* [137] Japanese Literature of the Last Few Years. Forest of Translations, 1979, No. 1, pp. 324—326.

⁹⁶ Cf. Cheng Daixi [138]: *Yishu zhenshi, shashibiyahua, xianshizhuyi ji qita* [139] The Truth of Art, Shakespearisieren, Realism and Other Problems. *Wenyi luncong* [140] *Literary Studies*, 1979, No. 6, pp. 10—20, and Marx, K. and Engels, F.: *Über Kunst und Literatur*. Vol. 1. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, pp. 381—382.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁹⁸ Wang Xiangfeng: “*Shashibiyahua*“ *de biaozi* [142] The Model of “Shakespearisieren”. *Jilin daxue xuebao* [143] *Journal of Jilin University*, 1979, No. 1.

regards Balzac a typical article is the expensive study by the critic Zheng Kelu [144], specializing in French nineteenth century literature. In it he quotes practically everything about Balzac from F. Engels' letter to M. Harkness of April 1888 with one important exception. The author reflects on the otherwise unsupported statement that "revisionists" proclaim that "the more reactionary the world outlook, the more valuable are the works".⁹⁹ He conceals, nevertheless, from his readers what Engels wrote about Balzac precisely in connection with the relationship between literary work and its author's *Weltanschauung*: "But for all that (i.e. in spite of Balzac's sympathies with 'noble society', M. G.) his satire is never keener, his irony never bitter, than when he sets in motion the very men and women with whom he sympathizes most deeply — the nobles."¹⁰⁰ In a word, Zheng Kelu selects from Engels only what suits his conception.

In general, the analysis of Shakespeare's and Balzac's important works may be said to have given preference to sociological aspects, e.g. heroes of significant works, who represented or even symbolized the important socio-economic forces on either a tragic or a comic plane, such as Shylock or Falstaff.¹⁰¹ But also in those characterizing rather personal emotions or passions, such as Lear or Othello,¹⁰² the social moments or contemporary political actualization were even hyperbolically underscored. For example, in discoursing on one of Shakespeare's sonnets where "beauty's pattern" is mentioned together with "Devouring Time" as its enemy, and the struggle is indicated against mediaeval obscurantism in the name on the new Renaissance ideals, the author Yuan Sheng [152] did not forget to refer to the "multinational Chinese people under the wise leadership of the CC CCP and Comrade Hua Guofeng", the efforts at "socialist modernizations" and at a "new Long March".¹⁰³

An object of a deeper study in Balzac's works were two novels from three forming the core of *La Comédie humaine*: *Le Père Goriot* and *Les Illusions perdues*.¹⁰⁴ No

⁹⁹ Zheng Kelu: *Lun Baerzhake* [145] On Balzac. *Literary Studies*, 1979, No. 8, p. 438.

¹⁰⁰ Marx, K. and Engels, F.: op. cit., pp. 158—159. Quoted according to Hardison O. B., Jr. (Ed.): *Modern Continental Criticism*. London, Peter Owen 1962, p. 119.

¹⁰¹ Fang Ping [146]: *Lun Xialuoke* [147] On Shylock. *Studies in Foreign Literature*, 1979, No. 1, pp. 213—234, and Tan "Wenshade fengliu niangermen" de shenghuo qixi he xianshixing [148] On the Breath of Life and Spirit of Reality in the "Merry Wives of Windsor". *Literary Studies*, 1979, No. 6, pp. 147—165.

¹⁰² Sun Jiaxiu [149]: *Shashibiya de "Lierwang"* [150] Shakespeare's "King Lear", *Literary Studies*, 1979, No. 6, pp. 102—146, and Fang Ping: *Lun "Aoseluo"* [151] On "Othello", *ibid.*, pp. 364—417.

¹⁰³ Yuan Sheng: *Culi fengfa, zhidian shijian* [153] Tempered and Grinded in Battles, Show How to Get Forward. *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1979, No. 1, p. 87.

¹⁰⁴ Cheng Daixi wrote three essays on *Le Père Goriot* for *Social Sciences Front*, 1979, No. 2, pp. 296—299; 1979, No. 3, pp. 336—338, and 1979, No. 4, pp. 323—327. The Chinese translation of *Le Père Goriot* in 1978 was accompanied by a preface being a part of A. Maurois' *Prométhée ou La vie de Balzac*.

similar attention was given, not even in the past, to *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*.¹⁰⁵ Chinese critics evidently gave priority to *Eugénie Grandet*.¹⁰⁶ If we follow the motifs for such an apprehension, we find that the central topic of this novel is a generation problem, hence a social one similar to that in *Le Père Goriot* and in *Les Illusions perdues*.

In 1979 studies or shorter articles appeared about Sakuntala by Kālidāsa (4th—5th cent. A. D.), *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope* by Molière, F. Mehring's article on J. W. Goethe, on his *Faust*, and about de Maupassant, B. Prus, E. Hemingway, B. Brecht, R. Giovagnoli, Kobayashi Takiji and many others. Some of them made direct efforts at removing the ideological prejudices from the times of the "Cultural Revolution" and its preparatory period. Mention was already made of Feng Chun's view of the love between Spartacus and Valeria in Giovagnoli's novel. In an essay published together with the translation of the book, Feng Chun wrote that the love of these two characters is an "expression of bourgeois views on human nature and does harm to the image of Spartacus".¹⁰⁷ The authors Luan Zhenguo and Gao Ya were for precisely the opposite view supposing that "Giovagnoli started from a deep real basis in the describing the love between Spartacus and Valeria",¹⁰⁸ and not only has it not harmed the image of Spartacus, but quite the contrary, has made it richer and nobler. Feng Chun's analysis did not involve an "abstract approach" as was observed by Luan and Gao, but badly understood "class approach". Luan and Gao identified themselves with a romantic idealization of Giovagnoli.

In 1957 the struggle began in the PRC against the so-called bourgeois humanism in which numerous literary scholars and critics took part, once with a greater, at other times with smaller emphasis, including also some who to this day form the leading cadres either in the scholarly research or the critical realm, e.g. Feng Zhi, Luo Dagang, Li Xifan [161] (1927—), and others.¹⁰⁹ Luo Dagang who in an article on

¹⁰⁵ Cheng Daixi: *Shijiu shiji qian sanshi nian Faguo qingnian de beijushi. Manhua Baerzhake de "Huanmie"* [154] A Tragic History of Youth From the First Thirty Years of the Nineteenth Century in France. On Balzac's "*Les Illusions perdues*"; *Literary Studies*, 1979, No. 7, pp. 221—249. We do not know of any study in the PRC written about *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*.

¹⁰⁶ Sun Fengcheng [155] *Baerzhake he ta de "Gao laotou", "Ouyeni Gelangtai"* [155] Balzac and His "*Le Père Goriot*" and "*Eugénie Grandet*". Beijing daxue xuebao [157] *Journal of the Peking University*, 1978, No. 2, pp. 39—45. At least four other articles on *Eugénie Grandet* were published in 1978. Cf. Lu Yongmao et al.: op. cit., p. 207.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted according to Luan Zhenguo [158] and Gao Ya [159]: *Guanyu aiqing miaoxie de yidian zhiyi. Yu Feng Chun tongzhi shangque* [160] One Problem Concerning the Description of Love. Consultation with Comrade Feng Chun. *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1979, No. 1, p. 97.

¹⁰⁸ Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁹ Feng Zhi: *Lue lun Ouzhou zichanjieji wenxue li de rendaozhuyi he gerenzhuyi* [162] Some Remarks on the European Bourgeois Humanism and Individualism, *Wenyibao* [163] *Literary Gazette*,

Jean-Christophe published in 1961 stated that individualism and bourgeois humanism are “expressions of a serious limitation as regards ideological content”¹¹⁰ of the novel, in 1979 on a similar theme wrote that “Rolland’s bourgeois humanism has come to be a powerful weapon attacking bourgeois supremacy”.¹¹¹ This juxtaposition shows an interesting metamorphosis: what in the early 1960s was characterized as a “serious class limitation”¹¹² could towards the end of the 1970s carry an active significance and enforce in readers the feeling that “the capitalist order will not persist eternally and that a social change shaking heaven and earth, cannot be prevented”.¹¹³ In 1979 humanism as a serious problem in the literary and philosophical sphere came again on the programme of the day.¹¹⁴ This was a consequence of the rehabilitation of victims of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and the “Cultural Revolution”, but also of the introduction of foreign literature where humanist traditions enjoy very often a long tradition.

In 1979 they found out in the PRC that there exists world literature and that it may be studied in connection with national literatures using the methodology and methodics of comparative literature. Zhou Weimin [174] in his article *Bijiao wenxue jianshuo* [175] A Few Words about Comparative Literature,¹¹⁵ started indeed from the definition of world literature in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, but betrayed a total ignorance of modern Marxist and Western literary comparatistics when the only quoted authority was to him F. Loliée’s *Histoire des littératures comparées des origines au XX^e siècle*. If we note that the book was originally published in 1903 and translated into Chinese in 1931,¹¹⁶ we may easily imagine

1958, No. 11, pp. 38—43, Luo Dagang: “*Yuehan Kelisiduofu*” *yu zichanjieji rendaozhuyi* [164] “Jean-Christophe” and Bourgeois Humanism, *ibid.*, 1961, Nos 9, 10, pp. 36—43 and 36—43, and Li Xifan: *Lun ren he xianshi* [165] On Man and Reality, *Wenyi yuebao* [166] Literary Monthly, 1957, No. 12, pp. 38—46. An abridged translation of the last article is in Hualing Nieh (Ed.): *op. cit.*, pp. 221—228.

¹¹⁰ Luo Dagang: “Jean-Christophe” and Bourgeois Humanism, *ibid.*, 1961, No. 10, p. 43.

¹¹¹ Luo Dagang: *Luoman Luolan yu zichanjieji rendaozhuyi* [167] Romain Rolland and Bourgeois Humanism. *Studies in Foreign Literature*, 1979, No. 1, p. 54.

¹¹² Luo Dagang: “Jean-Christophe” and Bourgeois Humanism, *ibid.*, 1961, No. 10, p. 42.

¹¹³ Luo Dagang: Romain Rolland and Bourgeois Humanism, *cf. Note* 111.

¹¹⁴ *Cf.* four essays on the subject in the *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1979, No. 1, pp. 1—8, or Yuan Jia [168]: *Lue tan Shashibiya de rendaozhuyi* [169] Some Remarks on Shakespeare’s Humanism, *ibid.*, 1979, No. 2, pp. 124—129, and Xia Dingguan [170]: *Tantan Shashibiya xiju de sixiang neirong* [171] On Thought Content of Shakespeare’s Comedies, *ibid.*, 1979, No. 2, pp. 129—133. Very important for discussion on humanism is an article by Bai Ye [172]: *Sanshi nian renxing lunzhen de qingkuang* [173] Thirty Years of Debates Over the Theory of Human Nature, *Literary Critique*, 1981, No. 1, pp. 34—44.

¹¹⁵ *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1979, No. 2, pp. 98—102.

¹¹⁶ *Cf.* Deeney, J. J.: *A Prospectus For Chinese Literature From Comparative Perspectives*. In: *Chinese-Western Comparative Literature: Theory and Strategy*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University of

what literary scholarship in the PRC has missed in this domain. Otherwise, the article just refers to G. Brandes' *Main Currents in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, a part of which had been translated into Chinese between 1933—1937.¹¹⁷ No mention is made at all of the existence of a Chinese translation of the basic theoretical work *La Littérature comparée* by P. van Tieghem from the year 1937,¹¹⁸ which is evidently a bibliographic rarity in contemporary China. When Zhou Weimin says that after 1949 something was done in China also in the domain of comparative literature, then his words contain about as much truth as those of the literary historian Qian Zhongshu [179] (1910—), according to whom comparative literature in the PRC is a “virgin field of study”.¹¹⁹ It is only fair to say that a few studies had been written there in this literary realm before 1979, but that is all. We may consider as such Cao Weifeng's [180] (1911—1963) *Lu Xun xiansheng yu waiguo wenxue* [181] Mr. Lu Xun and Foreign Literature from the year 1957,¹²⁰ or the collection of materials extracted from Lu Xun's works entitled *Lu Xun yu waiguo wenxue* [183] Lu Xun and Foreign Literature from the year 1978.¹²¹ During the 1960s and 1970s there were some articles also on the relation between Chinese and foreign literature, but solely within the framework of the Maoist slogan of “making foreign works serve China” without any knowledge of the theory of literary comparatistics. In 1979 Lu Xun's relation towards foreign (particularly Russian and German) literature formed the topic of several articles.¹²² Very little else has been done in this sphere.

Hong Kong 1980, p. 188. According to Lu Yongmao et al.: op. cit., p. 3, the translation appeared also in 1947.

¹¹⁷ Dictionary of Chinese Writers. Modern Literature. Vol. 1, p. 490.

¹¹⁸ Translated into Chinese by Dai Wangshu [176] (1905—1950) and published in 1937. Cf. *Dai Wangshu zhuyi mulu* [17] A List of the Writings and Translations by Dai Wangshu, *Xin wenxue shiliao* [178] Historical Materials on Modern Literature, 1980, No. 4, p. 173.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Zhou Weimin: op. cit., p. 98, and Deeney, J. J.: op. cit., p. 186.

¹²⁰ *Xueshu yuekan* [182] Scholarly Journal, 1957, No. 1, pp. 67—72.

¹²¹ The book was edited by the Fujian shida zhongwenxi [184] Chair of Chinese Literature of the Teachers College of the Fukien Province.

¹²² E.g. Li Wanjun [185]: *Lun waiguoduanpian xiaoshuo dui Lu Xun de yingxiang* [186] On the Influence of Foreign Short Stories on Lu Xun. *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1979, No. 1, pp. 91—96. Chen Yuankai [187]: *Lu Xun lun Tuoersitai* [188] Lu Xun on Tolstoy, *ibid.*, 1979, No. 2, pp. 70—76. Wang Zhongxiang [189]: *Yipusheng ji qi xiju zai “Wusi” qianhou* [190] Ibsen and His Plays Around the “May Fourth Movement”, *ibid.*, pp. 8—12, and Ji Xianlin [191]: *Taigeer yu Zhongguo* [192] R. Tagore and China, *Social Sciences Front*, 1979, No. 2, pp. 287—297.

A translation of a major importance early in 1979 was that of F. Kafka's story *Die Verwandlung*. But up to the end of that year Chinese readers had no opportunity to come by any larger number of modernist literary works. We know only about the following book translations: *Das Schloß* by F. Kafka, *La Peste* by A. Camus, absurd dramas entitled *Huangdangpai xijuji* [193] Plays of the Theatre of the Absurd, and A. Robbe-Grillet's *Le Voyeur*.¹²³

On the other hand, the selection from classical European literatures from the times of Homer up to the critical realism of the nineteenth century was far richer. Thus Wenyi chubanshe [195] Literature and Art Publishing House in Shanghai decided to publish seven volumes of *Waiguo juzuo xuan* [196] A Selection of Foreign Plays. The first volume comprises *Prometheus* by Aeschylus, *Oedipus Rex* by Sophocles, *Medea* by Euripides, and *The Birds* by Aristophanes.¹²⁴ In addition, three books of translations of six tragedies by three of the greatest Greek dramatists appeared in Renmin wenzue chubanshe [197] People's Literature Publishing House in Peking.¹²⁵ In the Yiwen chubanshe [198] Translation Publishing House in Shanghai appeared Homer's *Odyssey* in a translation by Yang Xianyi [199] (1914—), in fact a reprint from the second half of the 1950s.¹²⁶ Here appeared also Geoffrey Chaucer's writings in two volumes.¹²⁷

Shakespeare was the most published foreign writer in the PRC in 1979. Altogether ten of his works appeared, including five comedies in Fang Ping's translations, four tragedies in separate volumes (*Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*) in the translation by Cao Weifeng, one of the most industrious Chinese translators of Shakespeare.¹²⁸ In 1979 another translation of *Romeo and Juliet* had been published by Cao Yu [210] (1910—), reprint from 1949.¹²⁹ The next most translated author was not Balzac, as might be inferred from what has been said above, but his countryman J. Verne. Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe [201] Chinese Youth Publishing House published seven of Verne's novels, six of which were reprints.¹³⁰ There is no need to insist on Verne's popularity among readers. But in all probability a certain role was here played also by financial considerations. A work

¹²³ *Zhongguo chuban nianjian 1980* [194] Yearbook of Chinese Publishing Activities 1980. Peking, Commercial Press 1980, pp. 425, 707 (henceforth only Yearbook 1980).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 707 and Dictionary of Chinese Writers. Modern Literature. Vol. 2. Peking 1979, p. 340.

¹²⁷ Yearbook 1980, p. 707.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹²⁹ GMRB, 23 May 1979.

¹³⁰ Yearbook 1980, pp. 420—421.

reprinted in an unusually large number of copies was *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* by A. Dumas père. Not so much financial considerations, as rather an attempt at regaining prestige which literary circles had lost in the "Cultural Revolution" was involved in the publishing of *La Dame aux camélias* which appeared in Chen Lin's [202] and Wenguang's [203] translation in Jiangxi renmin chubanshe [204].¹³¹ This was the third translation in China since 1899, and fourth one was in preparation as apparent from a report by the newly-established Waiguo wenxue chubanshe [205] Foreign Literature Publishing House.¹³² And yet another translation, that by Zhang Yinglun of the play *La Dame aux camélias* had been planned¹³³ (probably for the year 1980) and was meant to replace Liu Bannong's version which was hardly obtainable.

From English literature of the eighteenth century, *Gulliver's Travels* by J. Swift appeared in a translation by my former teacher of Chinese at Charles University, Prague, Professor Zhang Jian [206]. From French it was *Gil Blas* by Lesage, as a reprint from the year 1956, translated by Yang Jiang [207] (1911—), known for her translations of *Lazarillo de Tormes* (from an old Spanish original) and of *Don Quixote*, and also of *Manon Lescaut* by Abbé Prévost that suitably completed *La Dame aux camélias*.¹³⁴

Nineteenth-century realist literature was most strongly represented in the translations of 1979. From French literature, it was (besides J. Verne) mainly H. Balzac with his novels *Les Chouans*, *Les Paysans*, then his novelettes *Un début dans la vie* (from *Scènes de la vie privée*), *La Duchesse de Langeais* (from *Scènes de la vie parisienne*), and a volume of his novelettes and short stories (from *Etudes de mœurs* and *Etudes philosophiques*).¹³⁵ In April a new translation finally appeared of *Le Rouge et le Noir* by Luo Yujun [208], and in July it was Stendhal's *La Chartreuse de Parme*.¹³⁶ Hugo's *L'homme qui rit* appeared in the People's Literature Publishing House in 1979, but also in Translations Publishing House in 1978.¹³⁷ After an interval of over twenty years Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* reappeared in Li Jianwu's translation,¹³⁸ and after some twenty-five years, also Maupassant's *Bel-ami* in a translation by Li Qingya [209] (1884—1969).¹³⁹ Chinese interest in problems of

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 690.

¹³² Ibid., p. 199.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 683.

¹³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 419, 424, and Dictionary of Chinese Writers. Vol. 2, p. 346.

¹³⁵ Yearbook 1980, pp. 419—420, 424.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 419.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 420, and Lu Yongmao et al.: *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹³⁸ Cf. Yearbook 1980, p. 420, and Dictionary of Chinese Writers. Modern Literature. Vol. 2, p. 323.

¹³⁹ Yearbook 1980, p. 707, and Dictionary of Chinese Writers. Modern Literature. Vol. 2, p. 307.

the Paris Commune was roused by the translation of the novel *L'Insurgé*, the third volume of the trilogy *Jacques Vintras* by J. Valles.¹⁴⁰

From nineteenth-century English authors three novels by C. Dickens were published: *Pickwick Papers*, *Bleak House*, and *Great Expectations*,¹⁴¹ and three novels of outstanding women writers: J. Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, E. C. Gaskell's *Mary Barton*, and C. Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.¹⁴² The last of these had been condemned in 1964, at the threshold of the "Cultural Revolution" by Feng Zhi, because allegedly from her novels and similar works, Chinese readers learned "how to behave in love"¹⁴³ between man and woman; needless to add in "harmful", "supra-class" love, of course. In the entertainment genres R. Stevenson's *Kidnapped*, and three detective stories by C. Doyle appeared, including the *Hound of the Baskervilles*.¹⁴⁴

Substantially less was published from the nineteenth-century American literature, amounting to just two works by M. Twain: *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *The Gilded Age*. The same applies to German literature. From it *Atta Troll* by H. Heine and *Effie Briest* by T. Fontane were published. Then there was one novel from Croatian entitled *Seljačka buna* (Peasant Uprising) by A. Šenoa and one from Polish: *Nad Niemnem* (Over the River Neman) by E. Orzeszkowa.¹⁴⁵

A simple enumeration of works from nineteenth-century Russian literature will show that it held a place of honour in translated literature. I. S. Turgenev headed the list with three novels: *Zapiski okhotnika* (*A Sportman's Sketches*), *Nakanune* (*On the Eve*), and *Ottsy i deti* (*Fathers and Sons*). Of the planned five-volume edition of A. I. Gertsen's *Byloe i dumy* (Memories and Reflections), translated by Ba Jin [200] (1904—), the first volume appeared in 1979. Also a translation of his novel *Kto vinovat* (Who's Guilty) was published that year, then Dostoyevsky's *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* (*Crime and Punishment*), Goncharov's *Oblomov*, Lermontov's *Geroi nashego vremeni* (A Hero of Our Time), a collection of Krylov's fables, a volume of plays and stories by N. V. Gogol, and *Komu na Rusi zhit khorosho* (Who is Happy in Russia) by N. A. Nekrasov.¹⁴⁶

Shortly after the normalization of diplomatic relations between the USA and the PRC in December 1978, and following Deng Xiaoping's visit to the USA in January

¹⁴⁰ Yearbook 1980, p. 421.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 200.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 707.

¹⁴³ Feng Zhi: *Shi pipande xiqi ni, hai shi wangmude chongpai?* [210] Critically Receive or Blindly Worship? Literary Gazette, 1964, No. 4, p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ Yearbook 1980, p. 424.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 200, 707.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 200, 417, 421—422, 425, and GMRB, 26 February 1979.

and February 1979, an unusually lively propagation of modern and contemporary American literature began to be promoted in China. It was signaled by an article in GMRB of 20 February 1979, which explicitly stated that Chinese scholars in the domain of foreign literature and translation “will introduce to Chinese readers outstanding works of contemporary American literature”. The most translated twentieth-century American author was T. Dreiser with three of his novels: *The Financier*, *Jennie Gerhardt*, and *Sister Carrie*. Except these only U. Sinclair’s *The Jungle* was published from the literature written before 1945. The selection from after 1945 proved to be more abundant, including two novels by A. Hailey (*The Moneychangers* and *Wheels*), and by each of the following authors: B. Malamud (*The Assistant*), H. Wouk (*Winds of War*), R. Nathan (*Portrait of Jennie*), A. Haley (*Roots*), and I. B. Singer’s *The Magician of Lublin*.¹⁴⁷

German literature was represented by translations of *Der Untertan* and *Die Jugend des Königs Henri Quatre* by H. Mann, a collection of novelettes and short stories by Th. Mann, *Die Nacht von Lisabon* by E. M. Remarque, and *Brot und Spiele* by S. Lenz. Among the collection of novelettes and short stories by H. Böll we can find also his well-known *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharine Blum*.¹⁴⁸

From other literatures for the most part only one or two works were published: from Japanese it was *Kojiki* [211] and Kikuchi Kan’s [212] (1888—1948) *Shinju fujin* [213] Mrs. Pearl, besides two reprints of Kobayashi Takiji and Ariyoshi Sawako,¹⁴⁹ two Yugoslav, two Rumanian and one English novel,¹⁵⁰ and Reports from under the Gallows by Czech writer J. Fučík which appeared together with Pushkin’s *Dubrovsky*, L. Tolstoy’s *Hadji Murat*, P. Mérimée’s *Carmen*, and S. Zweig’s short stories in Wenxue xiao congshu [214] Small Literary Series.¹⁵¹

In 1978, but particularly in 1979, literary scholarship became organized and stabilized and the same may also be said of the staffs and workplaces engaged on studies of foreign literature. Alongside indigenous scholarly studies, translation activity was also pursued. In 1978 a selection of C. Zetkin’s works was published, then the first of a two-volume selection of N. G. Chernyshevsky’s works, a selection of Lunacharsky’s articles and *Gespräche mit Goethe* by J. P. Eckermann. In 1979 saw the publication of the second volume of Chernyshevsky’s works, the first of a six-volume collection designed to present a broad take from V. G. Belinsky’s

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 200, 423, 426, 707.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 199, 421, 707.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 416, 419. Two reprints were as follows: Kobayashi’s *To Live for the Party* and Ariyoshi’s *Onerous Man*.

¹⁵⁰ Andrić, I.: *Na Drini ćuprija* (*The Bridge Over the Drina*), Kovachevich, V.: *Kapelski krijesovi* (*Camp-fires on Kapela*), Sadoveanu, M.: *Baltagul* (*Woman From Mountains*), Preda, M.: *Delirul* (*Delirium*), Green, G.: *The Heart of the Matter*.

¹⁵¹ Yearbook 1980, p. 199.

critical work, a reprint of Zhou Yang's translation of Chernyshevsky's book *Esteticheskie otnosheniya iskusstva k deistvitelnosti* (*Aesthetic Relations of Art to Reality*) from the year 1948, and Lessing's *Laokoon*. In addition, translations of Stendhal's *Racine et Shakespeare*, Heine's *Die Romantische Schule*, P. Lafargue's and M. Gorky's critical articles were also published.¹⁵²

Towards the end of 1978 the first volume of the history of American literature appeared, and at the beginning of 1979, the first such volume of the history of French literature. In 1979 a partially revised reprint was published of the history of European literatures up to the year 1917 and the first original minographs on Pottier's life and work, on the Indian epic *Rāmāyana*, and the first part of a comprehensive monograph devoted to R. Rolland.¹⁵³

During the last year of the past decade three associations were founded for the study of foreign literatures: Meiguo wenxue yanjiuhui [215] The China Association for the Study of American Literature (in August),¹⁵⁴ Riben wenxue yanjiuhui [216] The China Association for the Study of Japanese Literature (in September),¹⁵⁵ and Xibanya, Putaoya, Ladingmeizhou wenxue yanjiuhui [217] The China Association for the Study of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Literature (in October).¹⁵⁶ If our source is correct, then Sulian wenxue yanjiuhui [218] The China Association of the Study of Soviet Literature was founded even earlier, in December 1978.¹⁵⁷ The aim of these associations of various national literatures or regional agglomerations, was to facilitate a better organization of the study, introduction, translation and publication of foreign literature. This is something new in the Chinese literary history.

Accessible materials show quite clearly that an essential change has taken place in the cultural policy of the PRC as regards the study, introduction, translation and publication of foreign literary works in comparison with the preceding three decades. If during the 1950s Russian and Soviet literature enjoyed great popularity representing allegedly 74.4 % of the total translation output in the realm of foreign literature, and also literature of the people's democratic countries,¹⁵⁸ in the first half of the

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 414—416, and Lu Yongmao et al.: op. cit., p. 246.

¹⁵³ Yearbook 1980, pp. 414—416.

¹⁵⁴ Studies in Foreign Literature, 1980, No. 2, pp. 421—422.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 423—425.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 426—427.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 1979, No. 1, pp. 391—393.

¹⁵⁸ Bian Zhilin et al.: *Shih nian lai de waiguo wenxue fanyi he yanjiu gongzuo*[219] Translation from and Research Work in Foreign Literature in the Last Ten Years. Literary Critique, 1959, No. 5, p. 47.

1960s it was the share of Asian, African and Latin American countries that increased to some extent, although reliable statistical evidence for this domain is lacking.¹⁵⁹

During the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s translation amount from literatures of the capitalist countries represented only a smaller part, and the contemporary works were introduced into the PRC exceptionally only. Such were G. Green's *The Quiet American*, or E. Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*.

After six years of an entire non-existence of scholarly work and translation during the "Cultural Revolution" (1966—1972), and during four further years of practically negligible interest (1972—1976), an essential change came in in 1978 (prepared by the publishing activity and discussion at the end of 1977). This new orientation was caused by the movement for the "four modernizations". Along with the change in the general policy towards the USA, Japan and Western capitalist countries, also the cultural and political line underwent a change. In December 1978 and beginning of 1979 in connection with the normalization of diplomatic relations between the PRC and the USA the translation and related activities began to be directed towards the Western world, and simultaneously contemporary and modernist works became a subject of attention. Interest in literature of Asian, African and Latin American countries declined. Only one single work *Doña Bárbara* by R. Gallegos appeared in 1979,¹⁶⁰ from the Latin American literatures, and none at all from African literatures.

The new tendency in the study and introduction of contemporary and modernist literature asserted itself in 1979. But not much time was left for its translation and publication before the end of the year. Will the interest in the works of Kafka, Sartre, Camus, Beckett, etc., be so strong in the future as in the 1979? Only time alone will give us an answer. It would be foolish to predict the next development in the very unstable cultural policy of the PRC.

¹⁵⁹ Relatively much has been translated from Cuban literature after 1960. And about a half or more of every issue of *World Literature* between 1960—1963 was devoted either to Latin American, or Asian and African literatures.

¹⁶⁰ *Yearbook* 1980, p. 426.

1. 光明日报
2. 全国外国文学研究工作规划会议
3. 王书田
4. 林纤
5. 阿秉
6. 康有为
7. 严复
8. 陈衍
9. 李娃
10. 白行简
11. 李娃传
12. 吴东园
13. 白居易
14. 长恨歌
15. 法京巴黎茶花女史马克尼儿行
16. 钟心青
17. 新茶花
18. 武林林
19. 关于巴黎茶花女遗事
20. 阿英文集
21. 伍光建
22. 郭沫若
23. 张资平
24. 段可情
25. 要做文学记是不容易的
26. 郑振铎
27. 傅东华
28. 我與文學
29. 沫爲沫
30. 從李淑叙到郭沫若
31. 曹禺
32. 顧振奮
33. 曹禺創作生活片斷
34. 劇本
35. 黃廬隱
36. 廬隱自傳
37. 平心
38. 全國總書目
39. 茅盾
40. 漢譯西洋文學名著
41. 夏康農
42. 夏壽農
43. 劉半農
44. 劉秋垓詩選
45. 样板戏
46. 小林多喜二
47. 蟹工船
48. 不在地主
49. 沼尻村
50. 党生活者
51. 譯汝謙
52. 中國譯日本書綜合目錄
53. 有吉佐和子
54. 恍惚的人
55. 內部書

56. 吕元明 57. 从七十走向八十年代的日本
文学 58. 社会科学战线 59. 水滸
60. 武训传 61. 卢永茂 62. 外国文学论文
索引 63. 赵瑞蕨 64. 中国文学家辞典。
现代第一分册 65. 李俊吾 66. 刘大杰 67. 读
‘红与黑’ 68. 学习与批判 69. 一部反映如素
起义的优秀作品 70. 冯春 71. 序言 72. 飞白
73. 井上靖 74. 世界文学 75. 叶冰夫 76. 批判
‘文艺黑线专政’论, 努力做好外国文学
工作 77. 洋为中用 78. 文学评论 79. 学习
80. 中国共产党在民族战争中的地位 81. 外国
短篇小说 82. 黑冰月 83. 德窗户花 84. 刘心
武 85. 班主任 86. 六十年文艺大事记
87. 人民日报 88. 外国文学研究 89. 冯至
90. 外国文学研究集刊 91. 实事求是 92. 解
放思想 93. 借鉴 94. 任子嵩 95. 周扬
96. 柳鸣九 97. 外国现当代资产阶级文学
评价问题的讨论 98. 西方现当代资产阶级
文学评价的几个问题 99. 论遗产及其他

100. 关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题
101. 关于百花齐放,百家争鸣 102. 毛泽东
论文艺 103. 一分为二 104. 卡文琳 105. 分与
合之同:关于西方现代文学和‘现代主义’
文学 106. 李文俊 107. 对评价西方现代文学
的几点看法 108. 袁可嘉 109. 托·史·艾略特
一类英帝国主义的御用文匠 110. 朱虹
111. 对西方现当代文学评价问题的几点意见
112. 突破 113. 陈焜 114. 从狄更斯死了谈起
115. 从印度‘新小说派’看资产阶级现代派
文学 116. 倪培耕 117. 悲剧性 118. 马列文艺
论著学术讨论会在武汉举行 119. 西方现代
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翻译和研究工作

COMPARATIVE ASPECTS OF MAO DUN'S NOVEL *MIDNIGHT*

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The aim of this study is to point to the literary and critical premises, the creative and ideological background, as well as the genetic and contact relations with the works of J. W. Goethe, L. N. Tolstoy, E. Zola and H. A. Guerber in connection with the novel *Midnight*, one of the most important masterpieces of modern Chinese literature.

Mao Dun's [1] (1896—1981) novel *Ziye* [2] *Midnight* which appeared in January 1933 with the English subtitle *The Twilight: A Romance of China in 1930*, is the first significant and renowned modern Chinese social novel. Mao Dun wrote it between October 1931 and January 1932 and from October until 5 December 1932. As every remarkable literary work, it had its "incubation period" which was longer than the direct preparation to writing. In Mao Dun's *Houji* [3] Epilogue from December of 1932 we read: "Towards the end of summer 1930 I felt unusually exhausted, so that for over half a year I was forbidden either to read or write. I then used to visit friends every day and wasted time among constantly busy people. I worked out a plan how to write a book where I would portray in rough outlines our present Chinese society. Later, when my condition improved, I often thought how to carry out this 'wild design'. In October 1931 I sorted out the collected material and began to write. As regards the ideological preparation, I think I had given sufficient attention to the matter."¹

This statement, however, has to be somewhat corrected and supplemented. It is not quite true that he did not write anything at all at that time. As he admits elsewhere he wrote at least two short historical stories *Baozitou Lin Chong* [5] *Lin chong* — the Leopard's Head, and *Dazixiang* [6] *The Great Marsh District*.² Those

¹ Mao Dun: Epilogue. In: *Ziye*, Peking 1953. This is a reprint of the original Kaiming [4] version of the novel published twenty-six times since January 1933. More about the preparations for *Midnight* see Mao Dun's interview with Suzanne Bernard in *Chinese Literature*, 1979, Nos 2, 3, pp. 62—69 and 92—95.

² Cf. Mao Dun: *Wo de huigu* [7] *My Recollections*. In: *Mao Dun zixuan ji* [8] *Mao Dun's Self-Selected Works*. 4th ed. Shanghai 1935, p. 6. The short story *Shi jie* [9] *The Stone Stele* was also written at that time.

“constantly busy people” were stock-brokers, speculators in government bonds, Chinese national capitalists, entrepreneurs and share-holders.

In our view, however, in order correctly to understand Mao Dun’s *Midnight*, one must delve deeper into the author’s literary mind and his critical work primarily in the field of European literary history and mythology.

1

At the time when Mao Dun was working on his *Midnight*, he already had some fine pieces of fiction to his credit. It was especially his trilogy *Shi* [10] *The Eclipse*, the incomplete but very significant novel *Hong* [11] *The Rainbow*, two shorter novels *Lu* [12] *The Road* and *Sanrenxing* [13] *Three Persons*, besides a collection of short stories *Ye qiangwei* [14] *Wild Roses*, and finally a few short stories and sketches called *Sumang* [15] *Evergreens*. Mao Dun was well-read and had an impressive knowledge of foreign literatures, literary history and criticism. We reveal nothing new when we assert that Mao Dun devoted most of his efforts to propagating those authors or their works that in literary history are termed realist or naturalist, or even naturalist-realist. Here we shall recall only what may help us to elucidate the complex problem of the interliterary aspects of Mao Dun’s most important literary work.

In following up Mao Dun’s apprehension of the literary phenomenon which he called naturalism, we found that American, German and Japanese, usually secondary sources constitute the basis of his theory of naturalism-realism. It represented the critical premises and ideological hot-bed of his own writings.³

In mid-July of 1928, during his stay in Tokyo and shortly after he had finished his first works of fiction, Mao Dun wrote :

“An English critic once said something like this: Zola went to gather social experience for the sake of writing fiction, while Tolstoy came to writing fiction after he had experienced much about life.

The starting points of these two masters are so different, and yet their works were alike in being world-shaking. At the very least, Zola’s attitude towards life can be said to be ‘detached’, just the opposite of Tolstoy’s ardent love for life ; but their works are alike in being a critique and a reflection of real life. I love Zola, I also love Tolstoy ; I had enthusiastically although ineffectually and with much misunderstanding and opposition, beat the drum for Zola’s naturalism, yet when I came to attempt writing fiction, my approach was closer to Tolstoy’s. Of course I am not so arrogant as to put myself in the same class with Tolstoy ; moreover, there is not the slightest

³ Gálik, M.: *Naturalism: A Changing Concept*. East and West. New Series, 16, 1966, Nos 3—4, pp. 310—328.

resemblance between my life and my thought and those of this great Russian writer ; all I am trying to say is this : although people regard me as a disciple of naturalism (this despite the fact that I have not talked about naturalism for a long time), I did not begin my life of creative writing by following the rules of naturalism. On the contrary, I genuinely lived and had my part in the most complex drama in China at a time of great turmoil (i.e. Chinese Revolution in the years 1926—1927, M. G.), eventually becoming personally aware of the sadness of disillusionment and of life's contradictions. In a depressed mood, in loneliness and isolation, yet still in the grip of the stubborn will to live, I began to do creative writing. I had decided to exhaust the little that remained of my vital force in order to send out one small beam of light into a new area of this confused and grey life. It was not for the sake of writing fiction that I went to experience life."⁴

The unnamed English critic was Havelock Ellis and Mao Dun learnt of his view from Zhou Zuoren's [20] (1885—1967) translation.⁵ Mao Dun by the above statement ranked himself among those critics who sought literary salvation of their national literature in eminent men of letters of nineteenth-century European literatures. Such was the case, for example, in Germany forty years earlier. According to G. Lukács, the German naturalist movement of the 1880s was an "energetic literary attempt at getting out from an atmosphere of shallowness and compromises which had poisoned German literature following the foundation of Bismarck's empire."⁶ It was no mere coincidence that Zola and Tolstoy began to be often mentioned there at that time, and also Ibsen who lived in Dresden and Munich in the years 1868—1891 and wrote there his best works. The following lines by Arno Holz, an eminent author and propagator of naturalism, expressed the view of progressive writers of this period :

Zola, Ibsen, Leo Tolstoi
eine Welt liegt in den Worten,
eine, die noch nicht verfault
eine, die noch kerngesund ist!⁷

Hauptmann's first play *Vor Sonnenaufgang* was strongly stimulated by Tolstoy's drama *Vlast tmy* (*Power of Darkness*), relatively "naturalist" among Tolstoy's

⁴ Originally published in Mao Dun: *Cong Guling dao Dongjing* [16] From Guling to Tokyo, Xiaoshuo yuebao [17] The Short Story Magazine, 19, 1928, No. 10, pp. 1138—1146 (henceforth only XSYB). See Fu Zhiying [18] (Ed.): *Mao Dun pingzhuan* [19] Mao Dun's Life and Work. Shanghai 1931, pp. 341—342. Quoted according to Yu-shih Chen's translation published in Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, January—March 1976, pp. 38—39.

⁵ Ellis, H.: *Zola: the Man and His Work*. In: *Affirmations*, 1897. Cf. Zhou Zuoren: *Yishu yu shenghuo* [21] Art and Life, Peking 1926, pp. 295—329.

⁶ Lukács, G.: *Tolstoj und die westliche Literatur*. In: *Der russische Realismus in der Weltliteratur*. Berlin, Aufbau-Verlag 1952, p. 239.

⁷ Loc. cit.

plays.⁸ Tolstoy's great work also impressed G. B. Shaw.⁹ Mao Dun shortly after writing his study *Tuorsitai yu jinri Oluosi* [22] Tolstoy and Contemporary Russia,¹⁰ in the first half of the year 1920 published a translation of Tolstoy's well-known play *Zhivoi trup* (*Living Corpse*), another of Tolstoy's "naturalist" works.¹¹ The tragic episode of the wealthy Protasov who became enamoured of the Gipsy Masha, passionate protest against the hypocritical morals of modern bourgeois family where legal and proprietary considerations were more important than mutual love, must have had cathartic effect on the contemporary Chinese society struggling with Confucian prejudices for new, more human relations in family life.

Mao Dun made good use of Ellis' argumentation. Ellis in his article attacked the Zola mode of "documentary" literary work and underscored Tolstoy's manner of becoming acquainted with life and literary creation. For the sake of objectiveness, however, it should be observed that even though Mao Dun in the above trilogy may have come closer to Tolstoy as regards the way of experiencing life, this need not, and generally does not apply to the relations in *Midnight* which Mao Dun created in a different period and under different circumstances.

Between 1922—1928 Mao Dun wrote very little about naturalism.¹² But soon after, in 1929, he returned to the question of naturalism-realism in his most comprehensive book on foreign literature *Xiyang wenxue tonglun* [30] Outline of Western Literature, completed on the eighteenth anniversary of the victory of the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, and published in 1930 under the pseudonym Fang Bi [31]. In this book Mao Dun presented his view on the developmental trends in European literatures. Outline of Western Literature is not a book of history but a series of reflections with most space being devoted to Russian, French and German literatures.

In addition to writing short stories, essays and one novel, Mao Dun made use of his stay in Japan (from mid-1928 until March or April of 1930) to revise and reedit his

⁸ Ibid., pp. 241—242.

⁹ Ibid., p. 246.

¹⁰ Xuesheng zazhi [23] The Students Magazine, 6, 1919, Nos 4—6, pp. 23—32, 33—41, 43—52.

¹¹ See *Huo shi* [24] *The Man Who Was Dead*. Ibid., 7, 1920, Nos 1—6, pp. 1—55. According to B. H. Clark, *A Study of the Modern Drama*, New York—London 1933, pp. 46—48, Tolstoy's play with this title was translated anonymously and appeared in a collection *The Forged Coupon*, New York 1912.

¹² For example, in the article *Faguo wenxue duiyu Ouzhou wenxue de yinxiang* [25] The Influence of French on European Literature, compiled together with Zheng Zhenduo [26] (1898—1958), chiefly on the basis of the work by Emeline M. Fensen, *The Influence of French Literature on Europe*. The last part of the article, beginning with E. Zola, is Mao Dun's more original contribution. See XSYB, *Faguo wenxue yanjiu* [27] Studies in French Literature, April 1924, pp. 11—14. Cf. also Shen Yu [28] (Mao Dun's pseudonym): *Caimasasi pingzhuan* [29] The Life and Work of Eduardo Zamacois. XSYB, 18, 1927, No. 8, pp. 27—29.

earlier works on the history of modern foreign literature and to compile booklets dealing with old Greek, mediaeval, chivalrous literature, Chinese and Northern mythology. As these works preceded directly his collection of material and writing *Midnight*, their relevant part deserves attention.

In his collection *Liuge Ouzhou wenxuejia* [32] Six European Writers Mao Dun included an essay on G. Hauptmann a part of which contained more or less an adequate translation of the passages on naturalism from the book *Aspects of Modern Drama* by F. W. Chandler.¹³ Here we also find an essay, thematically related, on the Spanish writer Pío Baroja y Nessi, one of the outstanding authors of *Generación del 98*, a group of writers, poets and philosophers who held similar views on the decadent condition of Spain following its defeat in the war with the USA, on the outdated, inadequate traditions, on isolatedness from social progress in other European countries. Mao Dun liked Baroja's iconoclastic spirit, which was quite natural in the atmosphere of the May Fourth Movement, interest in Nietzsche and the general propagation of Ibsen's, Zola's and Tolstoy's works. Mao Dun called Baroja a "Zolaist",¹⁴ and together with him mentioned also Eduardo Zamacois as two prominent representatives of naturalism. With reference to the latter it might be noted that just before beginning his own creative work, after the fall of the Wu-han government, Mao Dun translated the short novel *El Hijo* (Their Son) by Zamacois under the Chinese title *Tamen de erzi* [33] and the pseudonym Shen Yu.

In the book *Outlines of Western Literature* Mao Dun made use of the terms "naturalism" and "realism" *ad libitum*. As a rule, on the theoretical plane he spoke of realism, but on the practical plane of naturalism. Thus, for instance, he wrote about a "romantic spirit" which was "emotional, subjective and ideal",¹⁵ and referred to romanticism, or of a "realist spirit" which was "rationalist, objective and analytical",¹⁶ and referred to naturalism, realism or critical realism. The boundary lines between the last three were very indistinct with Mao Dun. Under naturalism he understood practically everything that was created from Balzac up to Chekhov, but simultaneously he warned that Balzac was the precursor of realism, that Dickens used a "realist style",¹⁷ that the works by Dickens and Thackeray had "realist tendencies",¹⁸ that "flowers of realism" had flourished in Russia already in the 1830s in the works of Gogol and he considered the entire Russian literature from Gogol up

¹³ Chandler's book originally published in 1914 and 1916 has been reprinted by Scholarly Press in 1971.

¹⁴ Mao Dun: *Six European Writers*. Shanghai 1929, pp. 1—15. Originally appeared in XSYB, 14, 1923, No. 5, pp. 1—5.

¹⁵ Fang Bi: *Outline of Western Literature*. 2nd ed. Shanghai 1933, p. 20.

¹⁶ Loc. cit.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁸ Loc. cit.

to Chekhov to be realist.¹⁹ Mao Dun did not write about critical realism of the practical plane (hence, on the plane of concrete literary history).

In *Outline of Western Literature* the reader may also find indications of Mao Dun's literary preferences and interests from the end of the 1920s. While completely omitting certain writers, not devoting a single line to them, he reserved much space to others. These are not always writers about whom he had written earlier, but authors or their works that had definitely made an impact on the course of literary history, e.g. Greek-Roman and Northern mythology, Greek tragedy, mediaeval romance, then V. Hugo, G. Flaubert, E. Zola, A. P. Chekhov, M. Maeterlinck, modernist and avant-garde movements, and finally M. Gorky and his "new realism". The greatest number of pages of the book were devoted to E. Zola (16), G. Flaubert (14), V. Hugo (11), M. Gorky (11), M. Maeterlinck (7), A. P. Chekhov (6), etc. He left some other literary giants aside justifying this, for instance, in the case of L. N. Tolstoy, or F. M. Dostoyevsky, by their being generally known. If further we keep in mind that he wrote about Hugo in contrast to Flaubert and Zola, in order to show the differences between romanticism and naturalism, and about Maeterlinck more or less in contrast to naturalism-realism, and also to Gorky, we shall have a more concrete picture of Mao Dun's literary preferences.

In the essay *Tan wo de yanjiu* [34] *On My Searches* written allegedly about 1934, Mao Dun spoke fairly concretely about his "literary loves". From English literature he mentioned Dickens and Scott, from French A. Dumas père, Maupassant and Zola, from Russian L. Tolstoy, Chekhov and Gorky, and finally writers of the so-called "small and oppressed" nations.²⁰ We know that Mao Dun had to study Scott and Dumas, for he prepared for reprinting an earlier translation by Lin Shu [36] (1852—1924) of *Ivanhoe*, and *Les trois mousquetaires* and *Vingt ans après* by Wu Guangjian [37] (1867—1943).²¹ Hence, there remained only Dickens, Maupassant, Zola, Tolstoy, Chekhov and Gorky to whom he was not bound by anything.

Not only Mao Dun, but in the case of the novel *Midnight*, later students also had the feeling that Zola and Tolstoy were closest to him. The relation between Zola's novel *L'Argent* and Mao Dun's *Midnight* was pointed out by Qu Qiubai [40] (1899—1935), evidently under the impression of reading and translating materials from two collections entitled *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* (*Literary Legacy*) published in Moscow in 1931—1932.²² The now often repeated alleged relation between

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 203—213.

²⁰ Mao Dun: *Yinxiang, ganxiang, huiyi* [35] *Impressions, Feelings, and Recollections*. 2nd ed. Shanghai 1937, p. 84.

²¹ Mao Dun: *Wenxue yu zhengzhi de jiaocuo* [38] *Interlocking of Literature and Politics*. *Xin wenxue shiliao* [39] *Materials on Modern Literature*, 1980, No. 1, pp. 165, 169—171.

²² Qu Qiubai: "*Ziye*" *he guohuonian* [41] "*Midnight*" and the Year of National Products. Originally

Tolstoy's *Voina i mir* (War and Peace) and *Midnight* was first brought out (at least as far as we could trace) by the critic Lin Hai [45] in 1949,²³ then by Zhang Bilai [48] in 1958,²⁴ and by F. Gruner in 1975.²⁵ The last scholar, however, analysed also the relation between *L'Argent* and *Midnight*. N. T. Fedorenko in his *Kitaiskie zapisi* (Chinese Notes) states that Mao Dun himself pointed out Gorky's novel *Foma Gordeev* which allegedly had awakened in him "interest in a position of national bourgeoisie" in China and thereby "evoked in him a desire to write *Midnight*".²⁶ Neither Fedorenko nor V. F. Sorokin²⁷ give any further detail regarding this statement. A possible relation between Maupassant's novel *Une vie* and Mao Dun's short story *Yige nuxing* [49] One Woman from Wild Roses was pointed out by Zhu Xiuxia [50] (pseudonym of the critic Zhu Gengming) [51] (1907—), a member of the Taiyang she [52] The Sun Society.²⁸ There is no available evidence that anyone would have compared Mao Dun's work with that of Chekhov or Dickens.

2

Mao Dun began reading Gorky and the new Soviet literature only at the end of the 1920s or in the first years of the 1930s. This may be inferred from his essay *On My Searches*. It seems that before he had had a greater liking for two of Gorky's contemporaries: L. Andreev,²⁹ and perhaps also N. Evreinov.³⁰ One need not doubt

appeared in the column *Ziyutan* [42] Free Discussion of the newspaper *Shenbao* [43], 8 April 1933, and reprinted in *Qu Qiubai wenji* [44] The Collected Works of Qu Qiubai. Vol. 1. Peking 1954, pp. 435—438. Qu read and translated, on the basis of the Russian materials, among others, also P. Lafargue's study *L'Argent de Zola*. See *ibid.*, Vol. 2, Peking 1954, pp. 1125—1192.

²³ "Ziye" yu "Zhanzheng yu hepin" [46] "Midnight" and "War and Peace". In: Lin Hai: *Xiaoshuo xin lun* [47] New Theory of Novel. Shanghai 1949, pp. 58—67.

²⁴ Cf. Shifman, A. I.: *Tolstoy i Kitai* (L. Tolstoy and China). In: *Lev Tolstoy i Vostok* (Leo Tolstoy and the Orient). Moscow, Nauka 1971, pp. 104—105.

²⁵ Gruner, F.: *Der Roman Tzu-yeh von Mao Tun — ein bedeutendes realistisches Werk der neuen chinesischen Literatur*. Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), XI, 1975, pp. 57—72.

²⁶ Fedorenko, N. T.: *Chinese Notes*. Moscow 1955, p. 407.

²⁷ Sorokin, V. F.: *Tvorcheskii put Mao Dunya* (Mao Dun's Creative Road). Moscow 1962, p. 109.

²⁸ Zhu Xiuxia: *Mao Dun de "Yige nuxing"* [53] Mao Dun's "One Woman". In: Fu Zhiying (Ed.): *op. cit.*, pp. 127—134.

²⁹ Mao Dun translated into Chinese passages about L. Andreev probably from M. J. Olgin's book *A Guide to Russian Literature*, New York 1920. See *Dongfang zazhi* [54] The Eastern Miscellany, 17, 1920, No. 10, pp. 60—68. Together with his younger brother Shen Zemin [55] (ca 1899—1934), he translated Andreev's famous short story *Seven Who Were Hanged*, The Students Magazine, 8, 1921, Nos 4—6, 8—9, pp. 1—12, 1—8, 1—11, 48—59, 24—30. Mao Dun's first sketch devoted to Andreev appeared after his death, see Bing [56] (Mao Dun's pseudonym): *Andeliefu de sihao* [57] Andreev's Death, XSYB, 11, 1920, No. 1, p. 4. His another short contribution *Andeliefu Andreyev zuihou de zhuzuo* [58] The Last Work of Andreev, XSYB, 12, 1921, No. 1, p. 2 was about the *Satan's Diary*, and up

about Mao Dun's attitude towards the former. His admiration for Andreev resembled in a way that of Lu Xun [63] (1881—1936), although it probably left no trace in his work. We know only about one translation by Mao Dun from Gorky which was published in October of 1919.³¹

Shortly after, in January of 1920, Mao Dun published the well-known *Xiaoshuo xinchao lan xuanyan* [66] Manifesto of the Column of the New Tide of Fiction, where he proposed to translate 33 literary works from European literatures into Chinese, three of which were from Zola (*Le Débarcadre*, *La joie de vivre*, and *L'Attaque du moulin*), two from Gorky *Byvshie lyudi* (*Creatures that Once Were Men*), and *Na dne* (*Lower Depths*), and one from Tolstoy (*War and Peace*).³²

No one knows why he picked out three from the works of Zola that are but little typical for him. Mao Dun's interest in Zola or rather in his creative devices, showed a rising trend over the next three years. In an extensive article *Wenxue shang de gudianzhuyi, langmanzhuyi he xieshizhuyi* [67] Classicism, Romanticism and Realism in Literature, published in September 1920, he expressed his conviction that Zola and Maupassant were "important representatives of realism".³³ In another study published in 1921 which by the year 1931 had come out in ten reprints, he stated that the naturalism of Zola "describes life purely through an objective vision, reveals dark sides of life and is a tremendous blow to decaying literature".³⁴ Under the latter he probably meant the contemporary Chinese literature of Yuanyang hudie pai [72] Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School.³⁵

Although Mao Dun did not write much about naturalism during the period 1923—1928, this does not imply that he had rejected it. Quite the contrary, in 1929

to now never mentioned Mao Dun's sketch *Andeliefu de zuihou juban* [58] The Last Play of Andreev was about *The One Who Gets Slapped* which Mao Dun read in the journal *Dial*, 1921, No. 4, and shortly described in *XSYB*, 12, 1921, No. 6, p. 7. Mao Dun highly appreciated Andreev's play *Bilishi de beiai* [60] The Sorrows of Belgium, its original title being *Korol, zakon i svoboda* (King, Law and Freedom) in *Ouzhou dazhan yu wenxue* [61] The World War and Literature, Shanghai 1928, p. 33, and the play *K zvezdam* (Towards the Stars) in his lecture *Shenmo shi wenxue* [62] What Is Literature, read at the Complementary Secondary School attached to the Shanghai University in 1923. Cf. Mao Dun: *Interlocking of Literature and Politics*, p. 172.

³⁰ Mao Dun informed Chinese readers about one play by Evreinov in *XSYB*, 13, 1922, No. 7, pp. 3—4.

³¹ Xuedeng [64] *The Lantern of Study*, literary supplement of the newspaper *Shishi xinbao* [65] *The China Times*, 25—28 October 1919.

³² *XSYB*, 11, 1920, No. 1, pp. 1—5.

³³ *The Students Magazine*, 7, 1920, No. 9, p. 12.

³⁴ Shen Yanbing [68] (Mao Dun's name): *Jindai wenxue tixi de yanjiu* [69] *Systemic Study of Modern Literature*. In: Liu Zhenhui [70], Shen Yanbing: *Zhongguo wenxue bianqian shi* [71] *The Evolutionary History of Chinese Literature*, Shanghai 1921, p. 7.

³⁵ Link, E. Perry, Jr.: *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies. Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities*. Berkeley—London, University of California Press 1981. 313 pp.

he made of naturalism-realism one of the most important supporting pillars of new literature by devoting to it and its representatives most space in his writings, speaking of it in relatively the best terms and confiding his greatest hopes in it.

The measure of attention devoted to the work of Zola is truly surprising, but what if it was a preparation for *Midnight*? Mao Dun's concentration on Zola may be viewed as his getting even with the critical past, contemporary literary interests and at least a partial indication of his future development.

In Outline of Western Literature Mao Dun analysed or at least briefly characterized all the twenty novels of *Les Rougon-Macquart*, calling this series *qi shu* [73] admirable work, or "unprecedented masterpiece in the literary history that has so far found no match".³⁶ Of these works two in particular may be said to have had an impact on Mao Dun's creative development. It was, in the first place *L'Argent* which he called an "outstanding work",³⁷ and in a great measure also *Nana* to which, as the only one of Zola's novels, he later devoted an essay.³⁸ As will be shown in this contribution, the impact of *L'Argent* touched directly on the entire systemo-structural arrangement and overall organization of *Midnight*. *Nana* influenced Mao Dun's novel by one of its aspects: i.e. sexuality, interpreted rather as a mythical force, one of the variants of a powerful actions of the fate. And this not only in *Midnight*, but also in other of Mao Dun's works, e.g. in the short story *Xiao wu* [76] *Small Witch*, where it became manifested very clearly.³⁹

The rare references to Tolstoy or Gorky in Mao Dun's works between 1921 and 1929 may simply imply that they belonged among European men of letters best known in China at that time. The increased interest in the works of Gorky evident in Mao Dun's historical and literary writings after 1928 was probably meant to stress Gorky's significance as the creator of a socially committed, realist and revolutionary literature.⁴⁰ At that time, but also later Mao Dun read and underlined the collection *Creatures that Once Were Men*⁴¹ and generally his *bossyak* (tramp) stories. He liked

³⁶ Outline of Western Literature, pp. 180—181.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 189.

³⁸ Mao Dun: *Zuola de "Nana"* [74] Zola's "Nana". In: Mao Dun: *Hanyi xiyang wenxue mingzhu* [75] Great Works of Western Literature Translated into Chinese. Shanghai 1935, pp. 219—229.

³⁹ Gálík, M.: *On the Social and Literary Context in Modern Chinese Literature of the 1920s and 1930s*. In: Malmqvist, G. (Ed.): *Nobel Symposium 32. Modern Chinese Literature and Its Social Context*. Stockholm 1977, pp. 11—17.

⁴⁰ Cf. Mao Dun's following works: Outline of Western Literature, pp. 286—297; *Gaoerji* [77] Maxim Gorky, *Zhongxuesheng* [78] Secondary School Student, 1932, No. 25, pp. 61—73; *Gaoerji yu xianshi-zhuyi* [79] Maxim Gorky and Realism, *Zhongguo wenhua* [80] Sino-Soviet Culture, 8, 1941, No. 6, pp. 73—74, later reprinted in Mao Dun: *Shijian de jilu* [81] Records of the Time, Shanghai 1946, pp. 139—143; *Gaoerji yu Zhongguo wentan* [82] Maxim Gorky and Chinese Literary Scene, *Shidai zazhi* [83] Epoch, 1946, No. 23, p. 10, later reprinted under slightly different title *Gaoerji he Zhongguo wenxue* [84] Maxim Gorky and Chinese Literature in Records of the Time, pp. 134—138.

⁴¹ Mao Dun: *On My Searches*, p. 84.

the character of Ilya Lunev from the novel *Troe* (Three of Them), this rebellious temperament going against the “supporters of the hated society”, their “low-mindedness, emptiness, shamelessness”.⁴² Mao Dun preferred the image of Ilya to that of Pavol Grechev who had unreservedly joined his fate with Social Democracy and revolution. Ilya’s portrait was evidently more sympathetic to him because from the point of art it was more genuine, even though Ilya’s activity, rapacity led towards personal enrichment and he finished as a social parasite. Something similar may also be said of the character of Foma Gordeev. In him, as in Ilya Lunev or Aristid Kuvalda from *Creatures that Once Were Men*, Mao Dun saw *bossyak* type of people “who are Titans in body and soul, know no fear, do not know what it means to submit even in the most difficult situations...”⁴³

Foma Gordeev was a traitor to his merchant estate and the capitalist class. His natural human feelings, his faith in justice, and nobility of character necessarily came into conflict with the hypocritical, false, even bestial morals of the “rulers of life”. That is why his enemies declared him mad and locked him up in a mental asylum. Nothing similar to Foma Gordeev is to be found in *Midnight*, nor in any of Mao Dun’s other works. The characters, or according to Mao Dun *bossyak* types, however, might have had an impact on some figures in Mao Dun’s short stories from the 1930s, for instance A Duo [85] from the so-called village trilogy, i.e. *Chuncan* [86] *Spring Silkworms*, *Qiushou* [87] *Autumn Harvest*, and *Candong* [88] *Winter Ruin*, or Caixi [89] from *Shuizaoxing* [90] *Gathering Water Weeds*, or the unnamed “hero” from *Da bizi de gushi* [91] *Big Nose*.⁴⁴

In the 1920s, Mao Dun’s interest in Tolstoy paralleled that he had in Zola. Nowhere did this come out so clearly as in the Manifesto of the Column of the New Tide of Fiction. We recollect that *Le Débauche* and *War and Peace* were among works proposed for translation, and thus we may suppose that according to Mao Dun, these two works were mutually complementary. The Soviet literary scholar F. L. Priyma proved that this novel of Zola as a work from the military environment owes much to Tolstoy’s *chef-d’oeuvre*.⁴⁵ If Mao Dun was unaware of this relation (which is very probable), he at least suspected that they were mutually close. Answering the question why he had included these two works into the translation programme, he remarked that he has done that because “*Le Débauche* shows why war was terrible and *War and Peace* describes the essence of the war”.⁴⁶

⁴² Outline of Western Literature, p. 292.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 291.

⁴⁴ Except *Gathering Water Weeds* all the stories were translated into English. See Mao Dun: *Spring Silkworms and Other Stories*. Transl. by Sidney Shapiro, Peking 1956, pp. 9—95 and 189—210.

⁴⁵ Priyma, F. L.: *Russkaya literatura na Zapade* (Russian Literature in the West). Leningrad 1970, pp. 202—219.

⁴⁶ Manifesto of the Column of the New Tide of Fiction, p. 4.

This parallel interest in Tolstoy and Zola become even more markedly manifest in 1928 when it was directly elicited in Mao Dun by the remark of Havelock Ellis. And this also applies to the period of preparation for *Midnight*. Mao Dun's hope from the end of 1919 and beginning of 1920, that Chinese readers would soon (to be more exact within about one year) have available a translation of *War and Peace* proved to have been mere wishful thinking. Scanning Pu Shao's [92] (pseudonym of Xu Diaofu) [93] (1898—) *Hanyi Dong Xiyang wenxue zuopin bianmu* [94] A List of Translations From Oriental and Western Literatures into Chinese from the year 1929, we fail to find any trace of *War and Peace* in it.⁴⁷ The first part appeared only in August of 1931 (only two months before Mao Dun began to write his *Midnight*) in Guo Moruo's [97] (1892—1978) translation. In March 1933 (i.e. two months after the publication of *Midnight*) three-fourths of the great novel were out.⁴⁸ After the fourth reprint of the first part in February 1934, Mao Dun wrote a review under the pseudonym Wei Ming [99].⁴⁹

This review of the first three chapters of Tolstoy's novel is of interest from two points of view: first, as a modest contribution to the theory of translation, and then as Mao Dun's personal opinion of the beginning of Tolstoy's novel. Mao Dun followed Guo Moruo's translation in minute detail comparing it with the English one by Constance Garnett from Everyman's Library, being under the impression that this was the text Guo had used for his translation into Chinese. We are here interested in the second point, and this too, partially only, namely in the measure in which it is reflected in "*aufgehoben*" (i.e. simultaneously preserved, cancelled, and lifted up) form (Hegel's term) in *Midnight*.

In the review Mao Dun compared fourteen short specimens from Guo Moruo's and Garnett's translation, the last three of which refer to the beautiful Hélène, later Pierre Bezukhov's wife. All three are descriptions of the situation in the salon of the court lady Anna Pavlovna Scherer. The last one shows Princess Hélène leaning on the dressing table, looking from time to time at her pretty hand, charming chest, arranging the folds on her dress and imitating Mlle Scherer's expressions. Immediately before, Mao Dun had quoted two other passages, the first of which says that Princess Hélène, at a sign from Anna Pavlovna stood up and smiled "the smile of a perfectly beautiful woman" (Guo Moruo translated this quite differently!) and the second one simply observes that Hélène "did not deem it necessary to reply" to

⁴⁷ See Zhang Jinglu [95] (Ed.): *Zhongguo xiandai chuban shiliao* [96] Historical Materials Concerning Contemporary Chinese Publications. Vol. 1. Peking 1954, pp. 271—323.

⁴⁸ Guo Moruo zhuyi shumu [98] *Bibliography of Guo Moruo's Works and Translations*. Shanghai 1980, p. 145.

⁴⁹ Wei Ming: *Guo yi Zhanzheng yu heping* [100] A Review of Guo Moruo's Translation of War and Peace. *Wenxue* [101] Literature, 2, 1934, No. 3, pp. 562—567.

flatteries addressed to her, such as “Quelle belle personne”, or “Madame, je crains pour mes moyens devant un pareil auditoire”.

Mao Dun seemed as if evading reference to the essential part of the description inserted between the last but one and the last specimens. There Tolstoy described Hélène going directly toward Anna Pavlovna “looking at no one, but smiling on all, as if graciously allowing them all to enjoy her beautiful figure, her full arms, breasts and back, bared in a deep cut according to the fashion then in vogue, and as if carrying with her the splendour of a ball”.⁵⁰ Tolstoy developed later this description in the third section of the first volume where, in the midst of a similar gathering (again in Anna Pavlovna’s salon with Pierre Bezukhov present), Hélène is depicted “as always at evening parties, wearing a dress such as was then fashionable, out very low at front and back. Her bust, which had always seemed like marble to Pierre, was so close to him that his short-sighted eyes could not but perceive the living charm of her neck and shoulders, so near to his lips that he need only have bent his head a little to have touched them. He was conscious of the warmth of her body, the scent of her perfume, and the creaking of her corset as she moved. He did not see her marble beauty forming a complete whole with her dress, but all the charm of her body covered only by her garments. And having once seen this he could not help being aware of it, just as we cannot review an illusion we have once seen through.”⁵¹

Mao Dun’s attention paid in his review to Hélène’s bust was not an end in itself. Twice he stressed errors in the translation of Guo Moruo.⁵² The term *su xiung* [102] creamy breasts the latter had taken from *wenyan* [103] old literary language and Mao Dun rightly considered it out of place in this translation.⁵³

In *Midnight* descriptions of modern Chinese women and particularly their breasts became *pars pro toto* of the fatalist force of female sexuality which is absent in Tolstoy’s novel. In Tolstoy Princess Hélène, or Anna Karenina is above all a *seductrix*, but in Mao Dun, Mrs. Wu Sun-fu or the concubine Lin [106] or Ling [107] from *Small Witch* is above all a *deletrix*. In Mao Dun’s novel not the young Pierre Bezukhov is present in the salon, but old Mr. Wu [108], father of Wu Sunfu [109] and father-in-law to Mrs. Wu, and his images connected with the phenomenon called “breasts” do not seduce, but destroy.

“The old man looked around him”, we read about Mr. Wu in *Midnight*, “his eyes burning with disgust, anger and excitement, and his face purpling . . . All the red and green eyes, all the geometrical shapes of furniture and all the men and women were

⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 565 and Tolstoy, L.: *Voïna i mir*. Vols 1—2. Moscow 1953, p. 16.

⁵¹ *Voïna i mir*, p. 263.

⁵² A Review of Guo Moruo’s Translation of War and Peace, pp. 565—566.

⁵³ Very similar expression for creamy breast (*su ru*) [104] was used by Zhao Luanluan [105], one of the *poétesses maudites* of the Tang dynasty. See Gálík, M.: *On the Literature Written by Chinese Women Prior to 1917*. Asian and African Studies, XV, 1979, p. 73.

dancing and spinning together, bathed in the golden light. Mrs. Wu in pink, a girl in apple-green and another in light yellow were frantically leaping and whirling around him. Their light silk dresses barely concealed their curves, high-pointed breasts, pink-tipped nipples and small hairs under their arms. The room was filled with countless high busts, breasts that bobbed and quivered and danced around him... Suddenly there sprang out of the ground before him two women, Mrs. Wu and the girl in apple-green, both laughing with wide-open, blood-red mouths as though they wanted to swallow him. Something seemed to snap in his head. He turned up his eyes and knew no more."⁵⁴

At the sight of the veiled and artificially adjusted breasts, old Mr. Wu lost not only consciousness, but also his life. Young Pierre, on the other hand, after a few glances at H el ene's bust, at the charm of her body which did not cancel but only made misty his own illusion, decided on an unconvincing and unfortunately not quite sincere "Je vous aime!", on marriage which brought him only a series of sufferings.

Although Mao Dun's delineation of the scene just mentioned has its model in Tolstoy's novel, it is considerably different. It is far less conservative than Tolstoy's, more dynamic, less suggestive and has a symbolic mission. Mao Dun has this last trait in common with Zola. Blonde Venus — Nana was a personification of the destructive force of female sex. While Princess H el ene had two lovers and Mrs. Wu only one, Nana had a whole string of them. In the case of Count Muffat, E. Zola showed best the destructiveness of the element reminiscent of the monster from the *Bible*, wanton, filthy and stinking like a wild beast, despite the fact that Nana "was covered with fine down, minute golden hairs changed her body into velvet; but her back and thigh of a mare, the fleshy excrescences and deep folds that veiled her sex in an exciting shadow, had in them something bestial. It was a golden beast..."⁵⁵ Another description of Nana, this time from the theatre dressing room where there is also question of bare arms and shoulders and high-pointed nipples⁵⁶ might indicate that Zola had influenced Mao Dun (which cannot likewise be excluded), but with Zola there is no fine intimacy in these descriptions, only rough reality, for Nana was aware of the force of her marble body, her sex which could destroy everyone caught in her snares.

By pointing to old Mr. Wu's death Mao Dun symbolized or at least suggested the fall of old China which collapsed at her meeting with capitalist and imperialist reality. This device was not received with unanimous approval by Chinese critics. Han

⁵⁴ *Ziye*, pp. 15—16. The translation is taken over from *Midnight*, Peking 1957, pp. 21—22 with my corrections since the translation was made on the basis of revised edition from 1955 published by Renmin wenxue chubanshe [110] People's Literature Publishing House, and the translation is not always exact. The same is valid for the quotations below.

⁵⁵ Zola, E.: *Nana*. Paris, Gallimard 1977, p. 226.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153. Cf. also p. 47.

Shiheng [111] (1908—) considered the death of old Mr. Wu to be “unnatural” and “not seriously described”,⁵⁷ according to Wang Xiyan [114] (1914—) the symbolic traits present in the delineation of the episode were the reason why these passages lost something of the realist “flesh and blood”.⁵⁸ On the other hand Shao Bozhou [116] received the symbolic meaning in old Mr. Wu’s image positively and wrote that just this pointed out “the stimulative function of the forces of capitalism in the struggle against feudalism.”⁵⁹ The description of old Mr. Wu’s death was also welcomed by V. F. Sorokin who observed that the “old landowner Wu goes to Shanghai to visit his son Sunfu, a prosperous businessman, and dies not being able to survive the atmosphere of the ‘new Babylon’”.⁶⁰

Similarly, Zola in characterizing Paris and Nana, and Sorokin in characterizing Shanghai, Mrs. Wu and the ladies of her salon, made use of variations of the image from Chapters 17 and 18 of the *Apocalypse* where a beast-woman, a great whore “arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication” is observed and identified with “that great city of Babylon”.⁶¹

3

To the one and the other symbol or rather allegory, St. John foretold ruin and destruction:

“Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.

And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning.

Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city of Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come.”⁶²

It would be, however, probably a great error were we to associate the feeling of dramatic hope Mao Dun entertained in creating *Midnight* with the world of the *Apocalypse*. In all probability that world was unknown to Mao Dun and certainly remained emotionally foreign to him.⁶³ But he knew well at that time the world of

⁵⁷ (Han) Shiheng: “Ziye” de yishu, sixiang ji renwu [112] Art, Thought and Characters of Midnight. Xiandai [113] *Les Contemporains*, 4, 1933, No. 1, p. 135.

⁵⁸ Wang Xiyan: Lun “Ziye” [115] On “Midnight”. Shanghai 1958, p. 20.

⁵⁹ Shao Bozhou: *Mao Dun de wenxue daolu* [117] Mao Dun’s Literary Road. Wuhan 1959, p. 48.

⁶⁰ Sorokin, V. F.: op. cit., p. 105.

⁶¹ *Revelation*, 17, 3—4, and 18, 10.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 18, 8—10.

Elder and Younger Edda, the Northern mythology, concretely the book *Myths of the Norsemen* by H. A. Guerber which he retold towards the end of 1929 in a fairly detailed manner in the booklet *Beiou shenhua ABC* [120] Outline of Northern Mythology, 2 vols., Shanghai 1930.

Mao Dun had probably given serious thought to the choice of a title to his work. The Chinese title *Ziye* means the time about midnight, to be more precise the lapse between the twenty-third and first hour of the day. This stands for the deepest darkness of the night which contrasts with and inevitably presages the dawn. We know, however, that the original Chinese title was *Xiyang* [121] The Twilight.⁶⁴ The term twilight comprises less hope than does midnight, but all the more opportunity of a dramatic experience. Mao Dun's original intention to name the novel The Twilight has decidedly to be associated with The Twilight of the Gods, the chapter from Guerber's book which described *Ragnarok*, *Götterdämmerung*, the decline of the gods. In Mao Dun's novel, twilight was meant to refer to the gods of feudal and capitalist China.

No serious student of Mao Dun's *Midnight* can deny that Mao Dun at the time of writing his most important work of fiction believed in the enormous, almost mythical force of socio-economic elements, particularly at moments of their fateful encounters. We should not forget that Mao Dun read and retold Guerber at the time of the so-called Black Friday, hence, around 29 October 1929⁶⁵ when shares suddenly collapsed on the New York Stock Exchange and the biggest crash in the history of the capitalist world occurred, triggering the world economic crisis in the 1930s. It should be stressed also that Mao Dun followed closely the economic-political situation of China at the end of the twenties and in the first half of the thirties. His essay on "modernization" from the year 1934 reveals that he also took note of economic statistics,⁶⁶ and his reply to a letter in the journal Secondary School Student gives evidence that he knew a lot about the questions dealing with stock-exchange economy.⁶⁷ Even work on such an apparently remote topic as was that of informing Chinese readers with Northern mythology brought him back to the difficult present

⁶³ Mao Dun read Old and New Testament intensively later at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 on his way from Hong Kong to Kuilin. Cf. Mao Dun: *Houji* [118] Epilogue. In: *Mao Dun wenji* [119] The Collected Works of Mao Dun. Vol. 8. Peking 1959, pp. 394—395.

⁶⁴ Cf. Zhang Jinglu: op. cit., Vol. 3, Peking 1957, p. 18, and Sun Zhongjian [122]: *Lun Mao Dun de shenghuo yu chuanguo* [123] On Mao Dun's Life and Work, Tientsin 1980, p. 108.

⁶⁵ Prologue to Mao Dun's book has been written in December 1929.

⁶⁶ Mao Dun: "*Xiandaihua*" *de hua* [124] On "Modernization", *Shenbao yuekan* [125] Shenbao Monthly, 2, 1933, No. 7, pp. 105—110. Later reprinted in Mao Dun: *Huaxiazi* [126] Chatterbox, Shanghai 1934, pp. 22—33.

⁶⁷ Xuan [127] (pseudonym of Mao Dun): *Gongzhai maimai* [128] Government Bonds Operations. Secondary School Student, June 1933, No. 36, pp. 2—7.

of the Chinese people, especially of workers and peasants. At the time of preparing drafts for the novel, when writing its first chapter, and even while working on the novel, he often returned to the dramatic spirit of the Northern mythology. The pseudonym under which the first chapter of the novel was to have appeared (unfortunately it never did) was Taomo guanzhu [129].⁶⁸ It was an imitation of the Chinese *hao* [130] literary name, but also the translation of the Lord of Thrym-heim. Thrym-heim, similarly as Jötun-heim in the Northern mythology designated the abode of the rebellious giants who “were from the very beginning the opponents and rivals of the gods”.⁶⁹ Of these Titans Mao Dun had in mind Thrym (i.e. Taomo) who, as the “prince of the storm giants and god of the destructive thunderstorm”,⁷⁰ stole from Thor, the god of thunder, “his magic hammer called Miölnir (the crusher) which he hurled at his enemies, the frost-giants, with destructive power, and which possessed the wonderful property of always returning to his hand, however far away he might hurl it”.⁷¹ As we know from Mao Dun’s version similar in meaning to Guerber’s narrative, the giants could exploit this fact in order “to storm Asgard and destroy the gods”.⁷²

The description of the setting sun (twilight) of one May evening of the year 1930 is put at the very beginning of Mao Dun’s novel :

“The sun had just sunk below the horizon and gentle breeze caressed one’s face. The muddy water of Soochow Creek, transformed to a golden green, flowed quietly westward. The evening tide from the Whangpoo had turned imperceptibly, and now the assortment of boats along both sides of the creek were riding high, their decks some inches above the landing-stages. Faint strains of music were borne on the wind from the park across the river, punctuated by the sharp, cheerful patter of kettledrums. Under a sunset-mottled sky, the towering framework of Garden Bridge was mantled in a gathering mist. Whenever a tram passed over the bridge, the overhead cable suspended below the top of the steel frame threw off bright, greenish sparks. Looking east, one could see the warehouses on the waterfront of Pootung like huge monsters crouching in the gloom, their lights twinkling like countless tiny eyes. To the west, one saw with a shock of wonder on the roof of a building a gigantic neon sign in flaming red and phosphorescent green : Light, Heat, Power.”⁷³

The mild twilight of Shanghai evening suggested in Mao Dun’s novel the decline of the part of the gods of contemporary China. The decline of the ancient Northern gods was caused by mythical wolves (Hati, Sköll, Managarm), the dragon Nidhug,

⁶⁸ Cf. note 64.

⁶⁹ Guerber, H. A. : *Myths of the Norsemen*. London, George G. Harrap and Co. 1919, p. 230.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 77 and *Outline of Northern Mythology*, Vol. 1, p. 50.

⁷³ *Ziye*, p. 1 and *Midnight*, p. 9.

the red cock Fialar, the snake Iormungandr, Hel, the goddess of death, closely followed by the Hel-hound Garm, comparable to Cerberus, which kept guard at Hel's gate.⁷⁴

The mild twilight of Shanghai ends in old Mr. Wu's death. It was not Hel, however, and her company that decided on old Mr. Wu's fate (and according to Mao Dun also of the fate of feudal China), but that gigantic struggle fought on the political, economic and cultural fields by the forces of capitalism and international imperialism against the receding feudalism. The new "mythical beasts" embodied "light, heat, and power" in all possible manifestations. Old Mr. Wu failed to cope with the strain of the new, rapacious, dynamic world characterized by the cars of the latest models, blinding neon signs, towering skyscrapers, millions of electric lights, shops, and on top of it all also ladies and girls with full bosoms, bare arms, transparent silk blouses and obviously without underpants.⁷⁵ Just as Odin and the other gods of the Northern Pantheon at the time of the "big struggle" also old Mr. Wu saw before him nothing but animals and monsters: "The car was racing along like mad... Good Heavens! the towering scyscrapers, their countless lighted windows gleaming like the eyes of monsters, seeming to be rushing down on him like an avalanche at one moment and vanishing at the next. The smooth road stretched before him, and street-lamps flashed past on either side, springing up and vanishing in endless succession. A snake-like stream of black strange creatures, each with a pair of blinding lights for eyes, with a frightful roar they bore down like lightnings directly on the small cabin where the old gentleman was seated. 'Here they are, now', the old man closed his eyes trembling all over, but nothing happened."⁷⁶

But something serious, fateful even happened later in his son's salon during "the dance of breasts" in which the chief role was played by Lin Peiyao [131], his son's wife, against a background of the old man's strong impressions and conviction about "sexual indulgence" as the cardinal of all sins. *Perplexio cerebri* put an end to the life of a representative of the gods of Chinese feudal age. Something like in the Northern mythology, also here old Mr. Wu and young Wu Sunfu stood face to face, analogously as Odin of the Northern Pantheon and his enemy wolf Fenris.⁷⁷ Wu Sunfu's "pimple face grinned"⁷⁸ among the ladies performing the fatal dance of breasts.

One may agree with authors who pointed to the close parallels of the first scenes in *Midnight* and in *War and Peace*.⁷⁹ Both Tolstoy and Mao Dun made use of the

⁷⁴ Cf. Guerber, H. A.: op. cit., pp. 331—333.

⁷⁵ *Ziye*, pp. 10—11 and *Midnight*, pp. 16—17.

⁷⁶ *Ziye*, pp. 8—9 and *Midnight*, pp. 15—16.

⁷⁷ Guerber, H. A.: op. cit., p. 335.

⁷⁸ *Ziye*, p. 15 and *Midnight*, p. 21.

⁷⁹ Cf. Shifman, A. I.: op. cit., pp. 104—105 and Gruner, F.: op. cit., p. 67.

method of exposition, providing essential information and introducing just at the beginning the main characters of the novels. But here should be mentioned that E. Zola, too, often made use of the same device. In *Nana*, the most important characters of the novel meet at a performance of *Blonde Venus*; in the novel *L'Argent* to which was Mao Dun really very obliged (without acknowledging the debt), the classical exposition is given by Saccard's "route" from the Champeaux Restaurant on the Place between Montmartre and Richelieu Streets, along the Streets Vivienne and Brongniart, around the Chamber of Commerce to the Stock Exchange. Mao Dun came closer to Tolstoy when he placed the exposition into a salon of Wu's family, described female charms which he had noted in Tolstoy's classical and reserved delineation, but simultaneously parted from him since he followed different aims. The Russian aristocracy and French *émigrés* present in the house of Anna Pavlovna Scherer strove for a "salon-like" exposition of events, holding empty speeches.⁸⁰ In Wu's salon, Chinese industrial and financial bourgeoisie, representatives of scholarship and culture, of the military world and "noble" courtesans, introduced the reader concretely, even though not quite realistically (the new "gods" had their illusions, too) into the Chinese situation prevailing in the first half of 1930. The presence of the tragic spirit of the Northern mythology (never as yet noticed by the students) helped Mao Dun to perceive the meaning of the episodes of mythical times, shifted his description and narration towards a dramatic and symbolic expression and helped him to create some of the most impressive scenes in the whole of modern Chinese literature.

4

Mao Dun turned towards Zola's *L'Argent*, but without turning away from the spirit of Northern mythology, a few hours after old Mr. Wu's death. Practically right over the coffin a group of "mourning guests" gathered discussing loudly about "gold bars", "silver bars", "silk yarn", etc. Speculators, stockholders, stock-brokers, stockjobbers, owners of factories, new "gods" congregated "next to the coffin" (*guancai bian*) [132] of the old "god". In the situation in which the consequences of the capitalist crisis became to be manifested in China and especially in the Shanghai financial and industrial world, these men saw themselves, either consciously or unconsciously, to be the victims of the twilight. At that time there were three principal kinds of speculation in the financial world of China known in the contemporary stock exchange parlance as: *guanshui* [133] tariff bonds, *caibing* [134] disarmament bonds, and *bianqian* [135] army re-organization bonds.⁸¹ The first

⁸⁰ Shklovsky, V.: *Zametki o proze russkikh klassikov* (Notes on The Fiction of Russian Classics). Moscow 1955, p. 263.

three characters of these bonds (*guan cai bian*) created in the confessions of the fictitious capital the feeling of the propinquity of the coffin, of mortal danger, and thus united for a moment the reality of the “dead world” of Chinese feudalism with the already moribund (though still young) world of Chinese capitalism.

This pun, this feeling of being close to the coffin, to death, forms the starting point of the whole novel ending in Wu Sunfu’s being struck with slight apoplexy and the crush of his all financial and industrial undertakings.

At the beginning of this main part of the novel, or even already in its exposition, Mao Dun associated the feeling of closeness to the coffin with the “dance of death”. By this new symbolic device he pointed right at the start of the new era of young Mr. Wu to the ephemeral nature and the vanity of the efforts of the new Pantheon. The “dance of death” is a variation of the “dance of breasts”. Its representative in the novel is the charming courtesan Xu Manli [136], homophonous with *xu manli* [137] Empty Beauty, dancing on one leg on the green baize of a billiard-table (symbol of uncertainty and hazard). The “pillars of society” (Mao Dun made use of Ibsen’s well-known expression), industrialists and speculators, guffaw and applaud wildly at the sight of white thighs and buttocks draped with tight-fitting pink pants of Indian silk: “This is their ‘dance of death’! As the villages become more and more bankrupt, the abnormal development of the cities becomes faster, the price of rice and gold soars, the civil war becomes fiercer, the unrest among peasantry more widespread — and the ‘dance of death’ of the rich becomes wilder.”⁸²

Wu Sunfu had no need to traipse as Aristide Saccard did, in coffeehouses, along streets and the Stock Exchange to win over share-holders and cooperators for his extensive financial and industrial projects. Right from the side of the coffin and the dance of death, Shanghai plutocrats and adventurers come to offer him their capital, cooperation, or try to make use of him for their own plans.

In *L’Argent* Saccard founded a Catholic General Bank in order to destroy Gundermann’s omnipotent Jewish bank. In *Midnight*, Wu Sunfu together with Wang Hefu [138], an owner of a coal-mining company, and Tang Yunshan [139] a member of the Kuomintang and its theoretician in the realm of economy, founded Yi Zhong gongsi [140] Bank for the Development of Capital Investment in China. Its role was not to confront any concrete bank as in the novel of Zola, but to ensure the development of Chinese national economy, force foreign capital to capitulate or at least cooperate, and to dictate on the Shanghai Stock Exchange. Wu Sunfu’s main opponent was Zhao Botao [141], the king of *maras* (*mowang*) [142] of the Shanghai Stock Exchange.⁸³ The Sanskrit word *mara* means killing or destroying. Zhao was

⁸¹ *Ziye*, p. 38.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 69 and *Midnight*, p. 68. But *dance macabre* as an artistic topic was known since the Middle Ages.

⁸³ *Ziye*, p. 46.

a financial compradore, powerful speculator in government bonds, connected with American capital, the most powerful in the capitalist world, seeking new fields of activity, and having as his aim, among others, to destroy the Chinese national industry. And just to build up this industry was the prime concern of Wu Sunfu and his partners.

The day following the funeral of old Mr. Wu, the founding triumvirate of the Future Bank for the Development of Capital Investment in China met in order to appraise the “draft plan” with three principal points: “firstly, a capital of five million dollars, one third of which to be collected first; secondly, a few enterprises — textiles, mines, chemicals; and thirdly, financial aid for several enterprises already in existence — certain silk factories, silk goods manufactories and steamship companies.”⁸⁴ Anyone acquainted with *L’Argent* will be reminded by this meeting of the numerous conversations of the founders of the General Bank: Saccard and the Hamelins, and Saccard’s final decision to set up a syndicate and to place beforehand fifty thousand shares at five hundred francs with a nominal capital of twenty-five million francs.⁸⁵

Genetic-contact relationships probably played a role also in the description of military operations which affected in a similar way life at the stock exchange whether in Zola’s France, or in Mao Dun’s China. Zola’s literary evocation of the situation at the Paris Stock Exchange after 4 July 1866, following the Austrian defeat by the Prussians, is recalled in Mao Dun’s brief observation at the end of the seventh chapter, where he speaks of the defeat of Zhao Botao’s opponents as a result of a purchase of military defeat of the so-called Northwestern Army in the second half of May 1930, for the sum of 300,000 dollars.

The same holds, but in a greater measure, also for the “last battle” on the Paris Stock Exchange in Zola’s novel, and on the Shanghai Stock Exchange in Mao Dun’s novel. According to Zola, a “battle is finally impending, one of those ruthless fights when one army is left destroyed on the battlefield”.⁸⁶ According to Mao Dun, “Wu Sunfu and his partners had thrown the last reinforcements they had been able to muster into the front line and waged a fierce offensive along the whole front, but nothing they could do seemed of any avail in dislodging speculators *à la hausse* from their positions.”⁸⁷ Saccard hoped that his partner Daigremont would intervene in the fray in his favour. He did, but too late and “treachery completed the defeat”.⁸⁸ Wu Sunfu, too, entertains a hope that “Du Zhuzhai’s [143] army would rush”⁸⁹ to his

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 128 and *Midnight*, p. 119.

⁸⁵ Zola, E.: *L’Argent*. Fasquelle, n.y., p. 90.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 372.

⁸⁷ *Ziye*, p. 539 and *Midnight*, p. 513.

⁸⁸ *L’Argent*, p. 411.

⁸⁹ *Ziye*, p. 539 and *Midnight*, p. 513.

rescue. Here, too, Du Zhuzhai (Wu Sunfu's brother-in-law) intervened but against him. Saccard was betrayed at the last moment by Nathanson, for this man with his "Jewish nose he accurately grasped how matters stood".⁹⁰ The same was valid for his former mistress baroness Sandorff, a woman "as of marble, tired of an everlasting wait for pleasure".⁹¹ The stockbroker Han Mengxiang [144] in Mao Dun's novel, who had earlier worked for Zhao Bodao betrayed Wu Sunfu, nay, even his own niece, a merry widow and mistress of numerous skilled and rich visitors of the stock exchange, Mme Liu Yuying [145] made the same!

Mao Dun followed Zola not only in his delineation of the situation on the stock exchange, but also in the literary characters. Sandorff may be considered "in certain respects as the model" for Liu Yuying,⁹² although Zola's figure is portrayed in a more naturalistic manner. Similarly, considerable literary relationship is evident between the "short-sighted", but clever professor of economics Li Yuting [146], and the tubercular, but well-read Zigmund Busch: they have in common a certain absent-mindedness, economic idealism and visionary spirit; although a frequent visitor to Wu Sunfu's home is a liberal, pragmatic and bourgeois economist from the times of the economic crisis in the 1930s, the object of Saccard's admiration and simultaneously the victim of his derision, is an adherent of Proudhon's economic anarchism from the 1860s.

Earlier we alluded to Mao Dun's conviction of the enormous even mythical force of socio-economic elements. This faith was common to both Zola and Mao Dun, although their belief was not quite identical. The prodigious moments of strength that moved or directed Nana's "sex" or Saccard-Gundermann's "money" emerged directly from the social "milieu", from interhuman relations, but also from tradition, e.g. from the *Apocalypse*. Mao Dun was less brutal. He did not stress the social milieu so much and took as help *Ragnarokian* natural forces. The frequently repeated motifs of the "storm", "thunder", "lightning" in describing situations at the rebellious Chinese villages, before and during the strike by working women in Wu Sunfu's factory, or a "violent downpour" impairing *Taishang ganying pian* [147] Treatise of the Most Exalted One on Moral Retribution,⁹³ the last relic of old Mr. Wu, point precisely to these forces. As if in the midst of these various scenes, undertakings and situations, the mythical giant Thrym had truly been responsible for the destructive thunderstorms! In Zola the social forces superimposed on man determine (together with the hereditary taints) the traits of the various characters, for instance, Nana or Saccard. Both are the products of the atmosphere of social

⁹⁰ *L'Argent*, p. 410.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁹² Gruner, F.: *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁹³ Sakai Tadao: *Confucianism and Popular Educational Works*. In: de Bary, Wm. Th. (Ed.): *Self and Society in Ming Thought*. New York—London, Columbia University Press 1970, pp. 331—366.

decay and disintegration, or of financial opportunism. In Mao Dun, the socio-economic forces intensively communicate with the natural elements interpreted in a mythical way, and together these two determine the fate of the various characters, for instance, of old and young Mr. Wu.

5

One of the representatives of the fair sex who was the immediate cause of old Mr. Wu's death, his daughter-in-law, young Mrs. Wu, became in the novel of Mao Dun, the personification of sentimental dreams concealed under the garb of Wertherism, then much in vogue in China. In *Midnight*, Mao Dun refers in several places to J. W. Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. Werther was written about in China as early as 1903, but he could exercise an effective impact only after 1922 when the novel appeared in Chinese in Guo Moruo's translation. And as was current in China of the 1920s and 1930s with bestselling foreign works, Guo's translation was followed by others: Fu Shaoxian [148], Luo Mu [149] (together with an English text), and an abridged translation by Chen Tao [150].⁹⁴ One may believe Professor Liu Wu-chi [154] (1907—) who sometime in 1935 said that Werther "had emotionally affected many Chinese hearts".⁹⁵

In the character of Mrs. Wu, Mao Dun showed his readers a young lady as one of the examples of such an impact. Pink-dressed, tallish woman with "high-pointed breasts", "swaying hips", "unruly mop of wavy hair", "sparkling eyes", "startlingly red lips", and "overpowering gust of rich, heady perfume",⁹⁶ drove the soul out of old Mr. Wu's body and knocked the Treatise of the Most Exalted One on Moral Retribution out of his hands. Old Mr. Wu's "Bible" (if that be a fitting term for a country that had for the most part been out of reach of the Judeo-Christian world) was probably "the best known representative" of the popular morality books (*shanshu*) [157]. This book was based on the belief "one can control one's own destiny by achieving virtue and eschewing vice".⁹⁷ Originally it appeared during the time of the Southern Song Period (1127—1278). Filial piety (*xiao*) [158] was regarded there as the highest virtue, and the manifold phenomena of "sexual

⁹⁴ Gálík, M.: *Preliminary Research-Guide: German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History*. Munich 1971, p. 46, and *Deizhi wenhao liu dajia liezhuan* [151] *The Lives of Six Great German Writers*. Shanghai 1933. Also A Ying [152]: *A Ying wenji* [153] *The Collected Works of A Ying*. Vol. 2. Hong Kong 1979, pp. 687—692.

⁹⁵ Liu Wu-chi: *Shaonian Gede yu xin Zhongguo* [155] *Young Goethe and New China*. In: *Xiyang wenxue yanjiu* [156] *Studies in Western Literature*. Taipei 1978, p. 232.

⁹⁶ *Ziye*, p. 14 and *Midnight*, p. 20.

⁹⁷ Sakai Tadao: *op. cit.*, p. 342.

indulgence" (*yin*) [159], like debauchery, fornication, adultery were classified as the worst of all sins.

Mrs. Wu had another "Bible" in her possession: a tattered old copy of *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. She received it from the hands of the Chinese "Werther", Col. Lei [160] in the evening after old Mr. Wu's funeral. The colonel handed her the book with Guo Moruo's Foreword stressing above all the need of a romantic emotionalism, of *xinqing* [161] feeling, of the heart that "ganz allein die Quelle von allem ist, aller Kraft, aller Seligkeit und alles Elendes",⁹⁸ together with a "faded white rose", with the words: "Madame Wu... you may regard the book and the rose as a gift from me, or, if you like, as something you are looking after for me. You see, my parents are dead and I have no brothers or sisters, and practically no close friends. There is only one thing that is dearest to me: this book with its faded white rose. Before I go to the front I want to give this treasure to the person I trust most..."⁹⁹

Col. Lei only returned to the former Miss Lin the flower which she had given him five years earlier at the time of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist May 30th Movement of 1925, as a mark of her love. Col. Lei, perhaps in imitation of Napoleon, then carried *The Sorrows of Young Werther* as a talisman in the numerous battles during the Northern Expedition. When he had given her this copy with which allegedly he never parted, the same arms embraced him and the same lips kissed him which the day before had contributed to the death of old Mr. Wu.

The enthusiasm provoked in Chinese readers by *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, and practically simultaneously, by Theodore Storm's *Immensee*, Ibsen's plays — particularly *A Doll's House*, or somewhat less though not insignificantly by *The Lady from the Sea*, should be seen in a complex manner. "Wertherism", or "Ibsenism" had a different impact from that they caused in Europe. Different philosophical premises and different *Weltanschauung*, socio-political conditions and economic structures of quite another nature prevailed in China of the 1920s. The premise of feeling in eighteenth-century Europe created an indispensable precondition and a component of the romantic literary movement leading to the fall, or at least to a shaking of the Cartesian alternative, and to the decline of neoclassicism. In old China, beginning at least with the work of Tang Xianzu [164] (1550—1616) and other writers of the Late Ming, there was a question of "emotional fallacy" (at least from our point of view), of feelings bound to some else, e.g. other critical terms, like *jing* [165] scenery, or conditioned by something else, e.g. social relations, and always of sentimental, asthenic nature. Very often (although not always) essential changes

⁹⁸ Cf. Guo Moruo: *Yinxu* [162] Preface. In: *Shaonian Weite zhi fannao* [163] *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. Shanghai 1932, p. 3, and Goethe, J. W.: *Goethes sämtliche Werke*. Band 15. Gotta'sche Bibliothek der Weltliteratur. Stuttgart, n.y., p. 74.

⁹⁹ *Ziye*, p. 90 and *Midnight*, p. 85.

took place in the interpretation of feelings and their place in life and literature after the May Fourth Movement of 1919. They were, for example, hypertrophied in a part of the revolutionary and proletarian literature. The old "emotional fallacy" was reorganized and adapted in terms of a modern individualist expression: in a more conservative way among the adherents of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies groups, and in a more progressive way among the *littérateurs* of the Chuangzao the [166] Creation Society. In *Midnight* Mrs. Wu reads *The Sorrows of Young Werther* only secretly, conceals her own "faded white rose" as an emblem of the past and revels in her own world of recollections. Old Mr. Wu, however, used to show his "Bible" everywhere, propagated and distributed it. Young Mrs. Wu hides her "Bible", is ashamed of her sentiments, does not grasp the greatness of Goethe's masterpiece, its artistic and spiritual message, its revolutionary essence. Her relation towards Werther connected with only one personal experience is a shallow pose behind which there is no mental depth, no admiration, no critical attitude, no understanding. With Col. Lei she creates a complementing pair. To the swanky officer this relation to the beautiful lady is but an episode. A few minutes before during the "dance of death" an Empty Beauty falls into his arms, and he returns to this wellpaid prostitute. In the second and final "dance of death", suggesting the ultimate catastrophe on the stock exchange, the husband of Mrs. Wu is present instead of Col. Lei. He was not the one to catch the falling "Empty Beauty into his arms: evidently the author did not consider it fitting. He allowed, however, Wu Sunfu to knock the book with a "faded white rose", so puzzling to him, out of his wife's hands. This was a repetition with a certain variation of the episode in which two main protagonists had been old Mr. Wu and young Mrs. Wu. This last one episode did not end in tragical death, but both had one trait in common: symbolically they intimated the end of two epochs, that of the domination of Chinese feudal intellectual elite in the cosmopolitan environment of Chinese cities, and the end of an intoxication with Werther and Charlotte, Armand and Marguerite, Joan and Henry, Ivanhoe and d'Artagnan,¹⁰⁰ or rather of their literary impact. The events witnessed at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s were far too strong to permit a fruitful contact to be made with traditions or conventions of this kind.

6

Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* had no very deep, inner effect on the systemo-structural entity of Mao Dun's *Midnight*, but the other works referred to or analysed here played their irreplaceable role. Of these, the least one was played by

¹⁰⁰ The Chinese readers of the first two decades of our century were enthralled by A. Dumas fils' *La Dame aux camélias*, H. R. Haggard's *Joan Haste*, W. Scott's *Ivanhoe*, A. Dumas père's *Les trois mousquetaires* and *Vingt ans après*, and by some other works.

the most valuable of them all: Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. But this is nothing unusual in the history of world literature. The measure of impact does not depend on the artistic or other value, but on the needs of the receiving author and the literary structure.

Midnight was most influenced by a work that is thematically closest to it: Zola's *L'Argent*. Zola was Mao Dun's immediate model in the description of the stock exchange transactions, and the life there generally; in some cases Mao Dun followed directly the principles of Zola's plot construction, particularly in the "last battle", somewhat less, though fairly evidently, when founding the Bank for the Development of Capital Investment in China. Nevertheless, Mao Dun always remained faithful to himself. After coming closer to Zola, he again parted from him, detached himself in order to follow his own road, one that suited his personal artistic temperament and the needs of Chinese national literature.

An important role in the process of reception-creation not only in *Midnight* but also in other works, was played by the monograph about the "Eddas and Sagas" of Northern Europe: Guerber's *Myths of the Norsemen*. Mao Dun never mentioned Guerber: only once did he list his book among reference material at the end of his Outline of Northern Mythology. There he wrote that the "Northern myths are grand and tragic".¹⁰¹ He rightly identified Guerber's "beneficial influences of heat and light" with the so-called "good power of the gods", and the "cold and ice as malevolent spirits" with the so-called "bad power of the giants".¹⁰² Similarly as Lu Xun before him in 1908 Mao Dun took sides with the "bad power", with the dark aspects of reality as a symbol of hope in a new, better future. Satan, as the essence of "evil" in Judeo-Christian Southern beliefs, was replaced by Thrym, the father of the destructive thunderstorms from Heathen-Christian Northern myths. One of the new guarantees of a more equitable future was the hope in the twilight of the gods. Mao Dun transposed this faith (in a transformed manner) into his most important work of art. In contrast to old myths, he presented in the novel the twilight of the "new gods", but refrained from showing with it also the destruction of the "new giants", i.e. workers and peasants, for this would have gone counter to his Marxist conviction and reality. The Northern mythology counted with the destruction of both gods and giants in order to achieve a regeneration and the creation of a new Heaven.¹⁰³

When Mao Dun finally decided to name his novel *Midnight* and not *The Twilight*, he had his own reasons. He mentioned midnight for the first time after the second and last "dance of death" shortly before the "last battle", when most "of the inhabitants of the industrial and financial world of Shanghai were already asleep and groaning through nightmares of cut-throat competition".¹⁰⁴ In the Northern mythol-

¹⁰¹ Outline of Northern Mythology, Vol. 1, p. 8 and Guerber, H. A.: op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 8—9, and 1.

¹⁰³ Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 49—54, and 334—339.

¹⁰⁴ *Ziye*, p. 490 and *Midnight*, p. 466.

ogy Nott, the goddess of night, had by her third husband Dellinger (Dawn) a son of radiant beauty and he was given the name of Dag (i.e. Day).¹⁰⁵ In all probability, when selecting the title *Midnight, Ziye*, i.e. Son of the Night, Mao Dun had in mind precisely this allusion. It is certain that he knew of it.¹⁰⁶ This variant seemed the more acceptable to him.

Stimuli from foreign literatures served Mao Dun either as springboards, or as sources of inspiration, or as elements with which he had to get even in creating new national Chinese literature, particularly a socially committed, revolutionary, and above all, literature with a "particle of art".

Right at the start, in the first pages of the novel, Mao Dun came closer to Tolstoy. He was bewitched by the image of Princess H el ene and he artistically transformed her image into the seclusion of a few women in the salon of the Wu family; but the moment that he had drawn inspiration from Tolstoy, he at once parted from him, for this was demanded by his creative design.

Tragic and sublime moments "borrowed" from the Northern mythology are present throughout the novel: the motif of "the twilight of the gods" pervades or rather influences practically the entire plot; only in the last moments the joint motif of "night, dawn and day" predominates in order to moderate the effect of the powerful, but ambiguous "twilight". These motifs, however, are so concealed and artistically remelted, presented in such a sublimated state that their inspirational sources presume a research in an area unusual to a sinologist.

Mao Dun repeatedly followed Zola and again moved away in his plot. It should be noted that Mao Dun set himself a more complicated and a more heterogeneous task than Zola had. The latter showed French financiers, rapacious representatives of the bank and fictitious capital from the pre-imperialist period with, however, traits of the oncoming centralization and concentration leading towards the formation of an all-powerful financial capital. Mao Dun, if he were to satisfy the economic-political reality of his times, had to portray a "mixture" of the operations of the old usurer capital deriving from the Chinese countryside, of bank capital representing for the most part the interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, of fictitious capital evident in transactions related to speculations on the stock exchange, of foreign capital of the imperialist powers which was constantly being imported into China in an effort to ensure a maximum of profit to its owners. In this ruthless competition the national bourgeoisie, intent on keeping their heads above water, had recourse to sources of the most primitive and barbaric forms of capital accumulation: for instance, Wu Sunfu kept a pawn-shop and a bank in his native small town. From a thematic diversity comprising not only the world of financial capital, the national industrial bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, the workers and peasants, and their social

¹⁰⁵ Guerber, H. A. : op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ Outline of Northern Mythology, p. 14.

struggles, there devolved on the author the necessity of a creative confrontation and of original artistic elaboration of the various characters and even of entire social groups, of the plot construction, in a word of setting up the work as a systemo-structural entity *sui generis*. The most important aspects of this confrontation have been referred to earlier in this study. Those that may not have been explicitly dealt with, became manifest in, for example, in Shanghai factories and in a colourful picture of Chinese intellectuals.

Towards *The Sorrows of Young Werther* Mao Dun took the differentiating (not integrating as in the case of Tolstoy, Zola and Guerber) attitude. He did not want to repudiate valuable Wertherian legacy, but he made a satire of the contemporary bourgeois youth in Chinese cities who faked in their way of life the important stage in the development of the modern man after the age of Reason and rationalism.

The history of modern Chinese literature shows that Qu Qiubai was right when he wrote shortly before his death: "In the future literary history the year 1933 will certainly be designated as the year of the appearance of *Midnight*."¹⁰⁷ One may also subscribe to another of his views, i.e. that *Midnight* is a realist work and that a "truly social science has been applied in it with great success",¹⁰⁸ i.e. Marxist sociology and economic teaching. It should nevertheless be added that Mao Dun's, similarly as Lu Xun's realism had in *Midnight* a strong symbolic taint.

As we have seen, Mao Dun took rather rare contact with Tolstoy, although he made far greater use of Wu's family than Tolstoy of Mademoiselle Scherer's salon. Further, *Midnight* would never have been written without *L'Argent*. Mao Dun, however, did not take over from Zola the elements which in his view were anti-realistic, explicitly naturalistic, and ran counter to the systemo-structural entity of his literary views.

This systemo-structural entity, crystallized most clearly (before the writing of *Midnight*) in his Outline of Western Literature, assumed a "return of realism" into the mainstream of literary evolution following modernist and avantgardist trends of the last and the first decades of our century. Authors whom he especially noted were: M. Gorky, H. Barbusse, F. Gladkov and A. Fadeev, although he wrote with unconcealed sympathies also of O. Babel, L. Leonov, I. Erenburg and others.¹⁰⁹ Mao Dun evidently wanted that his own work would also be one of those that marked this "return of realism".

¹⁰⁷ Qu Qiubai: op. cit., p. 438.

¹⁰⁸ Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁹ Outline of Western Literature, pp. 286—324.

Exactly seven days before finishing the last line of *Midnight*, Mao Dun wrote the essay entitled *Women zhe wentan* [16] Our Literary Scene.¹¹⁰ At that time writers of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies groups were vying for the public's favour, bohemian, sentimental poets and young "genii" sang about moonlit love to attractive ladies, Mao Dun expressed his conviction that "only a tragic and grand historical epic will force the audience to listen and will move the strings of their hearts".¹¹¹ He evidently had in mind his *Midnight* when he wrote that before "the day dawns there is darkness for some time, confused disorder is an inevitable stage preceding a new life, the childish and the crude is an overture of the sublime and the beautiful, and of 'The Beautiful Agony of Birth'".¹¹²

By "childish and crude" were meant the works of some proletarian and revolutionary writers of the 1920s in China. Mao Dun's *Midnight*, as a great realist work of this literature, has as yet remained unmatched, and is a manifestation of that "sublime and beautiful" which, however, in the subsequent history of Chinese literature, through a series of extraneous causes, did not find enough room for the artistic realization.

¹¹⁰ Originally published in the *Eastern Miscellany*, 30, 1933, No. 1, pp. 1—3. Reprinted in *Mao Dun sanwen ji* [168] Prosaic Pieces of Mao Dun. Shanghai 1933, pp. 3—13. Dated: 28 November 1932.

¹¹¹ Prosaic Pieces of Mao Dun, p. 9.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

1. 茅盾
2. 子夜
3. 後記
4. 開明
5. 豹子頭
- 林冲
6. 大澤鄉
7. 我的回顧
8. 茅盾自選集
9. 石碣
10. 倉虫
11. 虹
12. 足音
13. 三人行
14. 野
- 薔薇
15. 宿莽
16. 從拓鞏到東京
17. 小說月報
18. 伏志英
19. 茅盾評傳
20. 周作人
21. 藝術
- 與生活
22. 托爾斯泰與今日俄羅斯
23. 學生
- 雜誌
24. 活屍
25. 法國文學對歐洲文學的
- 影響
26. 鄭振鐸
27. 法國文學研究
28. 沈從余
29. 柴瑪薩斯評傳
30. 西洋文學
- 通論
31. 方璧
32. 六個歐洲文學家
33. 他
- 們的兒子
34. 談我的研究
35. 印象, 感想, 回憶
36. 林紓
37. 恆光遠
38. 文學與政治的交錯
39. 新文學史料
40. 瞿秋白
41. 子夜? 和國貨
- 年
42. 自由談
43. 申報
44. 瞿秋白文集
45. 林洵
46. 子夜? 梁, 戰爭與和平?
47. 小說新論
48. 張畢來
49. 一個女性
50. 祝秀俠
51. 祝庚明
52. 太陽社
53. 茅盾的, 一個女性?
54. 東方
- 雜誌
55. 沈澤民
56. 冰
57. 安的列夫死耗
58. 安得列夫 Andreyev 最後的著作
59. 安得

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文集

DEVELOPPEMENT DE LA PROSE VIETNAMIENNE PENDANT LA PERIODE 1951—1958

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Pendant le période citée, la production prosaïque vietnamienne passait par le processus complexe d'assimilation et de vérification des valeurs artistiques. Elle prenait contact avec les résultats créatifs de valeur artistique positive de l'étape précédente et cherchait de nouvelles possibilités d'un avancement progressif. Ce ne se passa pas de polémiques et discussions, qui, en fin de compte, contribuèrent à une cristallisation d'une nouvelle méthode artistique aussi dans les écrits prosaïques vietnamiens.

On peut généralement constater qu'à partir de 1950, la prose vietnamienne prit pour base de son développement les conclusions et résultats qui découlaient de la Conférence sur la discussion dans la littérature et les arts tenue en 1949. Il s'agissait en premier lieu de la demande de changements révolutionnaires dans le mode de penser littéraire et de la demande que toute activité artistique ou ses résultats créatifs-artistiques tout prêts trouvent la plus grande application possible dans la communication littéraire. En outre, cette conférence s'occupait de certains problèmes spécifiques de la littérature, tels, par exemple, les éléments de base dans la méthode du réalisme socialiste et les genres littéraires (reportage, le roman, questions spécifiques de la poésie et de la prose écrites par les militaires, etc.).

Les résultats positifs de cette conférence se firent sentir dès le début des années cinquante dans les écrits prosaïques de certains auteurs déjà renommés à cette date. Nguyen Tuan commence à surmonter les limitations sociales et de classe de naguères et à prendre une attitude critique envers ses propres écrits précédents. De même, Nguyen Hong exprima et expliqua sa nouvelle position à l'égard de ses œuvres littéraires. Dans un périodique bien connu, il a écrit: «Si notre véricité n'est pas bonne, elle ne rapportera pas de fruits. Si l'énergie vitale d'écrire est insuffisante, des ouvrages apparaîtront avec difficulté. Nous ne sommes pas encore en état d'écrire, parce qu'il nous manque quelque chose qui nous aiguillonne. Il nous manque un stimulant, il nous manque une homogénéité ferme avec la résistance.»¹ Dans le même numéro de ce périodique, Nguyen Tuan écrivait: «... il faut écrire des romans pour l'homme cité ci-avant... écrire des romans avec des conditions plus objectives».

Graduellement, dans ces conditions dont la base avait été créée par de telles discussions, de nouvelles œuvres prosaïques commencèrent à paraître ayant pour

¹ Van nghe, so tranh luan (Littérature et art, numéro de discussion), décembre 1949.

thème la résistance, le milieu des mineurs, la vie des minorités nationales, etc. En premier lieu, il faut rappeler ici le roman à éléments biographiques *Xung kich* (Attaque, 1951) de Nguyen Dinh Thi, où l'idée portante du récit est l'exploit héroïque d'un soldat au front. Avec l'adresse artistique du professionnel, l'auteur y passe à partir de l'individualisation du héros principal, au rendement innovateur du milieu collectif qui est une condition importante pour la réalisation de l'acte héroïque par un individu. Le roman a son côté faible dans la structuralisation des personnages, dans la pénétration de leurs destins et dans l'esquisse de la situation. Une œuvre qui l'emporte dans le domaine des mémoires est *Ky su Cao Lang* (Mémoires de Cao Lang, 1951) par Nguyen Huy Tuong. Dans une prise de vue d'une grande envergure il a réussi à dépeindre avec une force artistique extraordinaire, la situation sur le front d'une région de la frontière. L'ouvrage comprend beaucoup de situations concrètes de combat correspondant à la réalité, et montre les souffrances et la misère des membres de minorités nationales.

Une œuvre portant des signes spécifiques de la guerre de résistance du milieu ouvrier est *Vung mo* (Région minière, 1951) dont l'auteur est un ouvrier Vo Huy Tam. L'écrivain souligne la tradition du mouvement ouvrier vietnamien qui jouait un rôle révolutionnaire important dès 1930 dans la vie sociale, mais qui jusque là n'avait pas trouvé un portrait adéquat dans la littérature et cela surtout parce que la littérature progressive était proscrite, mais aussi parce que les écrivains ne se rendaient pas encore compte des différences de classe et de leur portée sociale. Région minière est ainsi le premier ouvrage dans la littérature vietnamienne à présenter, en une prise de vue étendue et bariolée, la complexité du milieu ouvrier d'alors. Ceci comprenait d'un côté des efforts pour une conscience révolutionnaire, un haut degré d'organisation et un sentiment de classe, et de l'autre côté, une liaison étroite persistante avec la campagne et ses nombreux aspects communs et les conséquences traditionnelles négatives. Vo Huy Tam en tant que écrivain dispose d'une force vitale extraordinaire, il est personnellement attiré par la réalité et il a vraiment vécu et éprouvé presque tout ce qu'il décrit. Ce succès de Vo Huy Tam est simultanément un succès des thèmes nouveaux dans la littérature vietnamienne.

Après 1950, des œuvres prosaïques réussies commencent à paraître au Vietnam du Sud, y comptant en premier lieu *Con duong song* (Le chemin de la vie) par Minh Loc, *Con trau* (Le buffle) par Nguyen Van Bong et *Danh tran giac lua* (La lutte pour le riz) par Bui Hien. Un trait commun à tous ces travaux c'est le thème caractéristique pour la campagne dans les conditions de la guerre et les types des héros-paysans simples.

Une place particulière parmi ses œuvres revient au roman *Le buffle*² de Nguyen

² De roman avait été écrit en 1942, la première édition dans Lien Khu Nam au commencement de 1953; édition ultérieure (Hoi van nghe Viet-nam — Union de la littérature et de l'art vietnamien) vers la fin de 1953.

Van Bong. Son innovation ne réside pas dans le sujet, car la littérature vietnamienne d'avant la révolution connaît beaucoup d'œuvres de grande valeur par des écrivains réalistes qui écrivaient sur la campagne (par exemple, Ngo Tat To, Nguyen Cong Hoan, Nam Cao et autres). Le nouveau dans le roman de Nguyen Van Bong est qu'au moyen d'un problème bien concret — le buffle — il a dépeint tout un cercle d'autres problèmes, importants non seulement par rapport à la vie et au travail des paysans, mais aussi par rapport à la réalité commune à la résistance de toute la nation, dans lequel les paysans jouaient en ce temps-là encore un rôle essentiel. Le problème du buffle ne se bornait pas à ce que cette bête de trait était le moyen de base dans la production agricole, mais il donnait à entendre qu'il était un moyen dont dépendait le salut ou la ruine de toute une nation. Protéger le buffle signifiait assurer la production, nourrir le peuple et être capable de soutenir une longue lutte. S'il y a défaut dans le roman, c'est un portrait plutôt schématique et simplifié de certains personnages dans la composition.

Une des œuvres prosaïques relativement réussies de la première moitié des années cinquante était un recueil de contes par To Hoai intitulé *Truyen Tay-bac* (Histoires du Nord-Ouest).³ L'auteur y présente la vie de trois minorités nationales dans les régions montagneuses de Vietnam : les Muongs, les Thais et les Meo. Il avait fait un séjour prolongé parmi ces peuples, avait vécu avec eux et leur dévoilait des choses et phénomènes qui leur étaient inconnus jusque là. Les Histoires du Nord-Ouest témoignent de la force artistique attrayante de l'auteur, de sa compétence analytique et de la profondeur de son regard sur les problèmes de la vie des minorités nationales, surtout au niveau des situations de conflits entre les événements traditionnels du passé et les faits nouveaux, progressifs du présent, qui néanmoins, se faisaient prévaloir avec difficulté. Ce recueil de contes possède aussi une haute valeur ethnologique et sociologique contenant des matériaux abondants sur les rapports nationales, apparentées et familiales des montagnards.

En général on peut considérer comme un gain de la nouvelle prose l'image collectif du héros et «la pose des premières fondations pour créer l'image d'un nouveau héros dans la littérature et les arts».⁴

Un second problème dont les écrivains vietnamiens devaient s'occuper dans leurs écrits consistait en une prise de conscience plus approfondie de l'essence d'une révolution nationale démocratique. Ce problème persistait pour de longues années avant qu'il ne fut définitivement résolu. Un certain obstacle y était le phénomène social contemporain, c'est-à-dire, dès le début de la guerre de résistance, jusqu'à peu près 1953, on considérait comme ennemi numéro un l'impérialisme, alors que les aspects antiféodaux étaient relativement négligés ou recevaient un minimum

³ Écrit au début de 1953, publié en 1954.

⁴ Hoai Thanh, *Tam nam van nghe khang chien* (Huit ans de la littérature et de l'art de résistance). Van Nghe (Littérature et art), 1953, No. 46.

d'attention. Il s'en suivit que la prose, lors même qu'elle eût un thème de campagne ou de la vie paysanne, reflétait peu ou point les antagonismes et contradictions de classe qui, en fait, représentaient l'obstacle principale au progrès et aux tendances nouvelles menant vers la réforme agraire. Nguyen Huy Tuong avait écrit à ce sujet : «Le point de vue de classe (des écrivains vietnamiens — J. M.) était encore embrumé, le niveau politique bas, les connaissances politiques superficielles.»⁵

Il est alors tout naturel que non pas toutes les œuvres prosaïques puissent être considérées comme le résultat d'une application créative de la méthode artistique du réalisme socialiste. Beaucoup d'entre elles manquaient des connaissances consistantes et d'une compréhension des demandes fondamentales de cette méthode, par exemple la structure de l'image typique du nouvel homme, la nature multistratiforme des personnages actifs et la conscience de la position de l'homme au point de vue de classe. Il y avait des écrivains qui étaient conscients de leur attitude de classe bourgeoise et défendaient la littérature qui en découlait. Par exemple, Do Duc Duc écrit : «Il faut admettre que la petite bourgeoisie comprend le problème (de la nouvelle littérature socialiste — J. M.) quelque peu de travers et mécaniquement. Ils tiennent qu'on doit se prolétarianiser d'abord, et ensuite créer ; la vérité est que s'ils se tiennent dans leurs rangs et y découvrent des thèmes de leur propre classe, ils ont déjà fait une grande chose.»⁶ Cependant, un des écrivains progressifs Nguyen Dinh Thi écrivait à cette époque : «La littérature et l'art ne demandent pas de la petite bourgeoisie de devenir ouvrière (cong nhan hoa) et seulement après de créer. La grande œuvre n'a jamais jusqu'ici parlé d'une seule classe, mais parle de toutes. Le problème de l'artiste maintenant n'est pas qu'il devienne soldat, artisan ou agriculteur. Le problème principal est qu'il leur soit proche, qu'il connaisse leurs sentiments et leurs désirs. Le problème n'est pas de renoncer à soi-même, mais avant tout de se transformer.»⁷

La complexité résidait surtout en ce que maints écrivains, lors même qu'ils comprenaient l'essence de la réalisation d'une révolution nationale démocratique, n'avaient pas une notion claire quant à sa direction, son but. En conséquence de cet état de choses, la production prosaïque tout particulièrement (et au sens plus large aussi toute la littérature et l'art) s'est compliquée après 1954. On sait qu'en cette année-là, la paix fut établie au Vietnam en des conditions d'une politique intérieure assez embrouillées et la réforme agraire procédait de bonne allure. Inévitablement ceci entraîna aussi des conséquences pour le domaine de la culture. En 1955, deux volumes apparurent du roman *Dat chuyen* (Terre en mouvement) de Nguyen Khac Thu, un roman en trois volumes *Truyen anh Luc* (L'incident de Luc) par Nguyen

⁵ Nguyen Huy Tuong, *Bao cao cong tac van nghe nam 1953* (Concernant le travail littéraire-artistique en 1953). Van nghe (Littérature et art), 1954.

⁶ Van nghe, so tranh luan (Littérature et art, numéro de discussion), décembre 1949.

⁷ Ibid.

Huy Tuong et un recueil de contes *Nong dan voi dia chu* (Agriculteurs et propriétaires fonciers) par Nguyen Cong Hoan. Le thème de la résistance figurait dans les écrits de nombreux auteurs. En outre du recueil de contes *Truyen Tay-bac* (Histoires du Nord-ouest) de To Hoai, l'ouvrage réussi *Dat nuoc dung len* (Le pays se lève) par Nguyen Ngoc parut au début de 1956. En un certain sens, cet ouvrage marque un pas en avant dans la production prosaïque en tant que l'auteur a réussi à dépeindre en profondeur le monde intérieur de ses personnages, souvent sur un niveau psychologique assez compliqué et fait ressortir les côtés banals, humains des exploits héroïques. Par conséquent, au point de vue de la tendance contemporaine dominante, il s'agit ici d'enlever la héroïcité aux caractères.

Les écrivains enrégistraient aussi les changements et les événements de la vie en paix dans leurs travaux de mémoires, par exemple Luu Trong Lu dans son ouvrage *Hoa binh da tro lai* (La paix est revenue, 1954), ou Hoai Thanh dans sa petite œuvre *Nam-bo men yeu* (Le sud aimé, 1955). Les auteurs ont concentré leur attention sur des situations concrètes, provoquées par le passage des conditions de guerres à la vie dans la paix.

Dans la nouvelle situation, compliquée par des approches différentes vers la création artistique, par des points de vue contradictoires, des problèmes inexplicés et des faits divergeants, quelques écrivains ont constitué un groupe au milieu de la vie littéraire de cette époque sous le nom de «Nhan van — Giai pham» (Civilisation — Chef-d'œuvres). Ils débutèrent par déprécier surtout l'œuvre citée ci-avant *Dat nuoc dung len* (Le pays se lève) qu'ils ne considéraient pas comme étant un succès, reprochaient au roman des défauts de genre et ne lui attribuaient qu'une signification temporaire. Par contre, ils soulignent l'importance, par exemple, du roman *Vuot Con-dao* (Par l'île de Con-dao, 1955) de Phung Quan, allant jusqu'à l'hyperboliser par endroits. Une comparaison détaillée de ces deux romans serait utile et intéressante — certes, elle est hors de la portée de cette étude. Nous avons déjà touché brièvement les aspects progressifs du premier d'eux, et il faut ajouter que ce deuxième a aussi son côté positif, lors même qu'il fasse preuve d'une naïvité juvénile accentuée et d'un manque d'expérience dans la portraiture des caractères humains. Un autre membre de ce groupe, Tran Dan, dans un de ses ouvrages (*Nguoi nguoi lop lop*, 1955) décrit les héros qui devaient prendre la fameuse forteresse de Dienbien-phu. Il les présente dans les conditions difficiles de la vie et de la guerre, dans de nombreuses épisodes, d'une manière même trop rude. Un des critiques littéraires écrivit à ce sujet : «... il y manque une belle mine et une mentalité autoritaire afin que le lecteur les estime».⁸ Comparant les vues littéraires du groupe Nhan van — Giai pham avec celles des adhérents du mouvement «L'art pour l'art» des années trente, le critique littéraire Hoai Thanh, écrit : «Les membres du groupe Nhan van étaient

⁸ Phong Le, *May van de van xuo Viet-nam 1945—1970* (Quelques problèmes de la prose vietnamienne 1945—1970). Hanoi, Nha xuất bản khoa hoc xa hoi (Maison d'édition des sciences sociales) 1972, p. 65.

contre la révolution. Les adhérents du mouvement «l'art pour l'art» n'étaient pas des contre-révolutionnaires, mais dans l'idéologie et le mode de penser, ils avaient beaucoup de semblable.»⁹ Maurice M. Durand fait cette constatation dans son travail : «A partir de 1956 commença une nouvelle ère littéraire coïncidant avec un nouvel effort de socialisation accélérée du pays. Cet effort ne se fit pas sans heurt et sans mal au détriment des classes bourgeoise et petite-bourgeoise. Du point de vue littéraire, il y eut la période mondialement connue sous le nom de «période des Cent fleurs» en Chine et dont la répercussion au Nord-Vietnam se fit connaître par l'affaire «Nhan van, giai pham» qualifiée en 1956 de réactionnaire par le gouvernement du Nord».¹⁰

Les travaux s'occupant de la réforme agraire étaient bien nombreux, mais leur qualité laissait à désirer. Un défaut commun à tous les ouvrages sur ce thème était une superficialité des caractères des personnages dépeints et un manque de fond dans la situation. La majorité des écrivains étaient animés d'un sentiment évident de sympathie envers les paysans et leurs problèmes, mais ils dévouaient peu d'attention à en faire une analyse quelque peu profonde et concrète, de sorte que beaucoup des personnages illustrés et des situations décrites ont un caractère poncif. Ce qui émergea au premier plan dans le cadre national, c'était une lutte pour poser les fondements du socialisme qui provoquait des changements dans la conscience et le penser tout spécialement dans le domaine idéologique. On peut généralement bien comprendre que ces changements ne fussent pas acceptés trop radicalement dans la pensée de beaucoup des écrivains vietnamiens. Au cours de la résistance protractée contre le régime français, aussi des points de vue motivés par «la classe» avaient été introduits ou proposés dans la vie vietnamienne ; néanmoins, ce n'étaient que les tout premiers pas en ce sens. La bourgeoisie et spécialement la petite-bourgeoisie n'étaient pas fortement critiquées, celle-ci jouissant d'une position relativement favorable grâce à son caractère populaire proclamé et partiellement aussi réalisé, lors même qu'elle fut essentiellement contre la révolution. Ce fait nous aide à comprendre pourquoi dans les conditions de paix, beaucoup d'écrivains vietnamiens devaient continuer à dévouer attention à ce qu'on appelle acceptation du nouveau chemin (cuoc nhan duong moi). En plus, en vertu de l'action persistante du mode de penser de l'ère précédente il existait dans la vie littéraire artistique vietnamienne une possibilité assez réelle de division et de désagrégation dans leurs propres rangs. Ce n'est pas à dire qu'il n'y ait eu de tels qui auraient pu suivre le même chemin avec la révolution, mais beaucoup cependant étaient dans l'idée qu'une fois l'étape de la révolution démocrate-nationale achevée, il fallait se séparer de la révolution, car le chemin du socialisme leur paraissait en contradiction avec

⁹ Hoai Thanh, *Phe binh va tieu luan* (Critique et discussion), tap I (Volume I). Hanoi 1960.

¹⁰ Durand, Maurice M., Nguyen Tran-Huan, *Introduction à la Littérature Vietnamiennne*. Paris, G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose et UNESCO 1969, pp. 133—134.

leurs droits, ou simplement, ils n'avaient pas assez de forces psychiques de la suivre.

Une telle situation créait des conditions favorables à divers mouvements antagoniques dans la prose vietnamienne. Les conflits de vues littéraires reflétait une lutte acérée dans le cadre de toute la société. L'affaire s'est compliquée encore plus au début de 1956 quand on fit admission officielle des fautes commises lors de la réalisation de la réforme agraire dans la République démocratique du Viet-Nam. Ainsi dans une situation intérieure et internationale assez compliquée, divers groupes nationalistes se sont constitués dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne, diverses tendances dont l'activité ou ses conséquences portaient souvent un caractère réactionnaire.

Dans cet ordre d'idée on parle des œuvres publiées dans les recueils *Giai pham* (Chefs-d'œuvre) et le journal *Nhan van* (Civilisation), plus tard aussi dans d'autres périodiques, tel par exemple, *Van* (La culture) dans les années 1956—1957. Les auteurs en étaient : Phan Khoi, Tran Duy, Tran Da, Hoang Cam, Le Dat, Van Cao et d'autres. La plupart d'eux venaient des couches pauvres de la société, mais au cours des neuf ans de la résistance anti-française, ils ont succombé aux vues pernicieuses de la petite-bourgeoisie et quand la situation d'après guerre eut été stabilisée, leur activité commença graduellement à revêtir un caractère contra-révolutionnaire et regressif. Graduellement, parce que quelques uns d'entre eux publiaient encore dans la moitié des années cinquante des œuvres qui étaient acceptées positivement, comme par exemple le recueil de poèmes *Cua bien* (Porte de la mer, 1956) dont les auteurs étaient Hoang Cam, Van Cao, Tran Dan et Le Dat. Le dernier avait publié encore en 1955 un recueil de poèmes *The gioi nay la cua chung ta* (Ce monde appartient à nous).

Plus tard, ils se déclarèrent contre la révolution ouvertement (en 1956 dans le journal *Nhan van* et les recueils *Giai pham*), ou indirectement, d'une manière voilée (en 1957 dans le journal *Van*). Essentiellement, ils étaient opposés à ce que la partie nord du Vietnam s'était mise sur la voie du socialisme, ils falsifiaient considérablement la réalité et exagéraient les difficultés et les insuffisances. Nguyen Huu Dang, par exemple, écrivait : « Notre but est uniquement de critiquer impitoyablement, par conséquent, nous décrivons les événements comme ils se passent, événements dont on ne parle point, événements divers racontés en général, événements individuels présentés du point de vue d'une région, d'une institution. »¹¹ Ils dépeignaient des situations vulgarisées de la vie à la campagne après la réforme agraire, par exemple le conte *Anh Co Lam* (Co Lam)¹² par Tran Dan ; ils s'efforçaient de falsifier des événements tragi-comiques de la vie quotidienne, comme par exemple, le conte *Mua hang mau dich* (Les emplettes dans un magasin d'Etat)¹³ par Thanh Chau ; ils

¹¹ Van hoc (Littérature), 1960, No. 80.

¹² To quoc (La patrie), 1956, No. 27.

¹³ Nhan van (La civilisation), No. 4.

ironisaient — avec un but évidemment négatif — l'homme ordinaire travaillant, comme dans le conte *Lao Rong* (Grand-papa Le Dragon)¹⁴ de Tran Dan ; ils dénigraient à dessin les communistes, comme dans le conte *Nguoi khong lo khong tim* (Homme grandiose sans cœur)¹⁵ par Tran Duy.

Par contre, ils s'efforçaient de propager leurs opinions, tendances diverses souvent décadentes et méthodes de vie au moyen de leurs héros. On trouve partiellement un tel model d'homme dans le conte *Con nguoi Tran Dan* (L'homme Tran Dan)¹⁶ par Hoang Cam, les soldats-pantins et les prostituées dans les contes *Truong hop tong quan cua thieu uy Nguyen Lam* (Le cas de service militaire du sous-lieutenant Nguyen Lam)¹⁷ et *Bich xu ra* (Monnaie de Smaragde)¹⁸ par Thuy An.

On peut supposer que le groupe Nhan van avait en vue une certain desagregation dans la société, mais n'acheva pas en ce sens une réponse, ni une influence qui leur auraient permis de réaliser leur dessein. Par contre, il faut admettre que leurs œuvres suscitaient de l'intérêt, tout particulièrement dans une partie de la population urbaine. Rappelons en marge, que surtout dans la période d'entre-guerre, il y avait beaucoup d'écrivains vietnamiens venant des couches bourgeoises ou petite-bourgeoises qui ont créé des œuvres littéraires de grande valeur. Cependant, après la révolution, divers groupes d'une orientation contre-révolutionnaire, vinrent à être regardés comme un élément inamical et cela les amena dans une impasse aussi sur le champs de la production littéraire. On pourrait peut-être dire à ce sujet qu'ils ont réussi à accomplir plus de travail positif en leurs rééditions initiatives et républications des auteurs d'entre-guerre (Vu Trong Phung, Khai Hung, Do Duc Thu et autres).

Naturellement, on ne saurait nier que le groupe Nhan van avait trouvé un certain écho chez d'autres écrivains. Par conséquent il était nécessaire de mener avec eux des discussions théoriques et idéologiques sur les questions artistiques comme aussi sur des problèmes spécifiques touchant à la production prosaïque. Les représentants du groupe Nhan van ont remporté un certain succès surtout dans leur attitude contre le formalisme, ou plutôt contre la manière formelle (cong thuc) dans le travail littéraire artistique. Leurs points de vue étaient justes en un certain sens, mais dans leurs conséquences menaient à la négation de l'essence de la méthode du réalisme socialiste. De nombreux auteurs de cette période les soutenaient ou les défendaient, par exemple, dans le fait qu'un écrivain n'avait pas à aller loin mais il lui suffisait de prendre note de son milieu, son entourage et de fouiller dans son propre intérieur. Un des auteurs a écrit : «La sagesse et le côté scientifique de la conscience humaine de nos temps consistent non seulement à connaître toute les formes communes de la

¹⁴ *Recueil Giai pham mua xuan* (Chef-d'œuvres du printemps), 1956.

¹⁵ *Recueil Giai pham mua thu* (Chef-d'œuvres d'automne), 1956 Vol. II.

¹⁶ Nhan van (La civilisation), No. 1.

¹⁷ Van (La culture), 1957, No. 26.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1957, No. 2.

vie, mais aussi à constater obstinément les traits intimes et en déduire la portée afin que nous puissions voir la vie plus riche, qu'on doit défendre plus résolument». ¹⁹ Cette introspection était en quelque sorte justifiée, car comme on l'a remarqué ci-avant, un des défauts principaux dans la littérature vietnamienne d'après-guerre était précisément une représentation peu profonde et stéréotypée des caractères des personnages. Le journal *Van* (La culture) acceptait volontiers des expressions d'individualisme dans la production prosaïque : «Thème hétérogène et riche : travailleur de quelque institution injustement accusé de violation de l'ordre organisationnel, un fonctionnaire social d'un tempérament indécis injustement puni, femme avant le mariage qui dit un non résolu, soldat qui incompréhensiblement change de spécialisation, la fonctionnaire veuve dont la famille insiste à ce qu'elle se marie de nouveau, ne s'ait pas se décider...» ²⁰ On peut vraiment reprocher à ces sujets une certaine partialité si non monotonie.

La situation prenait un air un peu différent en poésie : «On se rappelle encore quand la plus grande partie de notre poésie puisait ses sujets dans le combat et la production jusque la régression dans deux tâches — contre l'impérialisme et contre les vieilles mœurs, ce que nous comprenions d'une manière très mécanique... Il nous suffit de prendre note des titres des poèmes pour voir que les jeunes amis cherchent la poésie dans la diversité de la vie. La poésie veut atteindre la profondeur des sentiments, parle d'un problème très vieux et simultanément très moderne et c'est l'amour. La poésie veut exprimer clairement les pensées sur la vie, la vie et la mort, la joie humaine et la douleur..., on y trouve beaucoup de désignations «émotionnelles» : Notre beau destin, Je ne dirai pas ce que j'attends, Récollection, Rencontre, L'amour caché au cœur, Attends-moi, Ecoute...» ²¹

Ces thèmes «nouveaux» avaient un effet vraiment inspirant dans la poésie, lors même toutes les questions de portée sociale et économique dont s'occupait dans une prise de vue plus étendue la production prosaïque.

Un autre problème bien discuté à cette époque était la vogue de «peindre tout en rose», ou «au noir», alors le problème d'un coup d'œil évaluatif et juste sur la réalité. Il était mis à l'ordre du jour par Huy Phuong, ²² et la discussion qui suivait sur certaines œuvres de Kim Lan, Nguyen Huy Tuong, Huu Mai et Doan Gioi ²³ contenait beaucoup de louange sur les tendances des auteurs cherchant audacieusement du nouveau, qui, cependant, consistaient en premier lieu à dépeindre les

¹⁹ Ibid., 1957, No. 15.

²⁰ *Tin Van* (Nouvelles de prose). In: *Van* (La culture), 1957, No. 7.

²¹ *Tin Tho* (Nouvelles de poésie). In: *Van* (La culture), 1957, No. 8.

²² *Phê bình, đả kích, mạt sát của chủ nghĩa hiện thực xã hội* (La critique, un côté du réalisme socialiste). *Van nghe* (Littérature et art), 1956, No. 142.

²³ Par ex. *Ong lão hàng xóm* (Le vieillard du village), *Mot ngày chủ nhật* (Le dimanche), *Nhưng ngày bão táp* (Jours dans un typhon), *Thao thức* (Veille).

phénomènes négatifs et complexes de la vie. A ce propos, des opinions se manifestaient qu'il ne fallait pas craindre que l'ennemi en profiterait (Hoang Yen), qu'il y a plus de mal que de bien dans la vie (Ngo thong), qu'il faut opposer «les déceptions» et assurer la liberté de production (Chu Ngoc). Un écrivain de la génération plus âgée, Nguyen Tuan, posait la question si la méthode du réalisme socialiste comprenait le droit de critique ou non et continuait à expliquer qu'un écrivain ne pouvait que critiquer, montrer le problème, mais n'était pas tenu à le résoudre. Il exprima sa dissatisfaction avec les œuvres qui ne parlaient pas des problèmes actuels. Kim Lan dévoilait son état d'âme compliqué disant que c'est une chose d'écrire selon la «politique» et toute une autre d'écrire selon «la réalité des pensées» (il mettait ces deux choses en contradiction sans réfléchir sur leur harmonie mutuelle) ; en outre, à son avis, écrire selon les pensées vraies signifie se préoccuper surtout des mauvais côtés de la réalité.

Mais il existait aussi d'autres opinions. Luu Trong Lu, par exemple, affirmait que la réalité incorporait beaucoup de bien et écrire du bien comporte une influence éducative incontestable et un effet social plus élevé. Il releva l'importance de l'approche de l'écrivain vers la réalité, à savoir, l'objectivité. Hoai Thanh accentua le devoir de l'écrivain de parler de choses positives et de phénomènes, mais dans le sens que n'importe combien il en parlerait, il ne perdrait jamais. Bien de discussions portaient sur le reflet réaliste, mais on parlait peu ou du tout du point de vue formant la base du reflet ou de son but. Par exemple, Phung Quan, un des représentants du groupe Nhan van écrivit : «En traitant du sujet, je ne pense pas au point de vue. Puisque j'aime bien l'homme, je ne forme pas un point de vue sans réflexion. Une manière dogmatique éducative souvent affaiblit les vrais sentiments.»²⁴

Le sujet de l'amour apparaissait dans les œuvres du groupe Nhan van sous des formes diverses ; en premier lieu comme amour malheureux, blessé, détruit. Ceci ressortait des conséquences de la période précédente ou des erreurs de la réforme agraire, ou bien de la division du pays par le 17^e parallèle. Ainsi Vu Bao dans son roman *Sap cuoi* (La noce aura lieu bientôt, 1957) traite des erreurs et des abus de la réforme agraire, lors même que certaines épisodes évoquent une impression de fausseté et un manque d'authenticité. L'essence dans la réalisation de la réforme agraire échappe complètement à l'écrivain. Dans cet ordre d'idées, quant aux ouvrages du Vietnam du Sud, il faut encore relever le conte *Ve nha* (Retour à la maison)²⁵ par Nguyen Thanh Long, décrivant avec succès la passion du chasseur, lors même qu'une description subjective de sentiments malheureux y prédomine. Le thème de la résistance figurait assez souvent dans les écrits prosaïques et naturellement dans de très nombreux cas la présentation n'évita pas le dolorisme, les souffrances de guerre et les cruautés.

²⁴ *Anh Tho ghi* (Notes du poète). Van (La culture), 1957, No. 33.

²⁵ Van nghe (Littérature et art), 1958, No. 1.

Certains écrivains s'efforçaient de révéler dans leurs travaux des problèmes actuels d'une importance essentielle, caractéristiques pour la complexité de la situation dans la paix, tels Nguyen Van Bong dans son récit *Ve thanh pho* (Retour à la ville),²⁶ Chu Van dans *Ngang trai* (Etourdi),²⁷ Ho Phuong dans *Cau chuyen mot gia dinh* (Episode d'une famille).²⁸ A cette époque il existait dans la vie littéraire du Vietnam un mouvement important parmi les écrivains militaires, mais leurs ouvrages n'atteignaient pas le niveau désirable en ce qui touche au thème contemporain. Comme qualitativement mieux réussie en ce sens, on peut considérer l'œuvre de Nguyen Khai *Xung dot* (Escarmouche, 1957).

Une question étroitement liée à ce problème était celle de l'homme nouveau et de la structuration de ses caractères dans la littérature. L'opinion était assez répandue que l'homme contemporain (à entendre nouveau) n'est pas une image d'un caractère pompeux, n'est pas tissé comme un rideau et garni de chaire et d'os, avec une ame irréaliste et vide et une intelligence, un caractère exclusif et mécanique. L'homme contemporain que la littérature devait présenter aurait dû être un homme passant par une longue lutte, surmontant des difficultés idéologiques, émotionnelles et de tradition, un homme qui prend part activement au conflit entre le beau et le laid, le bon et le mauvais, c'est-à-dire, le voir fidèlement, ce qui veut dire le voir dans son développement.²⁹

L'écrivain Bui Hien considérait une «dualité» ou double face (*nhi nguyen*) comme une qualité organique spécifique de l'homme. Il en écrit: «Erenburg parle d'un homme qui se battait héroïquement sur le front, mais rentré dans un office, il se conduisait humblement envers son chef. C'est un cas assez typique de la «duplicité» dans chaque homme. En créant un caractère, il faut, à mon avis, présenter les deux côtés, le bon comme le mauvais et illustrer toute la lutte entre ces deux, car c'est une expression très réelle et ordinaire du psychisme de l'homme... cette lutte doit être représentée dans le caractère tout avec ses côtés divers, dans le but de son effet actif.»³⁰ Partant de cet approche, Bui Hien a écrit plusieurs contes (par ex., *Anh mat* — Lumière des yeux), cependant par endroits ses caractères paraissent anormaux et artificiels. Dans la structuration de ses caractères Bui Hien a généralisé et appliqué cette thèse et cela l'a de nouveau ramené à la stéréotypie d'un autre aspect. Des éléments pareils apparaissent partiellement aussi dans le roman *Muoi nam* (Dix ans, 1958) par To Hoai. A l'avis de l'historien littéraire vietnamien Phong Le, l'activité dans le Club de l'Union des écrivains de ce temps suivait la même direction: «L'écrivain doit voir la croissance de l'homme et son travail dans la société, mais il ne

²⁶ Ibid., 1956, No. 153.

²⁷ Van (La culture), 1957, No. 21.

²⁸ Tap chi Van nghe (Revue de littérature et d'art), 1957, No.12.

²⁹ Cité librement selon Phong Le, op. cit., p. 75.

³⁰ Van (La culture), 1957, No. 31.

doit pas inventer des personnages idéals, héroïques, tout à fait parfaits qui n'existent pas, ou pas encore, en réalité. En fait, une représentation selon ce modèle ne saurait relever des héros, mais au contraire aiderait à falsifier leur valeur et les ferait singulièrement bizarres.»³¹

Les problèmes touchant à «l'homme contemporain» étaient très complexes dans la nouvelle prose vietnamienne. To Hoai a écrit : «Il n'y a pas encore assez de preuves de ce qu'un homme de notre époque devrait être. Il me semble que l'homme vietnamien actuel doit luire de sueur et d'efforts batissants.»³² De même, un poète de la génération aînée Te Hanh posait la question : «L'homme nouveau, est-ce l'ouvrier-agriculteur-soldat ? ... quelquefois c'est injuste envers les œuvres qui parlent d'autres catégories de gens de la couche ouvrière-paysanne ... c'est une sorte de doctrine ouvrière (cong nhan chu nghia).»³³

Alors, l'image de «l'homme contemporain» dans les œuvres de beaucoup des écrivains vietnamiens de cette époque était l'image d'un homme qui croyait en une mesure plus ou moins grande en la vie, qui ne voyait pas encore clairement où se dirigeait la révolution, vivait une vie complexe, souvent une vie «à deux faces», menait une lutte incessante entre le bien et le mal, considérant souvent le côté mauvais comme l'élément principal et décisif de la vie.

Jusqu'à un certain point, c'était sans doute une représentation partielle du nouvel homme dans les œuvres prosaïques. Les caractères d'ouvriers-soldats ou de paysans-soldats avaient naturellement leur genèse et leur justification dans la guerre de la résistance, mais alors ils ne devaient pas revenir indéfiniment.

Il semblait que les premiers résultats dans l'interprétation de la littérature d'avant la révolution et les points de vue exprimés au Congrès des travailleurs culturels de 1955 tomberaient dans l'oubli. En ce qui concerne les écrivains, il s'agissait de leur compréhension de la nouvelle situation, mais surtout du problème de former leur propre vue de la vie dont parlait le poète To Huu à ce congrès : «Nous devons élever notre niveau idéologique à un tel degré afin d'être à même de comprendre l'homme nouveau. Nous ne pouvons pas regarder des yeux d'un faible individualisme sceptique, mais regarder l'homme nouveau avec un sentiment de fierté et de confiance. Voilà le problème de base et en même temps difficile dans lequel nous devenons trempés.»³⁴

Un fait intéressant est que les points de vue dont on parle ici, comme aussi la

³¹ Phong Le, op. cit., p. 76.

³² Van (La culture), 1957, No. 32.

³³ *Cung dat mot so van de* (Certains problèmes posés en commun), Van (La culture), 1957, No. 26.

³⁴ *Phan dau cho chu nghia hien thuc, tien toi nhung tac pham nghe thuat bien duong cuoc song moi, cor nguoi moi, nguoi anh hung moi cua dan toc* (Lutter pour le réalisme, pour des œuvres d'art célébrant la nouvelle vie, le nouvel homme, le nouveau héros national). Nhan Dan (Le peuple), 13—17. fév. 1955.

production prosaïque elle-même, prirent naissance précisément un peu de temps après le 2^e congrès national des travailleurs et artistiques (1955) où la demande avait été relevée que la littérature et l'art revêtent un caractère «socialiste quant au contenu et national quant à la forme».

Ainsi, ces situations de conflit, où se heurtaient des vues et attitudes contradictoires et incompatibles, culminaient en 1955—1958. Les deux côtés avaient la possibilité de prendre parti en public, légalement (dans divers périodiques) afin que les fautes et erreurs d'un côté ressortissent plus clairement et qu'il y ait un orientation plus correcte de l'autre.

En outre des représentants du groupe Nhan van ou de ses adhérents, il y avait aussi des écrivains (pour la plupart de la génération plus jeune) qui commençaient à écrire avec succès de la résistance et des activités des forces armées. Ils étaient stimulés par diverses compétitions organisées par les journaux militaires (par ex. Quan doi nhan dan — Armée du peuple) et autres institutions culturelles, sur des thèmes comme «la résistance», «réollections des temps de guerre», «vie militaire au temps de paix», etc. Bien entendu, la plupart de ces travaux portent les signes de débuts littéraires ou de tentatives; ils n'achèverent pas la perfection au point de vue artistique, mais ils étaient riches en contenu et apportèrent beaucoup d'images nouvelles.

La prose réaliste vietnamienne était positivement affectée par le roman *Xung dot* (Conflit, 1959) par Nguyen Khai, qui avait commencé à paraître déjà en 1957. L'auteur y a dépeint d'une manière variée la situation à la campagne vietnamienne au temps de la réforme agraire, il ne succomba pas à l'hyperbolisation des traits négatifs et présenta fidèlement la réalité qui rappelle à maints points de vue les travaux de Cholokhov traitant de sujets campagnards.

En fin de compte, on peut dire que les années 1954—1958 représentent une période durant laquelle une polémique animée avait lieu dans la production prosaïque vietnamienne entre divers phénomènes contradictoires. Jusqu'à un certain point, on peut y tracer une analogie avec la situation des années 1945—1946. Ce qui était commun aux œuvres des écrivains vietnamiens (pour la majorité) c'était un enthousiasme pour les changements révolutionnaires et la libération de la nation vietnamienne; de l'autre côté, dans le cadre des approches nationales démocratiques déterminées essentiellement par les conditions de la résistance, on remarquait une certaine différenciation dans la production artistique qui menait, dans certains paramètres idéologiques-esthétiques, jusque la dissension. Cependant, en conséquence de l'action naturelle de la loi de la dialectique, cette dissension mena de nouveau à l'unité, mais d'un nouveau genre, à une unité de catégorie plus élevée. La seule conscience nationale, le patriotisme et la démocratie ne suffisait plus comme sa base commune. Il fallait connaître et assimiler la conscience socialiste, comprendre les lois de la lutte des classes et voir le but final de la révolution. Cette base, formée par la polémique et la discussion constituait dans l'étape ultérieure le point de départ pour la nouvelle prose vietnamienne.

DER TYP DES „NUTZLOSEN MENSCHEN“ IM TÜRKISCHEN GEGENWARTSROMAN

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Das Drama eines mit der ihn umgebenden gesellschaftlichen Realität unzufriedenen, sich aus der Niedrigkeit seiner Stellung zu befreien und seinem Leben einen höheren Sinn zu verleihen unfähigen Menschen fand in der Literatur im Typ des sog. „nutzlosen Menschen“ seine Widerspiegelung. Das Einzelwesen, das sich von der Tradition abwendet und dabei nicht fähig ist zu einer Zukunftsperspektive zu gelangen, gerät in die Isolierung, aus der es einen Ausweg zu finden sucht. Seine Jagd nach einem unerreichbaren Ideal ändert jedoch das Drama seiner Vereinsamung in eine Tragödie des ewigen Suchens. In eine solche Lage gerät auch die Hauptgestalt des Romans der Müßiggänger (*Aylak adam*, 1959), dessen Autor Yusuf Atılgan (geb. 1921) ist. In seinem Werk leitete der türkische Schriftsteller das Drama der Entfremdung vor allem von psychologischen Faktoren ab und schwächte dadurch dessen gesellschaftliche Bedeutung.

Der bedeutende türkische Literaturkritiker Fethi Naci machte in seinem Buch *Zehn türkische Romane*¹ auf die typologische Verwandtheit der Titelgestalten der Romane *Der Müßiggänger* von Yusuf Atılgan und *Ein Held unserer Zeit* von M. J. Lermontow aufmerksam. Fethi Naci begnügte sich hier jedoch mit der Feststellung, daß zwischen beiden Gestalten sowohl Ähnlichkeiten als auch Unterschiedlichkeiten vorhanden sind² und daß das von Atılgan bearbeitete Thema ungefähr ein Jahrhundert lang aktuell ist.³ Er zitiert hier auch die folgende Überlegung des Protagonisten von Lermontows Roman so, daß diese Worte Petschorins ein Licht auch auf den Helden von Yusuf Atılgans Buch werfen:⁴ „...Und wir, deren armselige Nachfolger, auf der Erde ohne Überzeugung und Stolz, ohne Lust and Angst, außer dieser ungewollten Unruhe, die unser Herz beim Gedanken an das unabwendbare Ende bedrückt, umherirrend, wir sind nicht mehr fähig zu großen Opfern weder für das Wohl der Menschheit noch für unser eigenes Glück, da wir die Unverwirklichkeit dessen kennen und wandeln teilnahmslos von Zweifel zu Zweifel, ebenso wie sich unsere Ahnen von einem Wahn zum anderen stürzten, ebenso wie jene keine Hoffnung, ja nichteinmal diese unbestimmte, wenn auch wirkliche Lust

¹ Fethi Naci: *On Türk romanı*. Istanbul, Ok Yayınevi 1971. 93 S.

² Fethi Naci: *On Türk romanı*, S. 63—64.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 64.

habend, die die Seele bei jedem Kampf mit Menschen oder mit dem Schicksal verspürt...“⁵

Die Worte des zitierten Abschnitts, die Lermontow seinem Helden in den Mund legte, kennzeichnen nicht nur dessen Generation, man kann sie in der Tat auch auf die Hauptgestalt des Romans *Der Müßiggänger* beziehen, ebenso wie auf eine ganze Reihe anderer literarischer Gestalten, die den Typ des „nutzlosen Menschen“ darstellen. Mit Eugenij Onegin, dem Titelhelden des Romans in Versen von Alexander Sergejewitsch Puschkin (dessen erste Ausgabe im Jahre 1830 erfolgte), beginnend, wurde der „nutzlose Mensch“ als reale Erscheinung der sozialen Wirklichkeit zum literarischen Typ, wenn auch vom Gesichtspunkt der Genesis verschiedenartig und in der künstlerischen Darstellung mit charakteristischen Unterschiedlichkeiten ausgestattet,⁶ doch zum Typ, dessen dominierende Charakterzüge die Abgewandtheit vom öffentlichen Leben, gesellschaftliche Passivität, seelische Ermüdung, Skeptizismus, Reflexion, sowie die Diskrepanz zwischen Wort und Tat sind.⁷

In welcher Nationalliteratur, in welcher Epoche immer auch diese Problematik des „nutzlosen Menschen“ vorkam, sie trug immer den Siegel ihrer Zeit und des nationalen Charakters,⁸ aber das, was die Werke verschiedener Generationen und Völker einander näher brachte, war der Konflikt zwischen der Gesellschaft und dem Einzelwesen, das diese Gesellschaft ablehnte.⁹

Die Motivation dieses Konflikts ist im Detail von Werk zu Werk unterschiedlich, als Hauptursache jedoch tritt hier immer die Unzufriedenheit des, ob nun tatsächlich oder nur in dessen Vorstellungen, seine Umgebung überragenden Einzelwesens auf, mit der es umgebenden gesellschaftlichen Realität, die Enttäuschung über die bestehenden objektiven Maße der Werte. Das Einzelwesen, keinen aussichtsreichen Ausweg aus der gegebenen Lage sehend, resigniert, unterliegt der Skepsis, schließt sich in sich selbst ein und verschwendet seine Aktivität in der Jagd nach zweifelhaften Idealen. Und gelingt es ihm auch das Ersehnte zu erlangen, tritt — in dem Moment da er zu diesem Ziel gekommen ist — die Enttäuschung ein, und es folgt ein neues, hoffnungsloses Suchen.

⁵ Lermontow, M. Ju.: *Sobranije sotschinenij v tschetyrech tomach*. Tom tschetwertjy (Gesammelte Werke in vier Bänden. Band 4). Moskwa, Chudoshestwennaja literatura 1976, S. 137—138.

⁶ Chraptschenko, M. B.: *Chudoshestwennoje twortschestwo, dejatelnost, tschelowek* (Das künstlerische Schaffen, die Wirklichkeit, der Mensch). Moskwa, Sowetskij pisatelj 1976, S. 103.

⁷ Lewin, J. D.: *Russkij gamletizm* (Der russische Hamletismus). In: *Ot romantisma k realizmu* (Vom Romantismus zum Realismus). Leningrad—Moskwa 1978, S. 216.

⁸ Ajsenstejn, N. A.: *Is istorii turezkogo realizma* (Aus der Geschichte des türkischen Realismus). Moskwa, Nauka 1968, S. 241.

⁹ Keljdytsch, V. A.: *Russkij realizm XX veka* (Der russische Realismus des 20. Jahrhunderts). Moskwa, Nauka 1975, S. 38.

Dieses Abwechseln von Enthusiasmus und Ernüchterung ist kennzeichnend ebenso für Lermontows Petschorin als auch für Atulgans Helden, der im Roman unter dem Zeichen C. auftritt. Eigentlich sind sie Altersgenossen, beide ungefähr fünfundzwanzig Jahre alt. Mehr als ein Jahrhundert trennt sie voneinander, die literarische Geburt beider Gestalten fällt jedoch in eine durch erdrückende Atmosphäre politischer Unfreiheit und gesellschaftlichen Verfalls gekennzeichnete Zeit. Diese Wirklichkeit beteiligte sich ausschlaggebend an der Formierung deren Portraits als „nutzlose Menschen“.

In den Jahren der äußersten Reaktion, die nach der Unterdrückung der Erhebung der Dekabristen im Jahre 1825 eingetreten sind, hat sich Lermontow nach den Worten des Schriftstellers A. I. Herzen „dermaßen mit der Verzweiflung, dem Antagonismus zusammengelebt, daß er nicht nur einen Ausweg nicht gesucht, sondern die Möglichkeit weder eines Kampfes noch einer Aussöhnung auch nur begriffen hat“.¹⁰ Das Ergebnis einer solchen Einstellung des Schriftstellers war dessen Petschorin, ein Mensch von tiefer, leidenschaftlicher Seele und festem Willen, energischer Taten durchaus fähig, aber öffentlichen Problemen gegenüber gleichgültig, nur mit sich selbst beschäftigt.¹¹ Seine ganze Energie, den Verstand, die Begabung widmet er der vergeblichen Bemühung eine Selbstbefriedigung zu erreichen. Seine Bemühungen münden letztlich immer in ein Gefühl anwachsender Leere.¹²

Das Ende der fünfziger Jahre ist in der Türkei durch steigende Vergeltungsmaßnahmen gegen alle fortschrittlichen Kräfte im Lande gekennzeichnet. Y. Atilgan charakterisierte die Reaktion einiger Schriftsteller auf die Lage im Lande mit folgenden Worten: „... die politische Atmosphäre bewirkt, daß sich der Schriftsteller wie eine Larve des Seidenspinners einwickelt. Eingeschüchtert hüllt er sich ins

¹⁰ Herzen, A. I.: *O raswitii rewoljuzionnych idej v Rossii* (Über die Entwicklung revolutionärer Gedanken in Russland). In: *M. Ju. Lermontow v russkoj kritike* (M. Ju. Lermontow in der russischen Kritik). Moskwa, Gossudarstwennoje izdatelstwo chudoshestvennoj literatury 1951, S. 214.

¹¹ Tschernyschewskij, N. G.: *Zametki o shurnalach* (Bemerkungen über Zeitschriften). In: *M. Ju. Lermontow v russkoj kritike*, S. 230.

¹² Im ersten Teil des Romans, der *Bela* betitelt ist, gibt Petschorin diese seine ergebnislose Jagd nach der Selbstbefriedigung in einem Gespräch mit Maxim Maximytsch zu: „In meinen frühen Jugendjahren, von jener Minute an, da ich mich der Fürsorge meiner Verwandten entzog, begann ich alle Genüsse ungezügelt auszukosten, die man für Geld bekommen kann, und selbstverständlich wurde ich ihrer überdrüssig. Nachher stürzte ich mich in die große Welt und bald fiel mir diese Gesellschaft auch auf die Nerven, ich verliebte mich in mondäne Schönheiten und wurde geliebt, aber ihre Liebe reizte lediglich meine Vorstellungskraft und Eitelkeit, das Herz blieb jedoch leer... Ich fing an zu lesen, zu lernen — der Wissenschaften wurde ich auch satt. Die Seele in mir ist durch die Welt verdorben, die Vorstellungskraft unet, das Herz unersättlich, alles ist mir zu wenig: an Leid gewöhne ich mich genauso leicht wie an Freud, mein Leben wird von Tag zu Tag leerer.“ Lermontow, M. Ju.: *Sobranije sotschinenij v tschetyrech tomach*. Tom tschetwertyj. S. 34—35.

Schweigen, gibt seine Sendung auf, redet sich ein, daß die Kunst mit der Politik nichts gemeinsames hätten, oder gibt sich mit enigmatischen Aussagen zufrieden“.¹³

Obwohl diese Worte Atilgans kritisch an die Darsteller der sog. Neuen Literatur gerichtet sind, die in den Jahren des gesteigerten politischen Terrors, der gesellschaftlichen Unterdrückung und des wirtschaftlichen Chaos auf ihren engagierten Zutritt zur Darstellung der Wirklichkeit aus der Position des Realismus verzichteten, gliederte er sich selbst mit seinem Erstlingsroman zu den Schöpfern einer introspektiven, der gesellschaftlichen Realität entrissenen Literatur ein.

Der Protagonist von Yusuf Atilgans Erstlingsroman ist ein junger Intellektueller, Eigentümer einiger Mietshäuser in Istanbul. Das Einkommen, das ihm aus diesem Eigentum fließt, sichert C. ein sorgloses Leben, ermöglicht ihm seinen Liebhabereien uneingeschränkt nachzugehen. In den vier, je nach den einzelnen Jahreszeiten betitelten Teilen des Romans verfließt ein Jahr dieses Schmarotzerlebens ohne jedwedes reale Ziel, das diesem Dasein irgendeinen konkreten Sinn geben könnte.

In seiner freiwilligen Isolation von der gesellschaftlichen Realität, vollkommen gleichgültig zu deren Problemen, ist C. nicht fähig, aber auch nicht ernsthaft bemüht, eine solche Tätigkeit zu finden, die ihn völlig beschäftigen würde, die für ihn zu Lebensnotwendigkeit emporsteigen würde.

Den Typ des „nutzlosen Menschen“ in den Werken namhafter Repräsentanten der russischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts analysierend kam N. A. Dobroljubow in seinem bekannten kritischen Aufsatz *Was ist die Oblomowerei?* zu einigen verallgemeinernden Schlüssen. Puschkins, Lermotows, Turgenjews, Gontscharows literarische Helden leiden darunter, daß sie in ihrem Leben kein Ziel sehen, daß sie keine entsprechende Tätigkeit finden und infolge dessen nur Langeweile und Ekel vor jeder Art von Arbeit verspüren.¹⁴ An ihnen haftet das Zeichen des Müßiggangs, des Schmarotzertums und der völligen Überflüssigkeit in der Welt. Gleichzeitig äußert jedoch Dobroljubow seine Überzeugung, daß sie sich unter anderen Umständen, in einer anderen Gesellschaft zu völlig anderen Menschen hätten entwickeln können.¹⁵

Von der Gesellschaft, der sie angehören, enttäuscht, schließen sich diese skeptischen Helden in ihr Schneckenhaus der überheblichen Vereinsamung ein, von wo sie mit Unverständnis und Verachtung auf die Menschen „mit ihrem kleinlichen Schuffen, ihren begrenzten Ansichten und kurzsichtigen Bestrebungen“ herabblicken.¹⁶

¹³ Das Zitat wurde der folgenden Publikation entnommen: Płaskowicka-Rymkiewicz, S. — Borzęcka, M. — Łabęcka-Koecherowa, M.: *Historia literatury tureckiej* (Geschichte der türkischen Literatur). Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków, Ossolineum 1971, S. 236.

¹⁴ Dobroljubow, N. A.: *Szto takoje oblomowschtschina?* (Was ist die Oblomowerei?). In: *M. Ju. Lermontow w ruskoj kritike*, S. 235.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 244.

Solch eine Haltung zu seiner Umgebung nahm auch der Protagonist des Romans *Der Müßiggänger* ein. Er fühlt sich über die Menschenmenge um sich erhoben, er verachtet jene Männer, die im alltäglichen Familienleben Befriedigung gefunden haben, er ist von seiner Außerordentlichkeit überzeugt.¹⁷ Eine fast panische Angst verspürt er davor um nicht ungewollt den übrigen Menschen ähnlich zu sein, daher achtet er darauf, um im Restaurant oder im Laden nicht als Stammgast betrachtet zu werden.

Im erwähnten Aufsatz macht Dobroljubow auf das Fehlen eines aufrichtigen, ungefälschten Freundschaftsgefühls bei den „nutzlosen Menschen“ aufmerksam.¹⁸ Atilgans Held gibt zu, daß er schon in seiner Jugend nicht imstande war seine Freunde zu verstehen, was er mit der Verstellung begründet, die er bei ihnen immer beobachtet hätte. In Wirklichkeit ist es jedoch sein Egoismus, der es ihm unmöglich macht, mit irgendjemand eine tiefere freundschaftliche Beziehung einzugehen. Menschen seines Schlages können lediglich nehmen, fordern, empfangen, wobei es bei einer echten Freundschaft notwendig ist sich auch zu opfern, aber dazu sind sie nicht fähig. Obwohl C. die Maler Sadik und Kenan seine Freunde nennt, sind seine Beziehungen zu ihnen eine Angelegenheit des Prestiges mehr denn jeh ein inneres Bedürfnis nach einem nahestehenden Menschen. Krass kommt dies in einer Szene aus dem Schlußteil des Romans zum Vorschein, als die beiden jungen Maler wegen einer Debatte über ihre Probleme für eine Weile die Anwesenheit von C. im Atelier vergessen. Ihre Ausgeglichenheit, ihre Begeisterung für die eigene Arbeit, ihre Begabung verspürt C. als ein an ihm begangenes Unrecht.

Neid ist überhaupt einer der ausgeprägtesten Charakterzüge von Atilgans Müßiggänger. Er, allen überdrüssig und gelangweilt, unfähig die kleinen Lebensfreuden zu genießen, ist voll grollenden Zorns beim Anblick der Befriedigung, die andere verspüren. Sogar „die Fähigkeit anderer, sich mit Appetit sattzuessen war eine niederträchtige Ungerechtigkeit“.¹⁹ Dies ist mit einer der Gründe, warum der Protagonist von Atilgans Roman die Menschen meidet. Ayşe, die Frau an die sich C. für eine Zeit lang binden vermochte, durch seine Misanthropie überrascht, stellt sich in Verwunderung die Frage: „Er trennte sich von anderen, warum freut er sich den eigentlich so?“²⁰

¹⁶ Ibid., S. 239.

¹⁷ „Ich kenne euch; ihr beschränkt euch auf kleinliche Reibereien. Ihr fürchtet eure Vorgesetzten. Abends kehrt ihr mit päckchenbeladenen Händen heim. Ihr werdet erwartet. Ihr seid zufrieden. Und noch wie schnell ihr euch zufriedengibt. Eine Leere ist in euch. Warum kann ich auch nicht so sein wie ihr seid? Bin nur ich der einzige Denkende? Nur ich allein?“ Atilgan, Y.: *Aylak adam*. Ankara, Bilgi Yayinevi 1974, S. 54.

¹⁸ Dobroljubow, N. A.: *Shto takoje oblomowschtschina?*, S. 246.

¹⁹ Atilgan, Y.: *Aylak adam*, S. 225.

²⁰ Ibid., S. 173.

Ayşe ist es ebenfalls, die die Ursache der Unruhe und Unausgeglichenheit ihres Geliebten in seiner trägen Lebensweise erblickt. Auch C. selbst zieht irgendeine zielbewußte Tätigkeit in Erwägung, die ihn von der Langeweile befreien könnten, aber schon die Art seiner Überlegungen verrät eindeutig seine wahren Ansichten über die Arbeit: „Die Arbeit bringt Zerstreuung mit sich“, pflegte sein Vater zu sagen. Er wünschte eine solche Zerstreuung nicht. Das, was sie Arbeit nennen, ist zum Beispiel Schreiben oder Unterrichten, oder den Hammer schwingen... Wie leicht wäre es sich ihnen anzupassen! Tagsüber würde er in irgendeiner Schule unterrichten und abends, hätte er Lust dazu, mit stillen, hübschen Frauen ins Bett gehen. Ohne Anstrengung. Er wußte es jedoch. Damit könnte er sich nicht zufriedengeben. Etwas anderes ist notwendig!²¹

Eine Zeit lang widmet er sich mit großem Eifer dem Verfassen von Erzählungen, da das literarische Schaffen ihm eines Menschen so hoher Qualitäten, für den er sich selbst hält, durchaus würdig zu sein scheint. Übrigens, auch seine literarischen Vorläufer versuchten sich auf diesem Gebiet,²² doch, genauso wie bei jenen, führen auch bei C. diese Versuche zu keinerlei faßbaren Ergebnissen. (Eine Ausnahme stellt hier Petschorin dar, dessen Aufzeichnungen zwar nicht das Ergebnis der literarischen Ambitionen seines Verfassers sind, der Erzähler jedoch gliedert sie in den Roman als dessen Bestandteil ein.)

Die schöpferische Begeisterung, die sich des Protagonisten von Atulgans Roman bemächtigt, war nicht von langer Dauer. C. vernichtet alles, was er geschaffen hat, in der Überzeugung, die Leute, an die er sich in seinen Erzählungen gewandt hat, würden es doch nicht schaffen ihn zu begreifen. Und wieder ist seine Überdrüssigkeit, seine innere Unruhe, wie schon so oft, da.

Eine jede Tätigkeit, die der Held von Atulgans Roman *Der Müßiggänger* bislang begonnen hat, entsprang der Langeweile und in Langeweile mündete sie wieder letztlich. So war dies auch mit seinem Studium an der Fakultät für Literatur, an die er sich mit großer Begeisterung inskribiert, dort jedoch nicht länger als vier Monate ausgehalten hat, und ebenso endete auch seine Leidenschaft fürs Sammeln. Bücher, Bilder, Schallplatten, die er im Eifer dieser Leidenschaft in seiner Wohnung zusammengetragen hat, werden mit der Zeit zu Gegenständen, die ihm nichts mehr bedeuten. Auch keine jener Frauen, die kurz in seine Einsamkeit, und auch das nur in einem von ihm selbst bestimmten Maße eindringt, kann ihn für längere Zeit zufriedenstellen. Schließlich sucht er die Rettung im Alkohol²³ und in der Jagd nach dem Trugbild der „wahren“ Liebe.

²¹ Ibid., S. 57—58.

²² Dobroljubow, N. A.: *Schto takoje oblomowschtschina?*, S. 236.

²³ Der Protagonist des Romans gibt zu: „Ich trinke, nur um vor einer gewissen Art von Hoffnungslosigkeit zu entfliehen. Vielleicht auch vor mir selbst.“ Atılgan, Y.: *Aylak adam*, S. 218.

Im Unterschied zu Lermontows Petschorin macht sich Yusuf Atılgans Müßiggänger keinerlei Gedanken über den Sinn seines Lebens, oder darüber, worin dessen Ziel liegt, noch verspürt er Reue über die nutzlos verschwendeten Jahre, über die ungenutzte geistige Energie.²⁴ Er konstruierte sich irgendeine Theorie der „Stütze“ (ein jeder Mensch strebt im Leben nach irgendeiner „Stütze“, da er ohne diese stürzen würde) und sein einziges Ziel ist es das zu finden, worauf er sich stützen könnte. All das, was andere für ihre Stütze halten, was sie über alles schätzen, ob dies nun Reichtum, Beruf, Kunst oder Kinder seien, kommt ihm lächerlich vor. In dieser Gesellschaft voller Verstellung und Unaufrichtigkeit kann man sich einzig auf die „wahre“ Liebe stützen.

So wird zum Leitmotiv des Romans *Der Müßiggänger* das Suchen des Protagonisten nach einer einzigen Frau, die seine Vorstellung vom Gegenstand der „wahren“ Liebe erfüllen würde. Es muß ein Wesen sein, das genau so denken, fühlen, lieben würde wie er, das alle Bande zur umliegenden Welt abzureißen imstande wäre, ein Wesen, mit dem sie einander ausreichen würden. C. ist bereit zuzugeben ein geselliges Wesen zu sein, das ideale Modell der menschlichen Kommunität stellt jedoch für ihn die enge, problemlose, aus zwei Menschen bestehende Gesellschaft dar.

Die Vergeblichkeit dieser Suche sieht nicht nur Sadık, dem sich C. mit seiner Vorstellung der idealen Frau anvertraut (Sadık konstatiert: „Die Frau die du suchst, gibt es nicht auf der Welt...“), auch ihm selbst kommt der Verdacht, ob er nicht nach etwas sucht, was es auf der Welt nicht gibt.²⁵ Doch eine solche Aufrichtigkeit zu sich selbst ist nur von kurzer Dauer und so verbleibt er weiter in seiner Selbsttäuschung.

Wie es jedoch Fethi Naci treffend ausgedrückt hat, das, wonach der Müßiggänger Y. Atılgans sich wirklich sehnt, ist nicht die „einzige Frau“. Er selbst müßte noch einmal als Frau zur Welt kommen und so sich selbst finden.²⁶ Mit anderen Worten gesagt, die „wahre“ Liebe, so wie sie sich die Hauptperson von Atılgans Roman vorstellt, ist nichts anderes als die Bemühung sein eigenes „Ich“ einem anderen

²⁴ Seine Vergangenheit rekapitulierend konstatiert Petschorin in der Nacht vor dem Duell mit Gruschnitzkij verbittert: „... Wozu habe ich gelebt? Für welches Ziel wurde ich geboren? Und irgendein mußte ja da sein, und meine Prädestination war sicher hoch, weil ich in meiner Seele riesige Kräfte verspüre... Ich habe jedoch diese Prädestination nicht erraten, habe mich den Lockungen leerer Leidenschaften hingegeben; aus ihrer Schmiede kam ich hart und kalt heraus wie Eisen, verlor aber für immer das Feuer edler Bestrebungen — die beste Blüte des Lebens!“ Lermontow, M. Ju.: *Sobranije sotschinenij v tschetyrech tomach*. Tom tschetwertjy, S. 117.

²⁵ Der polnische Philosoph J. Kossak schreibt, daß mit Tolstois *Anna Karenina* und Baudelaires *Blumen des Bösen* beginnend, dient die Problematik der Liebe immer ausgeprägter der Darstellung der Wirklichen, den Menschen umgebenden Leere, der einen echten Kontakt und Verbindung mit einem anderen Menschen niemals finden, seine Ideale und Träume nicht verwirklichen, das kurzlebige Glück festhalten, die geistige Einheit und Fülle nie erreichen kann. Siehe Kossak, J.: *Existencialismus ve filosofii a literatuře* (Der Existentialismus in der Philosophie und Literatur). Praha, Svoboda 1978, S. 194.

²⁶ Fethi Naci: *On Türk romanı*. S. 68.

Wesen aufzuzwingen, dieses in seinen eigenen Schatten umzubilden. Lieben bedeutet in seiner Auffassung Eignen und Beherrschen. Es ist eigentlich eine Frage von Ehrgeiz für einen Menschen ohne edle Ambitionen, und darin gleicht Atilgans Held auffallend Petschorin, der sich in sein Tagebuch folgende Worte einträgt: „... Ehrgeiz ist nichts anderes als Machtgier... Gefühle der Liebe, Ergebenheit und Furcht zu sich zu wecken — ist das nicht das wahre Zeichen und die großartigste Feier der Macht! Für jemanden die Ursache der Leiden und Freuden zu sein, ohne dazu irgendein positives Recht zu haben, ist dies nicht die köstlichste Nahrung für unseren Stolz? Und was ist Glück? Der gesättigte Stolz!“²⁷

Diese unmoralische Auffassung von Liebe, diese egoistische Beziehung der „nutzlosen Menschen“ zu Frauen wurde bereits von Dobroljubow im erwähnten Artikel verurteilt: „In der Beziehung zu Frauen benehmen sich alle Oblomows auf eine gleichermaßen schändliche Weise. Sie sind überhaupt nicht imstande zu lieben und wissen nicht, was in der Liebe, ebensowenig wie im Leben zu suchen ist... Sie haben nichts dagegen einzuwenden mit einer Frau zu kokettieren, solange sie in ihr eine sich auf Federn bewegende Puppe erblicken, sie haben auch nichts dagegen sich die Seele der Frau untertan zu machen... wie denn sonst! Dies wirkt ja höchst befriedigend auf ihre herrschsüchtige Natur! Sobald die Angelegenheit jedoch ernst wird, sobald sie zu begreifen beginnen in Wirklichkeit kein Spielzeug vor sich zu haben, sondern eine Frau, die ihrerseits auch von ihnen die Anerkennung ihrer Rechte fordern kann, treten sie sofort einen schändlichen Rückzug an.“²⁸

Diese Worte des russischen Kritikers gelten auch für den Protagonisten des Romans *Der Müßiggänger*. Ihre Aktualität bestätigt auch die Geschichte zweier Liebesepisoden, die C. erlebt.

Aus der Sicht von Atilgans Helden scheint die kurze, lediglich einige Wochen dauernde Bekanntschaft mit Güler vorerst aussichtsreich zu sein. C. hält die naive, gutgläubige Studentin für ein leicht zu bearbeitendes Material, er glaubt sie nach seinen Vorstellungen gestalten zu können. Diese Annahme bekräftigt auch Gülers Bekenntnis, daß sie ihre Schwester nicht gern habe. „Siehe da, ein Mädchen, das es zu sagen wagt, es möge seine Schwester nicht. Das ist, wahrhaftig, keine Kleinigkeit...“²⁹ begeistert sich Atilgans Müßiggänger. Und er, sich dessen sicher, daß dieses Mädchen eines Tages alle ihre Nächsten verstoßen, sich der Bande, die sie an die Umwelt knüpfen, entledigen wird, um dann endlich mit ihm völlig ineinander überzugehen.

Um so größer ist seine Desillusion, wenn sich ihm Güler mit ihren Zukunftsvorstellungen anvertraut. Ihr genüge zum Glücklichein eine kleine Wohnung, ein Mann, den sie liebhaben könnte und Kinder. C. versucht es diese ihre Vorstellung zu

²⁷ Lermontow, M. Ju.: *Sobranije sotschinenij v tschetyrech tomach*. Tom tschetwertj, S. 92.

²⁸ Dobroljubow, N. A.: *Schto takoje oblomowschtschina?*, S. 240.

²⁹ Atilgan, Y.: *Aylak adam*, S. 101.

widerlegen, ihr zu beweisen, das Familienglück als solches gäbe es nicht, daß die Eintönigkeit des gemeinsamen Lebens gesetzmäßig auch Enttäuschungen mit sich bringe. Trotz der Lektionen, die er ihr erteilt, bleibt Güler sie selbst, und sein Interesse an ihr beginnt allmählich nachzugeben, die Bezauberung von ihrer Schönheit schwindet dahin, er beginnt Mängel an ihr zu suchen und schließlich gibt er sie völlig auf. Das Mädchen, das aus ihm einen mit Päckchen behängten Mann machen wollte, kann unmöglich das sein, wonach er gesucht hat.

Seine Vorstellung von einer idealen Frau erfüllt auch die Malerin Ayşe nicht, obwohl nach der Wiederbegegnung mit ihr (zum ersten Mal gingen sie seiner gekränkten Eitelkeit wegen auseinander) er überzeugt ist, sie sei die Einzige, die Wahre von Millionen von Frauen. Je länger jedoch ihr Verhältnis, das für C. in den ersten Tagen als ein vollkommenes erschien, für welches er auch von manchen seiner Prinzipien abzugehen bereit war, dauert, desto mehr bemächtigt sich seiner eine Überdrüssigkeit,³⁰ Ernüchterung³¹ und vor allem die Angst davor, daß er beginnen würde den übrigen zu ähneln.³²

Wie es auch der Held des Romans selbst zugeben muß, ist der eigentliche Grund ihrer Trennung, daß die intelligente, verhältnismäßig emanzipierte Ayşe mit der Lebensweise und den Ansichten ihres egozentrisch veranlagten Liebhabers nicht übereinstimmen kann. Für sie, die eine tiefe Beziehung zu ihrer Arbeit, ihren Eltern und Freunden hat, die ein intensives Leben führt, ist die Misanthropie, der Zynismus, die deprimierende Untätigkeit ihres Partners unbegreiflich. Auch nachdem C. die geheimsten Winkel seiner Seele enthüllt, vermag es Ayşe, nicht ihm näherzukommen.

Die Trennung von Ayşe, ebenso wie vorher von Güler, verschafft Atılgans Helden ein Gefühl der Erleichterung. Auch darin unterscheidet sich C. von Petschorin, der den Verlust einer Frau, die Beziehung zu welcher zwar bereits abgekühlt war, an die er jedoch einst gefühlsmäßig gebunden war, sehr intensiv erlebt. Im Unterschied zu C. überhaupt ist Petschorin nicht gleichgültig zum Leiden anderer und in dem Fall, wo er selbst das Unglück eines Mitmenschen verschuldete, ist er ebenso unglücklich wie sein Opfer, leidet unter Gewissensbissen und verachtet sich selbst. Er selbst hält sich für ein zwiespältiges Wesen.³³ Die Ursachen dieser Zwiespalt sieht Belinskij im

³⁰ „Diese übermäßige Ruhe erschreckt mich. Wenn schon nichts anderes, würde ich doch wenigstens für ein Paar Tage erkranken!“ Atılgan, Y.: *Aylak adam*, S. 170.

³¹ „Ayşe, ihm mit dem Rücken zugewandt, arbeitete am Bild ‚Das Meer, an dessen Ufer zwei Menschen einander liebkosten‘. Wem von ihnen fiel als erstem dieser Unsinn ein? Es gibt in der Welt nicht so ein Meer. Und gäbe es auch ein solches, ist es ein Meer, an dessen Ufer sich zwei Leute paarten.“ Atılgan, Y.: *Aylak adam*, S. 196.

³² „Nichts unterscheidet mich von diesen In-ihre-Ruhe-gekehrten, von diesen Päckchen-behängten. Und obwohl ich ihr zurufe, es gibt keine anderen, es sind wir zwei, bin ich so wie die anderen.“ Atılgan, Y.: *Aylak adam*, S. 195.

³³ „In mir sind zwei Menschen: der eine lebt im wahrsten Sinne dieses Wortes, der andere denkt nach

Antagonismus zwischen der Charaktertiefe und der Erbärmlichkeit der Taten ein und desselben Menschen.³⁴

Bei Atilgans Müßiggänger gibt es einen solchen Zwiespalt nicht. Seine Gedanken decken sich mit seinen Taten, er täuscht seinen Zynismus und seine Überheblichkeit nicht vor, bei ihm ist es nicht wie bei Lermontows Helden nur eine unerläßliche Maske, ein verzweifelter Akt der Selbstverteidigung einer feinfühligem und leicht verwundbaren Seele gegen die Gefühllosigkeit und die Verkennung durch die Umwelt.³⁵

Das, was Petschorin zur Abrechnung mit der aristokratischen Gesellschaft und zur Einschließung in sich selbst getrieben hat, war die Unfähigkeit in dieser Gesellschaft eine entsprechende Geltendmachung seiner geistigen Kräfte und Fähigkeiten zu finden. Er, „diese starke, mit großen Leidenschaften und edlen Bestrebungen ausgestattete Persönlichkeit“,³⁶ stürzt sich kopfüber in Gefahren, schmiedet Ränke, nur um irgendwie, wenn auch mit einer nutzlosen Tätigkeit die Leere seines Daseins zu füllen.³⁷

Die damalige russische reaktionäre Kritik beobachtete in Lermontows Roman die kritische Ladung gerichtet gegen die erdrückenden Verhältnisse, die das beste, was in der russischen Nation war, niedergeschlagen haben. Sie verdammten dieses Werk gerade als gesellschaftskritisches Werk, das den russischen Menschen geringschätzig beurteilte.³⁸ Das gesellschaftliche Schwergewicht des Romans *Ein Held unserer Zeit* hob auch V. G. Belinskij hervor, als er dessen Autor einen Löser schwerwiegender zeitgenössischer Probleme nannte.³⁹

Der Typ des entfremdeten Einzelwesens, den Yusuf Atilgan in seinem Roman *Der Müßiggänger* schuf und dem man eine künstlerische Überzeugungskraft nicht aberkennen kann, bot dem Autor die Möglichkeit anhand der Genesis dieser Erscheinung auf die tiefe Krise der zeitgenössischen bourgeoisen Gesellschaft in der Türkei hinzuweisen. Die Ursachen, die einen jungen, intelligenten Menschen aus

und richtet über ihn...“ Lermontow, M. Ju.: *Polnoje sobranije sotschinenij v tschetyrech tomach*. Tom tschetwertyj, S. 120.

³⁴ Belinskij, W. G.: „*Geroj naschego vremeni*“. *Sotschinenije M. Lermontowa* („Ein Held unserer Zeit“. Das Werk M. Lermontows). In: *M. Ju. Lermontow w russkoj kritike*, S. 92.

³⁵ *Ruská klasická literatura* (Die russische klassische Literatur). Praha, Svoboda 1977, S. 148.

³⁶ Ejchenbaum, B. M.: *Statji o Lermontowe* (Aufsätze über Lermontow). Moskwa—Leningrad, IAN SSSR 1961, S. 253.

³⁷ Auf Grund einiger Indizien gelangten die russischen Literaturwissenschaftler zur Ansicht, daß Petschorins Aufenthalt im Kaukasus eigentlich eine politische Verbannung war und zwar als Folge seiner Sympathien für die Dekabristen. Diese Annahme berechtigen vor allem verschiedene Anspielungen in den einzelnen erhaltenen Varianten der „Fürstin Meri“. Näheres siehe Ejchenbaum, B. M.: *Statji o Lermontowe*, S. 254—258.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 283.

³⁹ Belinskij, W. G.: „*Geroj naschego vremeni*“, S. 187.

den Kreisen des Kleinbürgertums zum Bruch mit seiner Umgebung führen, die ihn durch die Langeweile wohlhabender Tatlosigkeit schleppen, sieht jedoch der Schriftsteller vor allem in dem, infolge traumatisierender Erlebnisse in seiner Kindheit gestörten psychischen Gleichgewicht des Helden. Den Ekel vor Verstellung, Heuchelei, Seichtheit der Interessen die in der zeitgenössischen bourgeoisen Gesellschaft herrschen, stellt Atılgan in seinem Roman erst an zweite Stelle.⁴⁰

In seiner Auffassung des „nutzlosen Menschen“ betont Atılgan die negative Beziehung der Hauptgestalt des Romans zu dessen Vater. Der Sohn beneidet seinen Vater, da er in diesem einen Rivalen sieht. Er will Tante Zehras Liebe nicht mit ihm teilen. Die Gefühlskühle des Helden im Mannesalter kann als Ergebnis seines nahezu krankhaften Festhaltens an jene Frau, die ihm im zarten Kindesalter die Mutter ersetzte, und so auch die Suche nach der idealen Frau als eine Jagd nach dem Trugbild der geliebten Person aufgefaßt werden. Das beweist letztlich auch die Episode mit einer Prostituierten.

So reduzierte Atılgan die Motivation des Abscheus des Protagonisten seines Romans gegen jedwede nutzbringende Tätigkeit auf den Ödipuskomplex. Bereits in der Kindheit entschloß sich C. dem gehaßten Vater in nichts ähnlich zu sein. Jedoch nur deshalb jede Arbeit zu meiden, um sich so von seinem tatkräftigen Vater zu unterscheiden und dabei vom Ertrag der Arbeit gerade dieses Menschen, der Arbeit die er verachtet, zu leben — das zeugt nicht von einer allzu hohen moralischen Reife des Protagonisten des Romans. An dieser Tatsache ändert nichts auch die bagatellisierende Einstellung von C. zu allem, was mit Geld zusammenhängt, zu finanziellen Angelegenheiten überhaupt. Als würde er vergessen, daß es gerade seines Vaters Geld ist, das es ihm ermöglicht in seiner überheblichen Pose des außerhalb der Gesellschaft stehenden Einzelwesens zu verbleiben.

Letztlich unterscheidet sich C. auch in seiner Beziehung zu Frauen nicht allzusehr von seinem Vater. Obwohl die Objekte seiner erotischen Ausschweifungen keine Dienstmädchen sind, und seinen Liebesabenteuern trachtet er wenigstens einen Anschein von Gefühlsregung zu verleihen, stellt es sich schließlich doch heraus, daß das Wesentliche, worum es ihm ging, der sinnliche Genuß war.

„Der Roman endet mit der Annahme der Niederlage durch den Müßiggänger ... Die Stützen, an die er sich geklammert hat, können ihn nicht retten,“⁴¹ schließt Fethi Naci seine Bewertung des Erstlingswerkes von Yusuf Atılgan. Er weist damit auf den Irrtum hin, den der Schriftsteller in seinem Werk begangen hat. Atılgan erscheint

⁴⁰ Die Tatsache, daß die Entfremdung des Helden im Roman *Der Müßiggänger* vor allem auf Familienstreitigkeiten in seiner Kindheit zurückgeführt und nicht auf die Notwendigkeit einer gesellschaftlichen Veränderung hingewiesen wird, hat Y. Atılgan auch der Kritiker Halil Şahan vorgeworfen. Siehe Şahan, H.: *Yabancılaşmanın romanı* (Der Roman der Entfremdung). Ankara, Türk Dili, 1975, Nr. 285, S. 488.

⁴¹ Fethi Naci: *On Türk romanı*, S. 70.

nämlich nicht die eigentliche Idee der „wahren“ Liebe als einzig möglichen Fluchtweges aus dem Zauberkreis der Einsamkeit als absurd, sondern das Zusammentreffen von Zufällen und ungünstigen Umständen, die dazu führen, daß der Held des Romans bei seiner Jagd nach der Erreichung seines Ideals immer wieder den falschen Weg einschlägt.

Wir erwähnten bereits, daß Yusuf Atılgans Roman *Der Müßiggänger* in einer Zeit entstand, da die Türkei eine tiefe sozial-politische Krise erlebte. In der stickigen Atmosphäre, die im Lande nach der Machtergreifung der äußerst reaktionären Demokratischen Partei herrschte, finden die türkischen Intellektuellen, die immer mehr zur Zielscheibe politischer Vergeltungsmaßnahmen wurden, den Ausdruck ihrer Lebensgefühle in der Existenzphilosophie.⁴² Auf besonderes Interesse stießen die Werke von Jean-Paul Sartre und Albert Camus. Es entsteht eine ganze Reihe literarischer Werke, die die Motive des zeitgenössischen Existentialismus mehr oder weniger akzeptieren. Die Analyse der Psychik des Einzelnen in seiner Isoliertheit von der Gesellschaft, dessen Bemühung nur sich selbst zu begreifen in einer Welt, die ihm als eine zerklüftete, sinnlose und unbegreifliche Welt erscheint, wird dominant vor allem im Schaffen jüngerer Autoren.

Einer der existentialistischen Grundbegriffe ist der Begriff der „Freiheit“ als individuellen Willens. Der Mensch bekräftigt seine Freiheit indem er sich seiner Umgebung, der Konvention, den Umständen nicht unterwirft. Er lehnt dabei jedoch nicht nur die Normen der bürgerlichen Moral mit ihrer Verlogenheit und Verstellung ab, sondern läßt sich nichteinmal durch Rücksichtnahme auf andere, durch Selbstdisziplin beschränken. Dieser Aspekt, in Sartres *Der Ekel* und in Camus' *Der Fremde* markant ausgedrückt, ist auch im Roman von Yusuf Atılgan *Der Müßiggänger* anwesend. So wie Antoine Roquentin und Mersault stellt sich auch C. aus Atılgans Roman gegen die Pseudowerte der bürgerlichen Zivilisation, gegen die moralische Scheinheiligkeit. Die Art, auf welche diese literarischen Gestalten gegen die offizielle Welt protestieren, führt sie jedoch unabwendbar in eine tragische Vereinsamung, in eine Leere.

Das Mühen einer derart aufgefaßten Freiheit in die Vergegenwärtigung der Sinnlosigkeit der eigenen Existenz beweisen treffend Roquentins Worte im abschließenden Teil von Sartres Roman *Der Ekel*: „Ich bin frei, habe keinen Grund mehr zu leben, alle Gründe, die ich ausprobte, haben nachgegeben und ich schaffe es nicht mir irgendwelche weitere auszudenken. Ich bin noch verhältnismäßig jung,

⁴² Siehe Płaskowicka-Rymkiewicz, S. — Borzęcka, M. — Łabęcka-Koecherowa, M.: *Historia literatury tureckiej*, S. 238—239; Uturgauri, S. N.: *O frejdistskoj i ekzistenzialistskoj tendencijach v turezkoj prose 60-ch godow* (Über freudistische und existentialistische Tendenzen in der türkischen Prosa der 60er Jahre). In: *Ideologičeskaja borba i sowremennyje literatury zarubeshnogo Wostoka* (Der ideologische Kampf und die zeitgenössischen Literaturen des ausländischen Orients). Moskwa, Nauka 1977, S. 56—59; Şahan, H.: *Yabancılaşmanın romanı*, S. 488.

habe noch genug Kräfte um neu anzufangen. Aber was soll ich neu anfangen? Jetzt erst begreife ich, wie sehr ich mich auch während der ärgsten Grauen und Unpäßlichkeiten auf Anny verlassen habe, sie würde mich retten. Meine Vergangenheit ist tot, Herr de Rollebon ist tot, Anny kehrte zurück nur um mich meiner ganzen Hoffnung zu berauben. Ich bin einsam in der Mitte dieser weißen Straße, die die Gärten umrahmt. Einsam und frei. Bloß, diese Freiheit erinnert ein wenig an den Tod.“⁴³

Sartres dreißigjähriger Roquentin, genauso wie Atlgans um etwas jüngerer Held wird von einem Gefühl tiefgreifender Langeweile verfolgt. Keine Tätigkeit, ob dies nun Reisen waren oder ein Versuch sich literarisch zu betätigen, vermochte ihn auf die Dauer zu fesseln, zu befriedigen. Schließlich gibt er sich selbst zu, daß er eigentlich nichts machen wolle: „... etwas tun bedeutet Existenz zu schaffen — und davon gibt es schon genug“.⁴⁴ Ähnlich wie Atlgans C. legt der Erzähler und gleichzeitig Protagonist des Romans *Der Ekel* seine letzte Hoffnung in die Liebe zu einer Frau, aber auch Anny rettet ihn vor der totalen Enttäuschung nicht. Er wird dessen gewahr, daß er überflüssig und dazu verurteilt ist, sein verlegenes, verhaßtes Dasein weiterzuschleppen, das ihn anwidert, dessen er sich jedoch nicht entledigen kann, weil auch sein freiwilliger Tod überflüssig wäre („*j'étais de trop pour l'éternité*“⁴⁵).

Sartres Suchen nach der Authentizität des Menschen im Roman *Der Ekel* mündete in der Erkenntnis der tragischen Absurdität des Daseins. In dieser frühen Schaffensperiode, als er Heideggers Nihilismus noch sehr nahestand, ließ Sartre seinen Helden in einer Sackgasse stecken. Aber während sein philosophisches Werk *L'Être et le Néant* aus dem Jahre 1943 noch die Idee des Nichts als Ideal verteidigt, erschien bei Sartre in seinem Nachkriegswerk *L'existentialisme est un humanisme* (1946) ein neues Motiv der Verantwortlichkeit für andere und damit auch das Postulat der Affirmation des Humanismus.⁴⁶

Yusuf Atlgans zweiter Roman *Hotel Vaterland* (*Anayurt Oteli*, 1973) erschien erst ungefähr vierzehn Jahre nach seinem prosaischen Erstlingswerk. Während jedoch in den späteren Jahren viele Repräsentanten der sog. Neuen Literatur ihr Interesse vom introspektiven Erforschen des menschlichen Bewußtseins der Darstellung aktuellster gesellschaftlicher Probleme und derer Lösung zugewendet haben, brachte *Hotel Vaterland* in Atlgans Konzeption des von der Gesellschaft isolierten Menschen keinerlei positive Wende.

Im Gegenteil, läßt der Autor dem Protagonisten des Romans *Der Müßiggänger*

⁴³ Sartre, J.-P.: *La Nausée*. Paris, Gallimard 1961. S. 220—221.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 243.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 182.

⁴⁶ Kossak, J.: *Existencialismus ve filosofii a literatuře*, S. 18.

noch irgendeine Hoffnung auf die Flucht aus der Vereinsamung, in die sich dieser bewußt, absichtlich situierte, indem er die bürgerliche Gesellschaft mit ihrer Niedrigkeit und Verstellung ablehnte, führte Atilgan die Isoliertheit Zebercets, der Hauptgestalt des Romans *Hotel Vaterland*, ad absurdum.

Von C. unterscheidet sich der dreißigjährige Zebercet durch seine Herkunft, sein intellektuelles Niveau, seine soziale Stellung, seine Beziehung zu Frauen. Er ist ein Nachkomme eines verarmten aristokratischen Geschlechts, dessen Degenerierung im physischen Äußeren Zebercets, als auch in seiner Mentalität, indem er mit einer sexuellen Abweichung gezeichnet ist, zum Vorschein kommt. Er arbeitet als Verwalter eines Hotels, in der Intimsphäre muß er sich mit einem Zimmermädchen zufriedengeben.

Zebercet geriet in seine Vereinsamung anscheinend ungewollt, als wäre er dazu verurteilt worden durch seine vorzeitige Geburt, als einziges Kind betagter Eltern, durch seinen ungewöhnlichen Namen, durch den eintönigen Beruf, der ihn für Jahre zwischen die vier Wände des Hotels, eines ehemaligen jahrhundertelangen vornehmen Sitzes der Familie Keçeci verschlossen hatte. Schon allein die Tatsache, daß vom einst mächtigen und reichen Geschlecht außer der Toten in der Stadt nur das ehemalige Schloß und er, Zebercet zurückgeblieben sind, versetzt ihn in eine außerordentliche Lage. Indem er mit der Vergangenheit tiefgehend verknüpft bleibt, indem er sich vom ihr nicht losreißen vermag, verliert er den Kontakt mit der Umwelt. Seine Welt ist der verflossene Ruhm und der fortschreitende Verfall seines Geschlechts sowie das Schloß, das über diese Vergangenheit wie ein Denkmal ragt.

Ähnlich wie C. aus Atilgans Erstlingsroman sucht auch Zebercet seine „Stütze“ in einer Frau. Eine Reisende, die eine einzige Nacht im Hotel Vaterland verbringt, reißt Zebercet für einige Tage aus der Unveränderlichkeit seines Lebens, schließlich muß er jedoch zugeben, daß weder die geheimnisvolle Fremde, noch irgendeine andere Frau ihn von ihm selbst befreien, vor ihn schützen imstande ist.

In seinem Essay *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* schreibt A. Camus: „Aus vielen Gründen, vor allem aus Gewohnheit setzt man seine Tätigkeit fort, die das Dasein verlängert. Der Freitod setzt zumindest eine instinktiv erkannte Möglichkeit dieser Gewohnheit, eine Abwesenheit jedweder tieferer Beziehung zum Leben, der Sinnlosigkeit dieser alltäglichen Tätigkeit, der Unabwendbarkeit des Leidens voraus.“⁴⁷

Atilgans Held scheint diese These des französischen Existentialisten durch sein, jedweden Sinn entbehrendes Leben und seinen noch sinnloseren Tod zu illustrieren. Nach einem zeitweiligen Abweichen von der Lebensgewohnheit kehrt er wieder zur Ausgangslage zurück, sein scheinbares seelisches Gleichgewicht ist jedoch derart gestört, daß er gezwungen ist nach und nach auch jene Beziehungen abubrechen, die er noch mit seiner Umwelt aufrechterhalten hat. Je mehr er sich von der äußeren

⁴⁷ Camus, A.: *Le Mythe de Sisyphe*. Paris, Gallimard 1942, S. 18.

Welt isoliert, desto mehr verkriecht er sich in die Vergangenheit, als würde ihn der moralische Verfall, die Degenerierung, die Verworfenheit jener Kreise, denen er entstammt, faszinieren. Nach einer Reihe absurder Taten entscheidet Zebercet selbst über sein Ende.

An das Drama des entfremdeten Einzelwesens als an ein psychologisches, mit historischen und sozialen Gegebenheiten nicht zusammenhängendes Problem herantretend,⁴⁸ nahm Yusuf Atılgan den Protagonisten seiner Romane die Perspektive der Möglichkeit auf Grund neuer gesellschaftlicher Beziehungen jene Kluft zu überbrücken, die sie von den Menschen, von der realen Wirklichkeit trennt.

⁴⁸ Der türkische Dichter und Literaturtheoretiker Hilmi Yavuz wirft Atılgan vor, daß er in seinen Romanen die Ausgangslosigkeit der Lage des Menschen hervorhebt, seine Auffassung der Entfremdung als rein psychologischen Problems hält er für einen grundlegenden Irrtum des Schriftstellers, der infolge dieses Irrtums auf einem abstrakten und metaphysischen Standpunkt verharrt. Yavuz, H.: *Roman kavramı ve Türk romanı* (Die Roman-Idee und der türkische Roman). Ankara, Bilgi Yayınevi 1974, S. 141.

CONCERNING STABILITY FACTORS OF LINGUISTIC SYSTEMS

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Size of inventory and structural organization are discussed as internal factors affecting stability of linguistic systems. Stability is examined not only as a property of whole systems but also as that of its particular elements. Data from Indonesian and Japanese are employed to illustrate the behaviour of complex lexical systems.

In linguistics, system is usually interpreted as a set of interrelated elements that is relatively independent of its environment. However, this definition is too general to reflect the variety of particular systems. Indeed, linguistic systems may considerably deviate as to their internal organization and stability. After all, there are paradigmatic and syntagmatic, phonological, grammatical and lexical systems in language. The sum of elements (termed inventory) varies from a few in morphology and phonology to hundreds or more in vocabulary and so does structure, i.e. internal organization which may be hierarchically simple or complex.

In this paper we discuss the size of inventory and structural organization as internal factors affecting the stability of linguistic systems. Some measure of stability is a condition sine qua non of the relative independence of linguistic systems, being the temporal aspect of their autonomy. As far as language is concerned, there are also external factors of stability but they will not be discussed here.

Recently, V. N. Sadovski has made an attempt to formulate criteria of structuration. According to him, there are seven such criteria, and Sadovski suggests that they might be employed for evaluating the density of the network of relations in a system from minimum to maximum (Sadovski, 1979, pp. 119—129). But Sadovski is interested only in formal aspects of structuration, without taking into account the functional aspect and behaviour of the system.

The notion of system is widely used in modern linguistics, especially in studies dealing with phonology and grammar. It becomes more and more common in lexicology, but this is where complications often appear. We are sometimes confronted with opinions that vocabulary is devoid of systematic character.

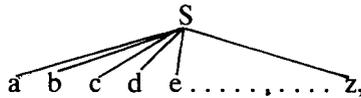
The different attitudes to phonology and grammar on the one hand, and to vocabulary, on the other, are at first sight due to the difference in the numbers of elements involved. While phonological and grammatical systems typically comprise

small and relatively stable inventories, lexical systems include considerably greater numbers of elements, being more open and unstable.

At the same time, we know that there are other, nonlinguistic systems (cf. electronics, biology) which are notable for their extensive inventories, and yet this fact casts no doubt upon their systematic character, let alone their stability. Thus, the problem does not simply consist in the absolute magnitude of the inventory as such, but rather in its magnitude relative to the way in which language exists. Language is bound to human memory and this vehicle has its limitations. The capacity of human memory is far from inexhaustible. This is why the stability of linguistic systems (defined here as their resistance to change) is inversely proportional to the magnitude of their inventories. A smaller number of elements warrants a higher stability of the system concerned, while a larger number of elements results in a lower stability. This can be proved provided the systems under comparison display the same degree of internal organization, i.e. structuration. This parameter is regarded as another factor relevant to the stability of linguistic systems.

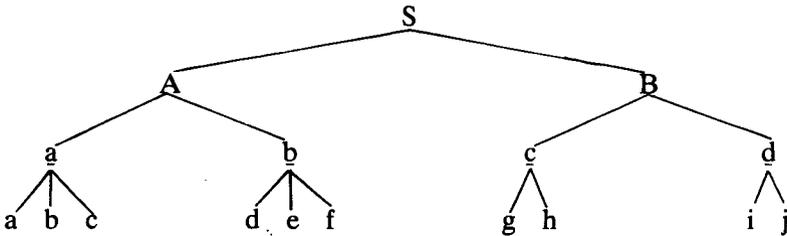
When comparing two systems, we label as the more structured that one which comprises more hierarchical levels than its counterpart.

If a system with relatively many elements comprises only one hierarchical level, i.e.



then the set of interrelations holding among these elements is very great (e.g., with 40 elements it would amount to 798 binary relations). This set of interrelations, i.e. the structure of the system, would include only direct relations while there would be no mediated relations at all. In Sadovski's terms, this would be the type of a system with the highest possible density of relations network (Sadovski, 1979, p. 128). However, the nature of human memory is such that it would make such a system insufficiently stable provided the inventory comprised a great number of elements.

From the point of view of memory, it is the more hierarchized systems that are preferable. Inevitably, they comprise a greater ratio of mediated relations, e.g.



In this system there are eight direct relations (a—b, a—c, b—c, d—e, d—f, e—f, g—h, i—j) upon the third hierarchical level, while the first and second hierarchical levels represent mediated relations. If this system would not be hierarchized, its structure would consist of 45 direct relations and as a consequence of this it would be less stable. In a hierarchically more complex system of the type schematized above, the existence of mediated relations (a—b, c—d and A—B) decreases the number of direct relations through replacing them by mediated relations.

In addition to the stability of a linguistic system as a whole we can also speak of the stability of its particular elements. The stability of an element depends upon its centrality within the system, or its productivity which may be characterized as its paradigmatic and syntagmatic associativity. Associativity is defined here as the sum of elements that are compatible with the element concerned. Let us take as an example the Indonesian nominal classifier *ekor* "animal". Upon the paradigmatic axis it is associated with words such as *orang* "human being" and *buah* "thing"; upon the syntagmatic axis it associates with such words as *kuda* "horse", *buaya* "crocodile", *harimau* "tiger", *gajah* "elephant", etc. The stability of a particular element is supported by a high syntagmatic associativity and a low paradigmatic associativity. (In other words, a high functional utilization and a small size of the inventory.) This is connected with the centrality versus peripherality of the element concerned within the system.

The particular elements differ also as to their relative associativity. Considerable discrepancies in the relative syntagmatic associativity may lead to changes within the linguistic system — to its reduction because those elements that are notable for a low syntagmatic associativity may eventually become obsolete and disappear. Thus, in linguistic systems the core should differ from its periphery in terms of stability.

The reduction of inventory amounts to an extension of the associativity of some of the elements with a simultaneous restriction of the associativity of other elements to zero. The annihilation of the paradigmatic associativity of the sum of all elements means that the whole system ceases to exist. This happens when the whole inventory is reduced to less than two elements. If one element remains, its syntagmatic associativity is absolutized. This happens, e.g., to the Maori classifier *ee* (originally compatible only with nouns referring to inanimate objects) which tends to replace the classifier *toko* (compatible with nouns referring to human beings), thus leading to the disappearance of the paradigmatic system of classifiers in Maori. If no element remains from the whole inventory, this results in a restructuration upon the syntagmatic level.

The relative syntagmatic associativity of an element ranges within the open interval (0; 1). The most stable system is one in which the relative syntagmatic associativity is distributed equally among its elements. If the number of elements is equal to r , then the probability of occurrence of any element should approximate $1/r$

in case of a homogeneous distribution. In such systems it is hardly possible to distinguish core from periphery.

In addition to the above-mentioned factors, the stability of linguistic systems and of their elements may also be judged from the point of view of their content, i.e. from the semantic point of view. A system in which the elements are clearly delimited as to their meaning and syntagmatic functioning and thus do not overlap, tends to be more stable than a system in which there is a good deal of overlapping.

In terms of associativity, overlapping may be defined as a partial agreement in the syntagmatic associativity of the elements concerned. A higher stability correlates with a lower degree of overlapping. On the other hand, a higher degree of overlapping signalizes the loss of semantic motivation, i.e. the decline of content criteria upon which the particular elements within the system are kept separate.

In a system consisting only of elements connected by direct relations, a change in the denotation of a single element means (at least theoretically) a change in the denotation of all elements. However, in more complex systems the results of such a change are restricted only to the subsystem concerned, i.e. to that part of the system in which the elements are held together by direct relations. It follows that hierarchization increases resistance to change and thus the stability of a system.

Until now, we have largely confined our attention to paradigmatic systems, i.e. to nonlinear systems the elements of which enter into syntagmatic (linear) systems in the speech flow. These two types of linguistic systems differ as far as their attitude to memory is concerned. The elements of paradigmatic systems are stored in long-term memory from which the speaker (or hearer) selects whichever he needs when producing (or perceiving) utterances. Likewise, the patterns of syntagmatic systems (sentences, phrases, etc.) are stored in long-term memory. On the other hand, a particular utterance as a realization of a certain pattern and including both the paradigmatic elements as well as their grammatical interrelations, depends upon short-term memory. This was discussed both in psychology and in linguistics (cf. Miller, 1956; Yngve, 1960). The dependence of syntagmatic systems upon short-term memory leads, first, to temporal limitations of linear linguistic systems and, second, to the complexity of their hierarchical organization which is relatively greater than that of nonlinear linguistic systems.

It is obvious enough that linearity requires a higher degree of structuration so that, e.g., each sentence consisting of more than two elements (constituents) inevitably comprises not only direct but also mediated relations. This would also mean that the binary principle is more common in linear linguistic systems than it is in paradigmatics. Therefore, the analysis into immediate constituents is far from arbitrary in syntax (which is not true in the same degree of componential analysis in lexicology). It is the binary principle that gives the greatest possible number of hierarchical levels in a system.

Some characteristic features of the paradigmatic linguistic systems will be illustrated here upon the example of the so-called classifiers (for their definition see Allan, 1977). We shall largely employ data from Indonesian and Japanese. Classifiers are obligatory markers which are employed when nouns have to be quantified. They appear in constructions consisting of a noun plus a quantifier. The syntactic role of the classifier is to link the noun with its quantifier. At the same time, the classifier marks that the noun is assorted to a certain class defined usually by means of taxonomic criteria (e.g. classes of human beings, animals, birds, fish, things, etc.) or upon the basis of their exterior shape (e.g. classes of oblong objects, round objects, flat objects, etc.; cf. Martin, 1975, pp. 775—777).

These types of criteria operate both in Japanese and in Indonesian. These languages are notable for a considerable number of classifiers, and yet they seem to develop in different directions (cf. Martin, 1975 and Macdonald—Darjowidjojo, 1967). These divergences may be explained — at least to a certain extent — via intrasystemic pressure. In both languages there is a trend to simplify the system of classifiers. However, the simplification takes place in different ways.

In Indonesian, a trend to the radical limitation of the inventory of classifiers has prevailed. Only three of the classifiers seem to be in common use now, i.e. *orang* “human being”, *ekor* “animal” and *buah* “inanimate object” (Macdonald—Darjowidjojo, 1967, pp. 132—134). Thus, it is the taxonomic principle that has become dominant in Indonesian and the classes of nouns are defined upon a very abstract level, resembling genders in Slavonic languages.

On the other hand, Japanese has preserved a greater number of classifiers (although there is also a possibility of using nonspecific classifiers —*tsu* and —*ko*). At the same time, the taxonomic criterion does not seem to play a prominent role. It is the criterion of external shape that is predominant. This has been noticed by S. E. Martin who writes: “When the speaker comes across a noun he has never heard counted, unless it falls into some very obvious group, he tends to class it by shape or simply use the general counter” (Martin, 1975, pp. 776).

The discrepancy between Indonesian and Japanese might be explained as follows. An abstract classificatory criterion may become prominent where the number of classifiers is relatively small; an abstract classification does not furnish too many “stepping-stones” for memory. Where the inventory of classifiers is more comprehensive, language seems not to be able to do without a more immediately perceivable classificatory principle, such as the shape of object. At the same time, an elaborate hierarchization is present, as suggested by M. Sanches for Japanese with (1) length predominating (either three-dimensional or two-dimensional), (2) length and breadth-predominating (either two-dimensional), or three-dimensional and gain (either regular shape or irregular shape), (3) length, breadth, and depth, all equally prominent (either square or irregular or round; in the latter division, there are either

larger or smaller, the latter either solid or liquid). It seems that the stability of the rather complex Japanese system is based both upon the elaborate hierarchization and upon the clarity of the classificatory principle.

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ON DEFINING THE CONTENT AND FORM OF CONJUNCTIONS IN BENGALI

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The content and form of Bengali conjunctions and conjunctive expressions are being defined here by detailed analysis of various modes of expressing syntagmatic relations between sentence-elements and clauses.

0. Every means of expression possesses content and form. In autosemantic words content is determined by their relation to real or ideational objects or denotata. Synsemantic words have no denotata, hence, their content is determined by the function which they have in the sentence or the text. Conjunctions and conjunctive expressions, being synsemantic, their concrete function may be reliably determined uniquely by a detailed analysis of all types of simple and composite sentences. The function of conjunctions may thus be determined by an investigation of diverse modes for expressing the relationship between linguistic units in the text, that is, between parts of sentence within a sentence and between clauses and sentences within composite sentences or within the text.

Relationships between parts of a sentence or clauses may be expressed beside conjunctions, also by means of various conjunctive expressions and asyndetically.

0.1 The asyndetic connection of parts of a sentence and clauses is a frequent phenomenon in Bengali and predominates under certain circumstances within many authors over the use of conjunctions to link linguistic units. This is especially evident when coordinate (multiple) parts of a sentence and coordinate clauses in a compound sentence are involved that express temporal sequence or coincidence of the actions described. Less frequent is the practice of juxtaposition of adversative or resultative clauses in compound sentences, or of clauses in complex sentences.

Thus, for instance, if there is question of a temporal succession of actions, actions described in the clauses may be expressed by finite verbal forms, or more often only the last of the actions is described by a finite verbal form and all the preceding ones are rendered with the aid of the perfect or the conditional, sometimes even the imperfect participle, the choice of a particular participle being not quite optional: *takhan dāktār ese osudh diyepaṭi bēdhe anek kaṣṭe rājāmaśāike bācāla* (R)¹ — Then

¹ We have analysed the following texts: (Nar) — Nārāyaṇ Gaṅgopādhyāy, Aṣṭādaśī. Kalkātā 1969; (BK) — Bimal Kar, Śreṣṭha galpa. Kalikātā 1968; (PM) — Premendra Mitra, Ghanādāke bhoṭ din.

the doctor came, gave Raja a medicine, dressed his wound and with much difficulty, saved him. *baltei to bāghmaśāi giye sei thaler bhitare dhukla* (R) — As soon as he had said it, Mr. Tiger went and got into the bag. *khāoyā šeś hale se meyeṭike balle* (R) — Having finished eating, he said to the girl.

The same also holds in the case of a compound sentence expressing a temporal simultaneity of actions : the action described in the subsequent clause is expressed by means of a definite verbal form, the action in the preceding clause by means of the imperfect or the perfect participle : *jāpāne thākte o-mācher kṣamatār kathā jenechilām* (PM) — I learned about the properties of that fish while I was staying in Japan.

Also such a clause may be connected in a compound sentence without a conjunction or a conjunctive expression which expresses a consequence resulting from the action described in the first clause : *ebār tomār pāllāy paṛe āmāke samsāri śikhthe habe* (Nar) — Having now come under your protection, I shall have to learn to be of the household. *ei jāmāṭā pare gā śirśir karchila* (Nar) — Having put on the blouse, my whole body itched.

A clause may be asyndetically connected in a compound sentence, whose content contradicts the preceding clause : *tumi rest nāo, āmi kaphi niye āschi* (Nar) — You take a rest, I shall bring coffee.

In a complex sentence, it is for instance a subordinate content (objective) clause, a conditional clause, etc., that may be linked to the main clause without a conjunction or a conjunctive expression : *sakalei jānto, sei chādei cilu bāsā* (SB) — All knew, a sparrow had a nest on that roof. *āmi khide pele ṭhik kheyē neba* (SB) — If I am hungry, I shall eat at once.

If clauses are connected without a conjunction or a conjunctive expression, the type of syntactic relationship derives from their contents.

0.2 The syntactic relationship between linguistic units is more unambiguously expressed with the aid of conjunctions and conjunctive expressions.

Conjunctive expressions are words which fulfil conjunctive functions but cannot be classed as conjunctions because they are members of other parts of speech and also in conjunctive functions they retain their primary meaning. These are largely relative, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, adverbs, and the particle *-o*.

Sometimes, conjunctive expressions may be employed to link such linguistic units as may also be connected by a conjunction (e.g. a clause expressing a concessional relation in a compound sentence), in other cases, the conjunctive expression is the only possible means of linking linguistic units (e.g. a subordinate complementary relative clause or an adverbial clause of place to the principal clause).

Kalikātā 1974; (R) — Upendrakiśor Rāycoudhuri, Ṭuṇṭunir bai. Kalkātā 1972; (SG) — Sunil Gaṅgopādhyāy, Galpasamgraha, Kalkātā 1979; (SB) — Samareś Basu, Oder balte dao. Kalikātā 1973; (Th) — Rabindranāth Ṭhākur, Galpaguccha. Kalikātā; (SM) — Śirṣendu Mukhopādhyāy, Galpasamgraha. Kalkata 1979.

Some of the conjunctive expressions have passed entirely among conjunctions and exist in contemporary language as homonymous to words from which they stemmed.² Such are, for instance, *ye* — that, *tāi* — that is why, *ki* — or, *kāraṇ* — because, *bale* — therefore and others.

0.3 The most characteristic means of expressing syntagmatic relations are conjunctions, that is, such synsemantic and synsyntagmatic inflexible words whose sole function is to express syntagmatic relations between simpler and more complex language units, between elements of a sentence and sentences themselves.

There is no plausible reason for differentiating between conjunctions of sentence-elements and sentential conjunctions in Bengali, for all occur in the one as well as the other function. An exception is the copulative conjunction *o* and the disjunctive conjunction *bā*, which occurred in the scanned texts only as conjunctions of sentence-elements.

Bengali conjunctions, however, may be classified according to the origin and the type of the syntagmatic relation which they express.

According to the origin, Bengali conjunctions may be primary and secondary.

Primary conjunctions are *ār*, *ebam*, *o*, *kimbā*, *bā*, *kintu*, *tabe*, *tabu*, *athaca*, *tathāpi*, *yena*, *yadi* and *pāche*.

Secondary conjunctions are those that stem from words belonging to other parts of speech but become full-fledged conjunctions: *nā*, *ki*, *nāki*, *kājei*, *tāi*, *sutarām*, *sejanya*, *ye*, *kinā*, *bale*, *kāraṇ*, *kenanā*, *yāte*.

As regards the nature of the relation between linguistic units that are connected, conjunctions are either co-ordinating or subordinating.

Co-ordinating conjunctions connect parts of a sentence and also clauses in composite sentences. Linguistic units linked by co-ordinating conjunctions are related as to content, but remain grammatically independent. They are syntactically equivalent and mutually are in a co-ordinative relation.

Subordinating conjunctions connect those clauses in a complex sentence that are related as to content (express one complex idea), but are syntactically dependent; they are in a relation of subordination, viz. determination. They express the type of relation of the subordinate clause to the principal clause.

1. Co-ordinating conjunctions

Co-ordinating conjunctions are inserted between linguistic units which they connect. The number of connected units may be arbitrary (excepting such as are in an adversative relation). As to sentence-elements, only those may be connected that have an equal syntagmatic function in the sentence.

² Bykova, E. M.: *Bengalskii yazyk*. Moscow, Nauka 1966, p. 73.

According to the specific co-ordinative relation which conjunctions express, they are subdivided into copulative conjunctions : *ār, ebam, o* ; adversative conjunctions : *kintu, tabe, tabu, athaca, tathāpi, (ār)* ; disjunctive conjunctions : *kimbā, bā, nā, ki, nāki* ; resultative conjunctions : *sutarām, kājei, tāi, seijanya, (ār)* ; and the explicative conjunction *naile*.

Each specific co-ordinative relation is expressed by a set of conjunctions that are not used to express other co-ordinative relations. The only exception is the conjunction *ār* that may function also as adversative and resultative. Consequently, it is considered as the most universal co-ordinating conjunction. It never functions as a disjunctive conjunction and this fact, too, implies that a disjunctive clause is in a direct antithesis to a copulative one.

We consider a resultative sentence to be a false compound sentence. Resultative conjunctions markedly differ from the other co-ordinating conjunctions also in that none of them is primary.

1.1 Copulative conjunctions

The set of copulative conjunctions consists of *ār, ebam, o*.

The copulative conjunctions *ār* and *ebam* connect sentence-elements and also clauses in compound sentences.

The copulative conjunction *o* is used solely to connect words in a sentence.

Copulative conjunctions link those parts of a sentence that are mutually co-ordinate as equivalent : *ghanādāke ghire dāriye āmrā rahasyatā bujhte o tāke āsvasta karte byasta haye uṭhlām* (PM) — Surrounding Ghanu, we hastened to grasp the mystery and to cheer him up. *sabāi bale or śarīrer gaṭhan ār cokh dukhānā sañjayer mata* (SM) — Everybody says that he has the shape of the body and eyes like S. *hyā ebam nā — er bhitare, ālo ār andhakār bhitare, sukha o dukher bhitare ṭik-ṭik ṭik-ṭik kare yāoyā — āsā kare tār buker deoyāl gharir pendulām* (SM) — In that yes and no, in light and in darkness, in joy and in sorrow the pendulum of his breast clock swings to and fro with a tick-tack. *cā ār khābār khete khete bhābanātā sthir haye yāchila* (Nar) — As he drank his tea and ate, his thoughts became calmer. *or galāy yatakhāni ābeg o usñatā chila* (SG) — What force and anger he had in his voice!

If several parts of a sentence are joined, a conjunction usually connects only the last one of them : *bāire tārājvalā ākāś, jonāki jvālā jhopjhār ār ālojvālā grām-ṭrām chuṭe yāchchila* (Nar) — Outside, there flew a sky lit up with stars, bushes aglow with fire-flies and lighted villages. *biṣaybastur pāriṭaṭye jorāl baktabyer dīptite ebam bhāṣār saukumārye tār galpa sahajei pāthakke ākaryāṇ kare* (Nar) — His stories easily attract the reader by its purity of topic, depth of ideas and beauty of language.

In the case of multiple parts of sentence, each element may be connected with a conjunction, but the use of a conjunction is then symptomatic (reasons of style) : *gaṛite gadiśuddha : sīt paoyā ebam koṇer jāygā ebam tinṭe cālu pākḥā ebam cokh juṛe ekṭi ati sukhakār ghum...* (Nar) — In the train he managed to get a soft seat and

a place in the corner and three fans turning and such a blissful sleep stole over his eyes...

When two or more parts of sentence in the genitive form are co-ordinated, only the last one takes the case suffix while all the others retain the zero case suffix.

If several parts of sentence in the locative form are connected, all take case suffix.

Copulative conjunctions are also used to connect clauses in a compound sentence that are co-ordinated as equivalent and express either components of one event, one picture, or independent, mutually related ideas, or a further development of one idea.³

If components of one event, one picture are expressed, particularly in descriptions, a conjunction may be used to connect clauses describing actions taking place either simultaneously, or consecutively.

Any number of clauses may be joined.

If actions in various clauses are expressed by means of a definite verbal form (the verb of existence *āch-* is omitted in a nominal clause), a conjunction usually connects only the last one: *gyālpim ilektrik trenṭā spīd nicchila, hāoyāy jhaṛ beṇe parchila cokhemukhe, āṛ sārā dupurer klānta śārīṛṭā sei hāoyāy bhese yete cāichila* (Nar) — The electric express gathered speed, the wind buffeted his face and his body, weary of the whole day, yearned to soar in that wind. *ekkhāni andhakār āṭcālār madhye tāhār āpis, adūre ekṭi pānāpukur ebam tāhār cāripāre jaṅgal* (Th) — His office is in a dark hovel with thatched roof, not far is a pond and close by the jungle. *se yena ki khūjiteche pāiteche nā ebam druttar bege gharṃay pradakṣiṇ kariteche* (Th) — As if he searched for something, failed to find it and hastily walked round the room.

Far more frequent is an asyndetic connecting of clauses in a copulative sentence with the aid of a semi-sentence construction with the perfect, the conditional or the imperfect participle (see p. 165).

A fairly frequent mode of connecting clauses in a copulative sentence is by means of an adverb as the conjunctive expression: *ābār svastir śvās phella S., tāṛpar sojā śuyē paṛla khāter opar* (Nar) — S. again breathed out relaxedly, then stretched himself on the bed.

Negative clauses are linked by means of the conjunctive expression *-o* and the negative form of the verb of existence (*nay*): *tār sukher dhāranāo khub nay, du: kher dhāranāo nay baṛa* (SM) — He has neither too much luck, nor too much sorrow.

A positive opposite to the above type of connected clauses is that employing the conjunctive expression *-o* without the negative *nay*: *āmio sekhāne gelām, āpnio sekhāne gelen* — I also went there, so did you.

Consecutive actions are often connected with the aid of a copulative conjunction accompanied with the adverb of time *tāṛpar, takhan* (then). This is meant to lay stress

³ Bauer, J. — Grepl, M.: Skladba spisovné češtiny. Praha, SPN 1972, p. 212.

on the sequentiality of the events: *āj sandeher par supriya sener phāil-kestā badal habe bale, ebam tārpāre ekṭā nidāruṅ manoyantraṅār pālā āsbe balei ei sab yogāyog ghaṭechila ek saṅge* (Nar) — All this happened so suddenly because, after dusk, Supriya Sen's bag is exchanged and he is then seized with frightful mental worries. *ebam — ebam tārpāre cokher pātā bhār haye āste lāgla, ... ebam tārpāre ghumiye paṛla* (Nar) — And — and then his eyelids became heavy, ... and then he fell asleep.

The copulative conjunctions *ār* and *ebam* not only connect clauses in a compound sentence, but often stand at the beginning of the next sentence or composite sentence (following the full stop), which is linked to the preceding sentence as regards its content: *byāge kāgajpatra nei, kichui nei. śudhu ekṭā reśaner thali. ār sei reśaner thalir bhetare śakta bhārī jinis ki ekṭā* (Nar) — There are no documents in the briefcase, there is nothing there. Only a little silk bag. And in that silk bag some very heavy object.

In a copulative sentence, the conjunctions *ebam* and *ār* may connect also clauses containing independent ideas; but the subsequent clause is linked to the preceding one as far as its content is concerned — adding something new to it: *nije rāḍhiye khāite hay ebam grāmer ekṭi piṭṭ-matṭ-hīn anāthā bālikā tāhār kājkarma kariyā dey, cāriṭi cāriṭi khāite pāy* (Th) — He must prepare his own meals and the chores about the house are done, for a little food, by an orphan, a poor girl from the village who has nobody to take care of her. *sakaler bāsi byañjan thākita ebam ratan tāṛātāri unun dharāiyā khānkayek ruṭi sēkiyā ānita* (Th) — There was a little food left over from breakfast and Ratan, quickly making a fire, roasted a few pancakes.

The copulative conjunction is also used to connect two clauses in a copulative sentence, of which the subsequent one elaborates in a way the preceding one, being linked either to one of its elements or to the whole content of the clause, or summarizing it, or drawing some conclusion from it:⁴ *ebam haṭhāṭ kakhano kakhano alaukik ghaṭanā yeman ghaṭe yāy, seibhābe basbār ekṭā jāygā milla, ār tāro ceye āścaryā, āsane reksin moṛā gaditā chila, eman ki, māthār opar pākhāo ghurchila* (Nar) — And as sometimes a miracle unexpectedly happens, he found a seat and, stranger still, there was a worn out cushion on the bench, and even a fan was turning above his head.

1.2 Adversative conjunctions

Adversative conjunctions are *kintu, tabe, tabu, athaca, tathāpi*. Occasionally, also the primarily copulative conjunction *ār* serves as adversative conjunction.

Adversative conjunctions connect such clauses in a compound sentence which are mutually at variance as to their content, or are contradictory. An adversative sentence always consists of two members, a fact that derives from the relation of meanings of the connected clauses.

⁴ Bauer, J.: op. cit., p. 212.

The adversative relation between the clauses may have several shades. It may involve two contradictory actions (I shall go, but you will stay here), or one clause may somehow restrict what is stated in the other one (We used to go to the pictures, but only to selected films), or there is a concessional relationship between the two clauses (Many a time have they seen me, but they have not recognized me).

In all the above cases, the adversative relation may be expressed by means of the conjunction *kintu*, consequently we consider this adversative conjunction to be a basic one. The various shades of the adversative relation derive here uniquely from the content of the connected clauses.

Nevertheless, alongside the conjunction *kintu*, a certain shade of adversative relation may also be expressed with the aid of other, specific adversative conjunctions.

A characteristic shade of adversative relationship, fairly frequently met with in texts, is an expression of restriction. The adversative conjunction helps to connect such two clauses in compound sentence, one of which restricts the validity of the other: what is asserted in the preceding clause remains in force, but with a certain limitation expressed by the subsequent clause that imparts a new reality to the preceding one, thereby restricting its validity.

To express this shade in the adversative relation, use is made, besides the general adversative conjunction *kintu*, of the conjunction *tabe*: *sinemāy āmrā yete petum bai ki. tabe bāchā bai chila* (Nar) — We would, of course go to pictures, but to selected films. *puruṣmānuṣer jed thākā bhāla, kintu yār upar āmāder maraṇ-bācan tā niye tomār khelā kena?* (SM) — It is right for man to hold his own, but why trifle with something on which our life depends?

Restriction may also be expressed through a combination of the conjunction *kintu* with the conjunctive expression *baṭe* as well as by combining the conjunctive expression *tā nay* with the conjunction *kintu*: *bāpī datta āmāder mes cheṛe geche baṭe kintu tār mata maphasvalī āro ducār jan āche* (PM) — True, Mr. Datta has left our lodgings, but there are still here two such rustics like him. *chelebelār du-ekṭā kālipūjor tubṛi ye tairi nā karechi tā nay, kintu oi śilpaṭir carcā kakhano karā hay ni* (Nar) — Not that I would not have made a couple of denoting fuses in my boyhood during the Kalipuja, but I never improved in that craft. *jībane kakhano phākā bāṛite ḍhukini tā nay, kintu e bāṛiṭā adbhut rakamer nistabda mane hala* (SG) — No that I had never in my life entered an empty house, but this one seemed to be strangely quiet.

The richest set of adversative conjunctions is used to express a concessional shade of the adversative relation, i.e. such a combination of two clauses in a compound sentence where the content of the latter clause holds despite and adverse circumstance expressed in the former one.

On a neutral plane, this relation is expressed with the aid of the conjunction *kintu*: *bandhu sab miṭiye dey, kintu takhano kāṭe thāke santoṣer galār śirā* (SG) — B.

removes everything, but the veins in S's neck still quiver. *hayto apargreḍ pāba, kintu kakhano aphisār hate pārba nā* (Nar) — Perhaps I shall get the diploma, but shall never be able to be a clerk. *mane pare hayto, kintu keu mukhe bale nā* (SM) — Perhaps they remember, but nobody says it aloud.

The concessional adversative relation may be more explicitly expressed with the aid of the conjunction *tabu*: *jānālā diye theke theke basanter hāoyār jhar āschila, tabu sukhamayer kapāle ghām dekhā dila* (SM) — A breeze blew through the window, and yet sweat appeared on S.'s forehead. *ekṭā mātra pātlā jāmā gāye, tabu jaldhārāy bhese yācche galā buk* (SM) — He has but a thin blouse on, yet sweat pours down his neck and chest.

The conjunction *tabu* may also be modified by the conjunctive expression, particle *-o*: *bācbo eman āsā chila nā tabuo to bēce gechi* (SG) — I did not hope that I would live, nevertheless, I am alive.

A markedly concessional conjunction is represented by the adversative conjunction *athaca*: *kata rūpe katabār āmi dekhā diyechi, athaca keu āmāke dekhte pāy ni* (Nar) — In how many shapes and how often have I shown myself, but (and yet) nobody has seen me. *āmi prāyi bhābi, bamber juhute samudre neme snān karchi... athaca āmi kakhanoi yāi nā* (BK) — I often think of going to the seaside to the Bombay beach Juhu, but I never go.

The adversative concessional relation in earlier texts, e.g. by *Thākur*, is also expressed with the aid of the conjunction *tathāpi*: *kāṭher kon khabar jāne nā, tathāpi sambād dila gāch kāṭiyā kāṭh phārāiteche* (Th) — Although they know nothing about wood, they said that they had felled the trees and are chopping the wood.

The concessional relation may further be expressed by the conjunctive expression *-o* in combination with the conditional participle: *bāire hāoyā thākleo mātāḥāṭā opar pākhāṭā darkār* (Nar) — A fan is necessary over the head even if there is wind outside.

A possible, though quite rare, is an asyndetic connection of clauses in an adversative concessional relation: *māyer ceye bāp tāhāke beśi bhāla bāsita, bāpke alpa alpa mane āche* (Th) — (Although) her father loved her more than her mother did, she hardly remembers him.

In an adversative sentence, clauses are also linked that express contradictory events. They are more frequently connected by the conjunction *ār* or asyndetically than by *kintu*. A characteristic feature is a parallel construction of clauses in a compound sentence, a repetition of certain lexical units, the positive and the negative contents of the clauses being placed in an antithesis, or some member of both clauses standing in opposition, whereby they differ from restrictive and concessional adversative sentences: *napharcandra jībane maśā mereche anek, ār mānuṣ mereche ekṭā* (SM) — N. killed many mosquitoes in his life, and of man he killed one. *āmṛā pariḱṣār janya cintita, kintu kamaler sedike bhrukṣep nei* (SG)

— We worried on account of the examination, but Kamal ignored them. *katak mane pare katak pare nā* (Th) — Something I remember, something I don't.

The content of the connected clauses, and formally also the conjunction *ā* and the structure of the compound sentence indicate that such a compound sentence does not express a strictly adversative relation, that it comes close to a copulative sentence. And on the other hand, the possibility of connecting clauses in such compound sentences with the aid of the general adversative conjunction *kintu* relates such sentences to adversative ones.

Similarly, as copulative, so also adversative conjunctions currently stand at the beginning of the sentence relating to the preceding simple or composite sentence.

It may be noted that adversative conjunctions are not freely interchangeable in expressing certain shades of the adversative relation. An exception is the basic adversative conjunction *kintu*, which may be employed to express any shade of adversative relation. What shade of the adversative relation is involved can be gathered solely from the contents of the connected clauses. Formally, the shade of the adversative relation is indicated by further conjunctions: *tabe* signalizes restriction, *tabu*, *athaca*, *tathāpi* and the conjunctive expression *-o* (whether with *tabu* or the conditional participle) signalize concessionality.

1.3 Disjunctive conjunctions

Disjunctive conjunctions are *kimbā*, *bā*, *nā*, *ki* and *nā ki*.

Disjunctive conjunctions connect such linguistic units (parts of sentence and clauses in compound sentences) which cannot take place simultaneously under the circumstances, but only the one or the other (or a further one) is realized.

A basic disjunctive conjunction is *kimbā*, for it is used to express all the shades of a disjunctive syntagmatic relation and this in a declarative sentence and also in an alternative question. When two parts of a sentence in the locative form are connected, they both retain their case suffix.

Examples of various uses of *kimbā*: *yadi cāpācāpi bhīṛer bhettare dāṛiye thākte hata, kimbā yadi khaṭkhaṭe kāṭher beṅcite yathā sambhab niजेके cupse basbār prāṇānta ceṣṭā cālāte hata, tā hale emanṭā hate pārta nā* (Nar) — Had he been obliged to stand in the midst on the pressing crowd, or had he to make stubborn efforts to shrink as much as possible in order to find room on the bench, that would not have happened. *tārā dujanei khub hāste thāke, kāraṇ tārā jāne osab kathā satyi nay, kimbā haleo tāder kichu yāy āse nā* (SM) — Both laugh heartily, for they know that none of it is true, or even if it were, it did not concern them. *eman kono lok to thākte pāre... ye bipade āpade niजेके bācābār janye nijer pholiyo byāge kimbā phāil-kese ekṭā chorā rākhte pāre?* (Nar) Nonetheless, there may be some such man... who may have a dagger in his bag or case, with which he would save his life in danger. *kī khōje? ketakīr cīṭhi? kimbā anya kon meyer khabar?* (Nar) — What is she

looking for? A letter from Ketaki? Or a trace after some other woman? *tār ye pātātā pāoyā yāy seṭā ṭene niye sinemār khabar kimbā bijñāpane rūpabatīr mukh kimbā karmakhāli kimbā led meśin bikray kimbā rājñiti* — *yā hok ekṭā kichu parte thākta* (SG) — He took a paper that was available and for a moment browsed through what came — cinema programmes, or faces of beauties in the advertisement column, or vacant places, or car sales, or politics. *kahkan bās āsbe kimbā bās eleo uṭhte pārba kinā ṭhik nei* (SG) — It is not clear when the bus comes, or even when it comes whether I shall get in it.

Parts of sentence are more often connected with the disjunctive conjunction *bā* than with *kimbā*. Any number of elements may be connected.

If more than two parts of sentence are connected, the conjunction comes before the last one: *er bhitare lukono bomā pistal bā bispharak nei* (Nar) — No bomb, pistol or explosive is concealed in it.

Parts of sentence linked by the conjunction *bā* may be considerably elaborated.

The conjunctions *nā*, *ki* and *nā ki* are used in an alternative question (alongside the less common conjunction *kimbā*), where they express eventual relations more frequently than mere disjunction: *kathāy geche, phirbe ki phirbe nā – keu jāne nā* (BK) — Where has he gone, will return or not – nobody knows. *mālābadaler rūpkathā ki prem?* (BK) — Is it a tale or love? *tor bābā kāke beśi bhālabāste śekhāche re sudhā? āmāke nā tor bābā njei* (BK) — Whom has father taught to love more, Sudha? Me or himself? *jībita nā mṛta* (Th) — Living, or dead? *phāṭbe, nā ki phāṭbe nā?* (SM) — Will it burst or not?

A similar function is held by the conjunction *ki* in an exclamatory sentence: *kintu gāri ki bāri kothā theke āsbe!* (PM) — But where would he come by a car, or a house!

Eventual relations in a declarative sentence may also be expressed with the aid of the conjunctive expressions *hay – nay* (to).

1.4 Resultative conjunctions

Resultative conjunctions are *kājei*, *tāi*, *sutarām*, *sejanya*. None of these is a primary conjunction, whereby the set of resultative conjunctions differs from the other co-ordinating conjunctions.

The primarily copulative conjunction *ār* may also act as a resultative one.

Resultative conjunctions connect such clauses in a compound sentence where the subsequent one expresses what ensues from the preceding one as its result (consequence): *ḍāktārrā sahaje nijer akṣamatā prakāś karen nā, sutarām maṇikā bujhte pāre...* (SM) — Physicians do not easily betray their powerlessness hence, Manika knows... *se janmibār par tāhār mātār bahukāl dhariyā śakta pīrā haiyāchila sejanya ei bidhabā kākī kadambinī tāhāke mānuṣ kariyāchila* (Th) — After his birth his mother remained ailing for a long time, therefore he was brought up by his aunt K.

1.5 Explicative conjunction

The explicative relation is expressed by means of the conjunction *naile*, which connects such clauses in a compound sentence where the latter provides an explanation of the former one. Often it stands at the beginning of a simple sentence which is linked with the preceding sentence as far as its content concerns: *bhāgyis jānlār grīlṭāke ek hāte cepe dharechila se, naile māṭite paṛe yeta* (Nar) — Luckily he caught hold of the window-sill otherwise he would have fallen down.

2. Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions connect clauses in a sentence, one of which is the main clause and the other is grammatically and also as regards its content subordinate to it. A complex sentence may contain only two clauses in a determinative relation (in contrast to the co-ordinative relation also between several clauses in a compound sentence), in the same way as there are two members in a determinative syntagm. The conjunction introduces the dependent member of the syntagm.

The relation between a subordinate and the principal clause may differ, the concrete type of relationship being signalized not only by the meaning of the clauses, but also by the formal means. These are primarily subordinating conjunctions and conjunctive expressions, but of importance is also the grammatical structure of the subordinate clause, i.e. a compulsory use of a certain verbal tense and the order of clauses in the complex sentence.

Linguistic literature currently speaks of subjective, predicative, verbal-attributive, attributive and adverbial type of determinative syntagmatic relationship. This grammatical classification of subordinate clauses is based on the fact that in a complex sentence, a subordinate clause may function as a part of the principal clause and this either as subject, object, complement, attribute, adverb or predicate; then the whole subordinate clause is accordingly termed as a subject, object, attributive, complementary, adverbial or a predicative clause.

Such a grammatical classification of subordinate clauses, based on the thesis on isomorphous relations in the syntactic level, intrinsically differs from a classification purported better to characterize the system of complex sentences and its development — one that considers the semantic criterion as basic. Attempts at such a classification were made, e.g., by Bauer for Czech.⁵ He assigns subordinate clauses into three primary groups: clauses of content, complementary relative clauses, and adverbial clauses.

He considers as clauses of content such subordinate clauses that necessarily supplement the content of the main clause in expressing explicitly what is only

⁵ In: Bauer, J. — Grepl, M.: *Skladba spisovné češtiny*. Praha, SPN 1972.

generally implied in the principal clause. Complementary relative clauses supplement the content of the main clause by giving a characteristic of some of its member needed to completeness of utterance. Adverbial clauses express various circumstances under which the action of the principal clause proceeds, or they express relations between actions, that are close to adverbial ones.

Naturally, Bengali subordinate clauses, too, may be classified on the basis of either a syntactic or a semantic criterion. For purposes of our study, i.e. classification of Bengali conjunctions, we consider it more convenient to follow the semantic criterion.

Conjunctions in Bengali connect only clauses of content, and from adverbial clauses only those expressing manner and cause. The remaining adverbial determinative syntagmatic relations (place, time) are expressed by other means — with the aid of conjunctive expressions, most frequently relative and demonstrative pronouns. Complementary relative clauses, as implied by their denomination, are linked to the principal clause by relatives to which correspond relevant correlatives in the principal clause.

2.1 Clauses of content

Clauses of content are connected by means of the conjunctions *kinā*, *ye*, *yena* and more rarely also by *bale*. At the same time, it is inessential whether the subordinate clause is subject or object, or attributive. Of importance in the selection of the conjunction is whether the subordinate clause expresses the content of what in the principal clause is given as an information, a question or a request. A secondary criterion in declarative sentences is realness or hypotheticalness of the statement.

A subordinate clause expressing the content of what in the principal clause is designated as statement, is connected by means of the conjunction *ye*, and always follows the principal clause: *ki kare jānbo balo ye āj bārīte tomāder keu thākbe nā?* (Nar) — How could I know, tell me, that nobody will be in today at your place? *tumi balechile nā ye ār balbe nā?* (SM) — Haven't you said that you would not speak any more? *bābār kāche parte giye eman ekṭā chelemānuṣi bhul kare baslum ye bābā āścarya haye āmār mukher dike tākiye railen* (Nar) — When I was learning with my father, I made such childish mistakes that father would look at me with surprise. *kintu sukher mātratā etai beśi haye giyechila ye seṭāo khub gaṇa bale bodh hala* (Nar) — But the luck was so great that it seemed to him that even that is quite unimportant.

Declarative clauses of content connected by the conjunction *bale*, are also to be found in texts. The subordinate clause precedes the main one: *pāc miniṭke ek ghaṅṭā baliyā mane haite lāgilā* (Th) — It began to seem to him that five minutes were an hour.

Declarative clause of content is linked to the main clause with the conjunction

yena when it expresses some conjecture: *eman samay mane haila yena khāṭṭā isat narila* — *yena mṛtadeha pās phiriyā sūila* (Th) — Then it seemed to them that (as if) the litter had moved a bit — that the corpse had turned to one side. *mane hacchila yena kiser ekṭā barasara thyām cibocche* (SM) — It seemed to him that he was chewing some giant paw.

Declarative clause of content may be linked to the main clause also with the aid of the correlate expressions *ye – tā, kena – tā, ye kī – tā* etc. As this is a relative complex sentence, the subordinate clause always precedes the main one: *śyāmācaraṇ ye eksamaye juḍisiyāl myājistṛeṭ chila tā beś mane niye āse* (SM) — He assumes rightly that S. had formerly been a court clerk. *kena paṛe tā bujhte pāre nā* (SM) — He cannot understand why she is reading. *khabarer kāgaje śyāmācaraṇ ye kī khōje tā se nijeo bhāla kare jāne nā* (SM) — S. does not know quite what he is looking for in the papers.

A subordinate clause expressing the content of what in the principal clause is indicated as a question, insufficient knowledge of something, etc., is linked to the main clause with the conjunction *kinā*, which occasionally takes the form of *ki nā*, and, as a rule, precedes the main clause: *du-ekṭā mombāti khūje pāi kinā dekhi* (Nar) — I'll see whether I can find some candles. *aspaṣṭa nijer nāmṭā balechilum kinā āmār tāo āj ār mane nei* (Nar) — Today I don't even remember any more whether I had indistinctly said my name. *sāntān bācleo mā bācbe kinā thik nei* (SG) — It is not certain whether mother will live, although S. lives.

A subordinate clause expressing the content of an order, wish, prayer, generally intimated in the main clause, is connected with the conjunction *yena*. The verb in the subordinate clause must be in simple present regardless of the tense of the verb in the main clause. The negative particle in the subordinate clause always precedes the verb: *se baleche yena tumi ekhāne kālke āsa* — He said that you should come here the next day. *āro balechen, āmi yena esab tomāke jijñās nā kari* (SM) — They also said that I shouldn't ask you about all this.

Subordinate clauses of content are often linked to the main clause asyndetically. This usually involves declarative clauses of content. In such a case, the subordinate clause either precedes or follows the main clause: *o jāne, kon tāṛā nei* (Nar) — He knows, he need not hurry. *āro to ghaṇṭā dui samay āche balcha* (Nar) — You say, we still have two hours time. *khub khārāp lāgbe nā bodh hay* (Nar) — It won't be too bad, it seems. *sakalei jānto, sei chādei ciler bāsā* (SB) — All knew, there is a sparrow nest on that roof. *kalejer chātra haoyāi sambhab* (Nar) — It is possible, he is a student at the College.

If a clause of content expressing a request is asyndetically linked to the main clause, a greater directiveness is required than in a conjunctival connection of the same clause: *se baleche tumi ekhāne kālke eso!* — He said, come here tomorrow!

In a completive question, a clause of content may be connected with the conjunctive expression, e.g. *keman – tāi, kī*, etc.: *tui keman āchis, tāi bal!* (SG)

— Tell me, how are you? *kī sur bājche, B. jāne nā* (SB) — B. doesn't know what melody he is playing.

2.2 Adverbial clauses

The majority of subordinating conjunctions are used to express adverbial syntagmatic relations, viz. of manner, but especially of cause.

Adverbial clauses expressing a causal relation between clauses, may be further divided into: a properly causal clause expressing a real and yet antecedent cause to the action in the main clause; a purposive clause expressing a real but subsequent cause to the main clause; a conditional clause, expressing a possible and antecedent cause of the action in the main clause; a concessional clause, expressing a real, but invalid cause of the action in the main clause.⁶

The causal clause proper is linked to the main clause with the conjunctions *kāraṇ*, *kenanā* and *bale*.

If the subordinate clause is connected with the conjunctions *kāraṇ* and *kenanā*, it comes after the main clause: *ek ekṭā kathā kāuke balā yāy nā, kāraṇ takhan pathe ekṭio lok chila nā* (Nar) — No word could be said to anyone, for there wasn't then a wight on the road.

A causal clause connected with the conjunction *bale* precedes the main clause. Exceptionally it may follow the latter, but then the conjunction *bale* stands at the end of the complex sentence: *parer dinṭā jvar hayeche bale bichānāy pare thekechi* (Nar) — The next day I ran a fever and therefore I stayed in bed. *āmrā keu lambā nai bale darjāṭā khub ūcu kare tairi karā hay ni* (Nar) — None of us is tall, therefore there was no need to make that door very high. *ār beśī derī nei, ye carāṭār kathā bhebeche, seṭā prāy ese parla bale* (Nar) — He hadn't much time left, for they had practically reached the islet he had in mind.

A purposive clause is linked to the main clause with the conjunction *bale*, *yāte*, *yena*, *pāche*.

When connected with *bale*, the subordinate clause precedes the main one (but inversion is also possible) and its verb is either in the future or the present tense: *śuye thāko balei tomār khide pāy nā* (SM) — Stay in bed, not to get hungry.

If the subordinate clause is linked to the main clause with the conjunction *yena* or *yāte*, it comes after the main clause, its verb is in the simple present and the negative particle stands before the verb. Occasionally, the subordinate clause precedes the main one, but then the latter contains the conjunctive expression *sei janya*: *āmi esechi yāte/yena tomār saṅge paricay karte pāri* — I have come to make your acquaintance. *bhabiṣyate yāte or saṅge ābār niyamita dekhā hay, kamal sei janya jor*

⁶ Ružička, J., In: Ružička, J. — Horecký, J.: Učebné texty slovenského jazyka pre 3. ročník gymnázií. Bratislava, SPN 1972, p. 57.

karte lāgla (SG) — K. began to insist, that in future they should again meet him regularly.

The conjunction *pāche* is used to connect a purposive clause bearing a negative content. The verb is always in the simple present form. In the texts that we have scanned, such a conjunction occurred only in those by *Thākur* (i.e. in earlier texts) together with the referential conjunctive expression *ejanye* (*ei janya*) in the main clause: *pāche tāhār saiyer biruddhe śrīpati kichu mane kare ejanya byasta haiyā yogmāyā nānārupe tāhāke bujhāite ārambha karila* (Th) — In order that S. would not think anything bad about her friend, J. began to explain what had happened. *pāche puliser upadrab ghaṭe ei janye adhik ārambar nā kariyā jamidārer cārījan brahmaṇ karmmacārī anātibilambe mṛtudeha dāha karite laiṇyā gela* (Th) — In order not to have any unnecessary trouble with the police, four brahmans, employed by the landlord, made haste, and carried the dead body to the burial place.

A purposive clause may be linked to the main clause even without a conjunction and this either with the aid of a semi-sentence construction containing an imperfect participle (in such a case the subordinate clause may either precede or follow the main clause), or with the aid of the postposition *janya* in combination with the genitive form of the verbal noun: *se kāl sakāle ektā bai kinte esechila* — Yesterday morning he came to buy a book (also: *se kāl sakāle esechila ektā bai kinte*); *se āmār saṅge paricay karār janya esechila* — He came in order to make my acquaintance.

A conditional clause may be connected to the principal clause with the conjunction *yadī*, the principal clause then being introduced with the conjunctive expression *tā hale* or *tabe*. The subordinate clause precedes the main one. The conjunction *yadī* is followed by the simple present in the function of both the present and the future. To express the past, use is made of the habitual past tense: *goyendā galpa yadī nā likhis, tabe osab bhābnā-ṭābnā cheṛe de* (Nar) — If you are not writing a detective story, stop thinking about it. *yadī cāpācāpi bhīṛer bhettare dāriye thākte hata, kimbā yadī khaṭkhaṭe kāṭher beṅcite yathā sambhab niṇeke cupse basbār prāṇānta ceṣṭā cālāte hata, tā hale emanṭā hate pāṛta nā* (Nar) — Had he been obliged to stand in the midst of the pressing crowd, or had he to make stubborn efforts to shrink as much as possible in order to find room on the bench, that would not have happened.

Despite the generally valid principle concerning the use of the tenses after the conjunction *yadī* one occasionally finds also the future after it: *tāi yadī nā haibe tabe se ei ardhārātre śāradāśāṅkarer surakṣita anta: pur haite ei durgama śmaśāne āsila kemaṇ kariyā?* (Th) — If it were not so, how did she reach this burial place, so difficult of access, in the midst of the night from S's well-guarded inner house? *śudhu bārīte dhokār mukhe khukuke śāsiye ballum ekathā yadī āṛ kāuke balbi, tā hale galā ṭipe dība tor* (Nar) — Only, before entering the house, I threatened my sister — if you say that to anyone, I'll wring your neck.

The conditional relation between clauses of a complex sentence is currently expressed without a conjunction, using the semi-sentence construction with a condi-

tional participle which takes place of a definite verbal form in the subordinate clause: *hemen ār deri karle maṇikā hayto beriye paṛbe* (SG) — If H. lingers longer, M. will probably set out.

A concessional clause is linked to the main clause with the conjunction *yadi* modified with the particle *-o*: *tini yadio āsen tabu āmi cale yāba* — Even if he comes, I shall go.

To express the concessional syntagmatic relation, abundant use is made of conjunctive expressions — indefinite relative pronouns *yā keu*, *yā kichu*, *ye kon*, *yata(i)*, *yā* with the conjunctive expression *nā kena* being optionally inserted between the subordinate and the principal clause. The subordinate clause precedes the main one and its verb is in the imperative: *jāygāṭā yatai dūre hok (nā kena) okhāne yetei habe*⁷ — However far be that place, we'll have to go there. *rāstāy ye keu ḍākuk (nā kena) tumi jabāb diyo nā* — No matter who calls out to you on the street, don't answer! *o yāi baluk (nā kena) āpni biśvās karben nā* — Let him say whatever he likes, don't believe him. *āpni ye kon grāme yān (nā kena) sab jāygāy garīb dekhen* — Into whatever village you may go, everywhere you'll see poor people.

An adverbial clause expressing the manner in which the course of the action in the main clause takes place, is linked to the latter either with the conjunction *yena*, or the correlate conjunctive expressions *yata – tata*. A comparison of the actions in the main and the subordinate clause brings out the quality or the quantity of the action in the main clause. The verb following the conjunction *yena* may be in any tense; the negative participle comes after the verb: *o eman bhābe khācche yena tin din khāy ni* — He eats as if he had not eaten for three days. *cokher pātā yatai bandha karte cāi, tatai ke yena tā jor kare ṭene rākhla* (Nar) — As if someone was forcing my eyelids open just as I was striving to keep them closed.

An adverbial clause expressing temporal circumstances, i.e. when, until when, etc. the action in the main clause took place, is exceptionally connected with the noncorrelated conjunctive expression *yakhan*, *yatakhān*: *śyāmācaraṇ ājkāl nijer saṅgei kathā bale beśi, yakhan kathā balār ār lok pāy nā* (SM) — Now that there are no people about with whom to talk, S. talks more to himself. *yakhan bāsāy phirla* — *man khānikṭā hālkā haye eseche* (Nar) — When he came home, he felt somewhat relieved.

Much more frequently such clauses are connected with the aid of correlated conjunctive expressions — the relative adverb *yakhan*, *yatakhān* in the subordinate clause, to which correlated adverb *takhan*, *tatakhān* corresponds in the main clause; these are often modified with the particle *-i*, the correlative also with the particle *-o*: *snān kare yakhan phirechi* — *takhan sāmne lāl haye sūrya uṭhchila* (Nar) — As I was

⁷ The examples are from the textbook of Bengali language by Preinhaelterová, H.: Prague (in press).

returning after my bath, a red sun popped out in front of me. *khukīr yakhan pratham cokh lāl kare jvar āse, takhani yena āmi bujhte perechilum* (SG) — Then only I seemed to understand, when for the first time the girl was in a fever from which she had red-rimmed eyes. *yakhani phāk pāy takhani khule khuṭiye khuṭiye paṛe* (SM) — When he is free, he opens (the papers) and reads them attentively. *tebiler opare ene yakhan rekhe diyechila, takhano oṭār dike bişeş kare tākiye dekhe ni* (Nar) — He did not look again at it, not even when he had put it on the table.

Similarly, an adverbial clause expressing spatial relations is connected with a conjunctive expression — the relative adverb *yekhāne, yedike*, to which corresponds the correlative adverb *sekhāne, sedike* in the main clause: *o yekhāne āche, sekhān theke dekhche* (SG) — From there he sees where he is. *yedike du-cokh yāy, cale yāi sedikei* (Nar) — I go where my eyes lead me.

As evident, adverbial syntactic relations are often expressed with the aid of correlated conjunctive expressions. Formally, these are relative composite sentences, similarly as in the following type of syntagmatic relation expressed in a complex sentence. However, as regards content, these clauses belong to the other adverbial clauses, for they similarly indicate the circumstances under which the action in the main clause took place. Thereby they differ considerably from the following complementary relative clauses that are not related to the main clause, but to some of its nominal members.

2.3 Complementary relative clauses

A complex sentence with a subordinate complementary relative clause thus differs from the preceding types of complex sentences not only formally by the conjunctive expressions, but particularly by the relation of meaning of the connected clauses.

A complementary relative clause determines, characterizes more accurately some nominal member of the main clause that would be incomplete without it. The clauses in a complex sentence are connected with characteristic conjunctive expressions, relative pronouns or relative adverbs in the subordinate clause, to which relevant correlatives correspond in the main clause.

A subordinate clause is never linked to the main clause asydentically.

2.3.1 The most frequent subtype of a complementary relative clause is the adjectival relative clause, i.e. a subordinate clause that determines in more detail the syntactic substantive in the main clause. The subordinate clause then functions as an attribute of the substantive and as such, always stands next to it.

A subordinate clause precedes the main clause and contains not only the relative adjectival pronoun *ye, yerup, yata* — but also the substantive to which the relative refers and which is elaborated by the subordinate clause. The main clause comprises the relevant correlative and this either together with the substantive which is being determined, or more often without it: *pechane paṛe raila sei rāstā — ye rāstā diye*

pratyek din āmi gaṅgāsānān kare phire āstum. paṛe raila sei bāṛi — ye bāṛite mā ekhano sandhyār śākh bājāchen (Nar) — Behind there remained the road along which I used daily to return after a bath in the Ganges. There remained the house in which mother still plays on the evening conch. *tāṛpar or ye kalamṭā diye āmi ciṭhiṭā likhechilām, seṭā āmār hāte gūje diye balla* (SG) — He then pressed his pen, with which I wrote the letter, into my hand and said. *kamaler ye penṭi āmār kāche āche seṭi pherat dile oder khub upakār hay* (SG) — They will give me a good reward if I return Kamal's pen which I have by me. *maner bhetare ye choṭṭa dheuṭā uṭhechila, dhīre dhīre tā miliye ela ekdīn* (Nar) — Finally, one day that little wave that had swollen in my soul, came to rest. *ye-muhūrte hāl cheṛe dilum, sei thekei ār kothāo etaṭuku samsāy raila nā* (Nar) — There was nowhere any hope of rescue from the moment (that) I let hold of the rudder.

An adverb of place or of time may function in the main clause as the correlative if the relative pronoun in the subordinate clause relates to the substantive with a local or temporal meaning: *kintu ye muhūrte kyāmerā mukhomukhi hayeche, takhan tarunkumār premer kathā baleche mitāliko* (Nar) — But at the moment when the camera took details, T. was speaking about love to M. *ye bāṛite kichui nei sekhānei bā dekhār ki āche?* (SG)— What can one see in a house in which there is nothing?

The relatives *ye*, *yerup* and *yata* are not freely interchangeable in an adjectival relative clause: *ye* indicates a general characteristic of the substantive, *yerup* signalizes a qualitative and *yata* a quantitative characteristic of the substantive.

2.3.2 A further subtype of complementary relative clause is a substantival relative clause, i.e. a subordinate clause in which *ye* + the determined substantive is replaced with the relative substantival pronouns *yā* (what), *ye*, *yini* (who), to which the correlatives *tā*, *se*, *tini*, *sab*, *samasta* correspond in the main clause. A substantival relative clause complements, determines in greater detail the meaning of the part of a sentence expressed by the pronoun (correlative).

The correlated conjunctive expressions in the main and the subordinate clauses may be in an arbitrary case form and may be connected with a postposition, depending on their syntactic function in the clause and on the way they are grammatically and logically related to the other words in the sentence:⁸ *yā ghare enecha tār dikṭā ebār dekha* (SM) — See once more what you have brought into the room. *kintu tui yā cās tāi ānāba* (SG) — But I'll have brought up to you what you wish. *yā abadhārita tāke mene nitei habe* (SG) — We'll have to abide by what has been agreed upon; etc.

⁸ Bykova, E. M.: op. cit., p. 121.

3. As may be noted, various syntagmatic relations may be expressed in Bengali in several ways

Sometimes the choice of a linguistic means expressing a syntagmatic relation varies, with no semantic or stylistic reason for its preference ; and in such cases there is no significant difference between the variously connected linguistic units. For instance, in a copulative sentence the content of a connected clause does not change whether it is linked asyndetically, or by means of a copulative conjunction. But sometimes, there is a fine semantic difference between variously connected linguistic units. For instance, if a subordinate clause of content expressing request is linked to

Table 1

	Compound sentence				Complex sentence	
	C	D	A	R	of C	Adv.
<i>ār</i>	+		+	+		
<i>ebam</i>	+					
<i>o</i>	+					
<i>kimbā</i>		+				
<i>bā</i>		+				
<i>nā</i>		+				
<i>ki</i>		+				
<i>nā ki</i>		+				
<i>kintu</i>			+			
<i>tabe</i>			+			
<i>tabu</i>			+			
<i>athaca</i>			+			
<i>tathāpi</i>			+			
<i>kājei</i>				+		
<i>tāi</i>				+		
<i>sutarām</i>				+		
<i>seijanya</i>				+		
<i>kinā</i>					+	
<i>bale</i>					+	+
<i>yenā</i>					+	+
<i>ye</i>					+	
<i>kāraṇ</i>						+
<i>kenanā</i>						+
<i>yāte</i>						+
<i>pāche</i>						+
<i>yadi</i>						+

C — copulative, D — disjunctive, A — adversative, R — resultative, of C — of content, Adv. — adverbial clauses.

a main clause *asyndetically*, a greater directiveness is expressed than when it is linked with the aid of conjunction *yena* (this rather expresses a prayer, a conjecture).

When linguistic units — clauses in a composite sentence or in a text — are connected with the aid of conjunctions, the conjunction used signalizes in itself whether a co-ordinative or subordinative syntactic relation is involved. As shown in Table 1, there exists one set of conjunctions for expressing the co-ordinative and a different one for expressing the subordinative syntagmatic relation.

The conjunction used also signalizes what type of co-ordinative or subordinative relation is involved. This is especially evident with compound sentences, in which there exists a specific set of conjunctions for every type of clause. An exception is the conjunction *ār*, which may express a copulative, adversative and resultative co-ordinative relation; hence, we consider it to be the most universal co-ordinating conjunction.

The various conjunctions in a given inventory of conjunctions (e.g. copulative, adversative, etc.) point out more definitely the shade involved in the given type of syntactic relation (e.g. with an adversative relation, the conjunction signalizes either restriction, or concession, or antithesis). To every type of co-ordinative syntagmatic relation there usually corresponds a basic conjunction with a general meaning within the framework of the given type (*ār*, *kimbā*, *kintu*), which may be used to express all, or at least the majority of shades of the syntactic relation within one type (when connecting parts of a sentence as well as clauses).

In a complex sentence, conjunctions help to connect only a subordinate clause of content and part of adverbial clauses.

In a complex sentence, a conjunction by itself does not signalize so unambiguously the type of the subordinative syntagmatic relation involved. For example, the conjunction *yena* is used to connect a clause of content and also an adverbial clause; and within the framework of subordinate clauses of content it may connect a declarative clause, or one expressing request. When determining the function of a subordinating conjunction, account must also be made of various other criteria, e.g., compulsory use of certain tenses and the position of the negative particle in a subordinate clause, sometimes the position of the subordinate clause in a complex sentence.

TOWARDS A HIERARCHIZATION OF SOME TYPES OF INTER-SYSTEMIC RESTATEMENT IN ARABIC GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

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The present paper surveys a number of restatements related, in one way or another, to the derivational system of collective and unit nouns in Arabic. At the same time, a classification of particular types of restatement is proposed on the ground of relevant linguistic criteria.

1. The extraordinarily rich stock of Arabic collectives is in constant interaction with various derivational and inflectional domains of Arabic. Collectiveness, as perhaps the first vague step towards a notional and linguistic reflexion of plurality which is not yet fully separated from the underlying concept of unity, is, from among all derivational values of Arabic, most immediately related to the inflectional system of number relationships.

From a genetic point of view, the relation between the word-formational domain of collective nouns and the paradigmatic manifestations of the inflectional category of number, as reflected in the well-known hypothesis of the collective origin of the South Semitic broken plurals, is of quite particular interest.¹ Synchronically, the interaction between both domains brings about a variety of interpretational and classificatory problems in the Arabic grammar and lexicon which constitute the main topic of the present paper.

Nevertheless, the inflectional category of number is not the only one to display relevant interactions with the derivational domain of the Arabic collectives. These may frequently be extended to some other inflectional and derivational systems which may incidentally lead to various cases of multiple interpretation due to a process of destabilization of the systemic membership of a given noun. Some of these cases of resystemization involve merely new inflectional or derivational properties of the item restated, while some others may substantially affect even its basic lexical meaning.

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, C.: *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. Vol. I. Berlin, Verlag von Reuther & Reichard 1908, pp. 426 ff. See also Fleisch, H.: *L'arabe classique. Esquisse d'une structure linguistique*. Beyrouth, Dar el-Machreq Editeurs 1968 (nouvelle édition revue et augm.), pp. 92—93. For various theories, trying to explain the origin of Arabic (South Semitic) broken plurals, see Petráček, K.: *Die innere Flexion in den semitischen Sprachen*. Part III. Entstehung und Entwicklung des Systems. In: *Archív orientální*, 30, 1962, pp. 361—408. See esp. pp. 361—383.

1.1 For purposes of the present study the variety of the Arabic collectives will be reduced to one single type, coinciding with the so-called generic nouns ('*asmā' al-jins*) of Arab grammarians.² Collective nouns of the latter type denote various animate and inanimate entities of non-human reference, taken as a whole species or notional class of what is referred to, without any exact specification of number. In contradistinction to all other types of Arabic collectives, these 'generic nouns' are opposed to nouns denoting one single specimen of the species or class, indicated by the collective noun within what will henceforward be referred to as derivational system of collective and unit nouns (CN—UN, in what follows). With the present type of collective nouns, the gender class membership may show some variability. In Classical (inclusively of Modern Written) Arabic, these collectives are predominantly³ while, in modern Arabic dialects, they are exclusively masculine.⁴ The corresponding unit nouns, as far as being marked by the suffix *-a* (in colloquial varieties also *-āya*, as well as other reflexes of the Classical Arabic *-a*), are, in all varieties of Arabic, invariably feminine.⁵

E.g.:

CN

šajar "tree(s)"⁶

waraq "leaf (leaves), foliage"

naḥl "bee(s)"

ʿazm "bone(s)"

UN

šajara "a tree"

waraqa "a leaf"

naḥla "a bee"

ʿazma "a bone", etc.

² Terminologically, they correspond to Lane's *collective generic nouns*, Reckendorf's *Gattungswörter*, Fischer's *Gattungskollektive*, Fleisch's *noms d'espèce*, etc.

³ For particulars, see e.g. Fischer, W.: *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* (Fischer, in what follows). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1972, p. 49, n. 1.

⁴ For Iraqi Arabic, see e.g. Erwin, W. M.: *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic* (Erwin, henceforward). Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press 1963, p. 174 (when disregarding a number of CNs exhibiting a secondarily constituted *-a/āya* opposition, such as *fāšūliyya* "beans" — *fāšūliyyāya* "a bean" (both feminines), see *ibid.*, note 1). For Moroccan Arabic cf. e.g. Harrell, R. S.: *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic* (Harrell, in what follows). Washington, D. C., Georgetown University Press 1962, p. 78.

⁵ A limited number of formally fused CN/UN pairs of the type *ṭayr* CN/UN "bird(s); a bird" are either masculine, when operating as nouns of individual reference (corresponding to the UN of the regular CN—UN system), or feminine, when functioning as collectives. For this type of collectives see § 2.1.1 in what follows.

⁶ For the intricate problem of pluralization of the Arabic collectives, belonging to the CN—UN system, see our paper *Derivational System of Collective and Unit Nouns in Arabic. A Contribution to the Study of the Arabic Collectives*. In: *Zborník FFUK Graecolatina et orientalia*, 9—10, 1977—1978, pp. 165—207.

With some nouns, denoting stuff or material, members of the CN—UN system should be reinterpreted in terms of mass nouns and partitively featured count nouns respectively, as in:

laḥm “flesh, meat”
‘aẓm “bone” (stuff)

laḥma “a piece of flesh or meat”
‘aẓma “a piece of bone”, etc.

1.2 The aim of the present paper is to describe some types of restatement related, in a way, to the CN—UN system, as an attempt to provide some documentary evidence to the study of interactions stable between various stabilizing and destabilizing factors operating in the Arabic grammar and lexicon. The description will be focused on three cases of resystemization, as well as on a number of their special manifestations:

- (1) a derivational system restated as an inflectional system (CN—UN reclassified as members of the sex-gender relationship);
- (2) a derivational system restated as an inflectional system (CN—UN reinterpreted in terms of what will be later defined as an autonomous singular—plural relationship), and
- (3) a derivational system restated as a derivational system of a different type (the derivational system of *fa[∞]āl* — *fa[∞]āla* restated in terms of the CN—UN system).

Further, the description will subsequently be followed by a classification of all single types of restatement along with criteria in terms of which an attempt to set a hierarchical arrangement of all particular cases examined will be made.

1.3 The set of criteria, applied to the classification of the cases examined, consists of the following items:

- (1) the linguistic domain in which the restatement takes place:
 - (1.1) a restatement, occurring either within the domain of word-formation or in that of inflection, will be referred to as an endocentric restatement, as against
 - (1.2) a restatement, transgressing these boundaries which will be called an exocentric restatement;
- (2) the degree of affectedness of the underlying system in the process of restatement. From this point of view a restatement may occur as either
 - (2.1) a simple (in binary systems: one-element) restatement, or as
 - (2.2) a multiple (in binary systems: two-element) restatement.

In simple restatements a further distinction will be introduced between those cases in which the process of resystemization affects the marked member and those in which the process of resystemization affects the unmarked (or, alternatively, zero-marked) member of the linguistic system involved. For the sake of convenience, these cases will be referred to in terms of those particular members of the system involved which are actually affected by the process of restatement.

In applying the latter criterion, it is of particular importance to draw a clear dividing line between what belongs to a linguistic system and between what does not. In this sense, only such linguistic features will be recognized as constitutive elements of a system in terms of which it may quite unambiguously be defined. From this point of view, the plural inflections within the CN—UN system, for instance, will not be recognized as constitutive elements of the latter since their occurrence or non-occurrence within the CN—UN system does not affect the CN—UN membership of a given noun, neither does it their distribution with regard to single members of the CN—UN system;⁷

(3) the type of relationship governing a restatement. When viewed from this angle, a restatement may be classified as either

(3.1) a symmetric restatement, displaying a one-to-one relationship between the participating elements, or as

(3.2) an asymmetric restatement, based upon other than a one-to-one (i.e., one-to-zero, or one-to-more-than-one) relationship between the participating elements.

2. Despite the fact that in the descriptive frame of the present study the CN—UN system invariably occurs in all types of restatement examined in what follows, the part played by it, in relation to the other linguistic systems involved, may substantially vary from one case to another. The three main types of restatement, summarily hinted at in 1.2 above, may occur as one of the following particular cases:

2.1 CN—UN restated in terms of sex-gender pairs.⁸

The present type of restatement is based upon the well-known fact that the derivational markers $-\emptyset/-a$ of the CN—UN system (stated in the respective order) formally coincide with the inflectional markers of gender classes where they show the following distribution: $-\emptyset$ (masculine)/ $-a$ (feminine), as in *kalb* “dog”, *kalba* “bitch”. With some limitations, stated in 1.1, the $-\emptyset/-a$ opposition yields substantially the same gender classes within the CN—UN system, too, and that irrespective of whether in relation to nouns denoting sexless entities (*šajar* CN, masc. “tre(s)” — *šajara* UN, fem. “a tree”) or to nouns denoting living beings that display the extra-linguistic category of sex (*ḥammām* CN, masc. “pigeon(s)”, male(s) and/or female(s), — *ḥamāma* UN, fem. “a pigeon”, male or female).

Atypically, however, the extra-linguistic category of sex may be associated with the inflectional category of gender even in nouns alternatively classifiable as

⁷ Cf. the term “satellite plural” in what follows.

⁸ For a more ample discussion of this phenomenon as well as for more documentary evidence, see our paper *Collective and Unit Nouns as Sex-Gender Pairs in Arabic*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, 10, 1975, pp. 41—48.

members of the CN—UN system. The newly acquired sex-gender relationship simultaneously discontinues the CN—UN membership of the nouns involved. E.g.:

CN—UN unrestated:

CN—UN restated as sex-gender pairs:⁹

<i>ḥamām</i>	<i>ḥammāma</i>	<i>ḥamām</i>	<i>ḥamāma</i>
“pigeon(s)”	“a pigeon”	“pigeon”	“pigeon”
male(s)	male	male	female (cf. e.g.:
and/or	or		Lane I, 636—7)
female(s)	female		

That is:

CN—UN:	CN	_____	UN
sex—gender:	male—masculine	_____	female—feminine

Classificatory status: exocentric, multiple, symmetric.

2.1.1 Another type of the CN—UN/sex—gender restatement may occur with collective nouns that formally coincide with unit nouns at the *zero*-side of the *-Ø/-a* opposition. Since they fulfil the double function of collective nouns and of nouns of individual reference, they are sometimes classified as collective-and-unit nouns.¹⁰ By a process, similar to that presented in 2.1, only the CN is restated in terms of a male—masculine sex—gender class, while the female—feminine counterpart of the latter, unrelatable to an autonomous derivational formation, is uniquely due to the impact of analogy with the *zero/-a* opposition of the inflectional system of gender classes. E.g.:

	<i>zero</i> :	<i>-a</i> :
CN/UN:	<i>ṭayr</i> (CN, feminine) “bird(s)”, male(s) and/or female(s); (UN, masculine) “a bird”, male or female;	unrepresented
sex – gender:	<i>ṭayr</i> (masculine) “the male of the species”	<i>ṭayra</i> (feminine) “the female of the species” (Wehr; Dozy II, 79)

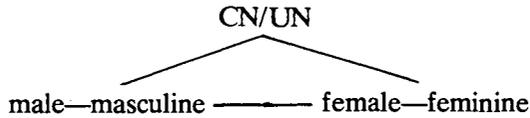
⁹ The present type of restatement may more currently be found in modern colloquial varieties of Arabic. For Moroccan Arabic, for instance, cf. Harrell, p. 78.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Wehr (Cowan), 4. ed., p. 677.

That is:

CN—UN:

sex—gender:



Status: exocentric, simple, asymmetric, CN-related.

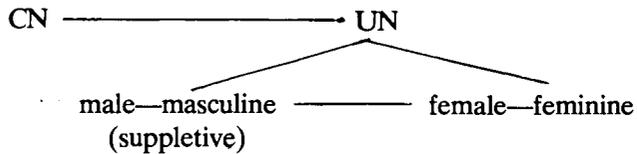
2.1.2 A similar type of an asymmetric restatement may further involve suppletive pairs as members of sex—gender classes. The documentary evidence available points to a type of restatement that affects the UN (-a) member of the CN—UN system, while the CN (zero) member of the system is secondarily obtained by suppletion. E.g.:

<p>CN—UN: <i>baqar</i> (CN, masculine) “cow(s), bull(s); bovines, cattle”</p> <p>sex—gender: <i>fawr</i> (male—masculine) “bull”</p>	<p><i>baqara</i> (UN, feminine) “a cow, a bull” (Wright I, 147; Lane I, 234)</p> <p><i>baqara</i> (female—feminine) “cow” (MWA: Wehr; classical: Belot; all modern dialects).</p>
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Diagrammed:

CN—UN:

sex—gender:



Status: exocentric, simple, asymmetric, UN-related.

2.2 The CN—UN system may undergo another type of what we classify as exocentric restatement in which the particular constituents of the CN—UN system are reclassified as members of what we call autonomous singular—plural relationship.¹¹

¹¹ For a full-scale description of the phenomenon, as well as for the source-quoted evidence, see our study *A Case of Inter-Systemic Polysemy in Arabic*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, 13, 1977, pp. 47—79.

Status: exocentric, multiple, asymmetric.

2.3 Relying upon documentary evidence collected, endocentric restatements are represented by two different types centred around the derivational system of $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ — $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$, at the input stage, and the CN—UN system, at the output stage of the process.

Synchronically, the derivational pattern $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ may be classified as an intensive pattern of the participial $f\bar{a}^{\text{cc}}il$.¹³ When substantivized, it usually produces nouns denoting members of various professions and trades. In this case, the derivational value of intensiveness is reinterpreted in terms of 'repeated action', hence 'habitual or professional activity'. The pattern $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$, derivationally related to the pattern $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$, modifies the basic derivational value of intensiveness in a number of ways, most ordinarily in terms of instrumentality. The derivational value, associated with the pattern $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$, will be referred to as 'intensiveness' or, in its somewhat reinterpreted sense, not quite unambiguously, as 'agentialness', in contrast to the derivational value of 'instrumentality', associated with the pattern $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$.¹⁴ E.g.:

$f\bar{a}^{\text{cc}}il$: *g\bar{a}sil* "washing" (participial);

$fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ (intensive/agential): "washer, washerman, laundryman", as well as its feminine inflection *g\bar{a}s\bar{a}la* "washerwoman, laundress";

$fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$ (intensive/instrumental): *g\bar{a}s\bar{a}la* "washing machine".

As a matter of atypical development, the derivational value, associated with the patterns $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ and $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$, may be restated in terms of collectiveness and unitness. The two types of a $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ — $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$ /CN—UN restatement, presented in what follows, may occur, relying upon the evidence collected, in the form of (1) a $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ -oriented, as well as in that of (2) a $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$ -oriented process.

2.3.1 $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ — $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$ restated as members of the CN—UN system in a $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ -related process, e.g.:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (i) $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ (intensiveness, agentialness):
$ra^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}d$, viz. 'making tremble violently', ¹⁵
allusion to the physiological effect of
the electric discharge produced by the
animal; | $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$ (intensiveness, agential-
ness):
unrepresented |
|--|--|

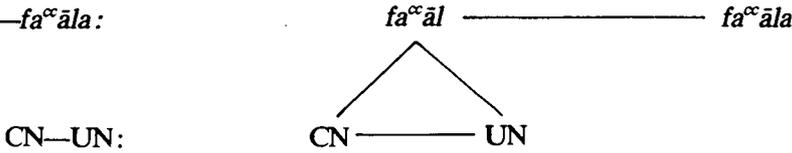
¹³ For Classical Arabic, see Barth, J.: *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung 1899, p. 48. See also Fleisch, H.: *Traité de philologie arabe* I, Beyrouth, Imprimerie catholique 1961, p. 366. For the etymological background see Barth, op. cit., pp. 11, 40.

¹⁴ For particulars, see our study *Derivational Patterns $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}l$ and $fa^{\text{cc}}\bar{a}la$ in Arabic. A Study in the Arabic Word-Formation and Inflection*. In: *Zborník FFUK Graecolatina et orientalia*, 7—8. Bratislava 1978, pp. 155—216.

(ii) CN:
ra[∞]ād “electric ray(s)”

UN:
ra[∞]āda “one single specimen of the latter”.

Diagrammed:
fa[∞]āl—fa[∞]āla:



Status: endocentric, simple, asymmetric, *fa[∞]āl*-related.

2.3.2 *fa[∞]āl—fa[∞]āla* as members of the CN—UN system in a *fa[∞]āla*-related process, e.g.:

(i) *fa[∞]āl* (intensiveness, agentialness):
sajjād “worshipper (of God)”

fa[∞]āla (intensiveness, instrumentalness):

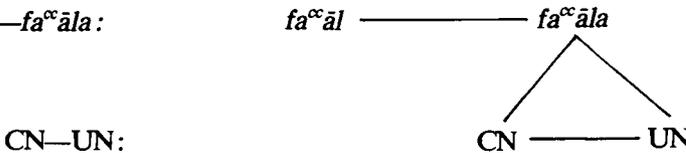
(ii) CN:
sajjād “prayer rug(s); rug(s), carpet(s)”.

sajjāda “prayer rug; rug, carpet”.

UN:

sajjāda “prayer rug; rug, carpet”.

Diagrammed:
fa[∞]āl—fa[∞]āla:



Status: endocentric, simple, asymmetric, *fa[∞]āla*-related.

¹⁵ Atypically, the *fa[∞]āl* and *fa[∞]āla* patterns may sometimes be related to what is currently known as ‘derived stems’ (viz. ‘abgeleitete Stämme’) of the Arabic 1—10 system of verbal and verbo-nominal derivation. Since the *fa[∞]āl* and *fa[∞]āla* do not belong to this system and, accordingly, they do not tolerate the respective formal markers, the derivational relation of the latter type cannot be established but in semantic terms. Here, *ra[∞]ād*, is related to the Form IV verb.

IV. endocentric, simple, asymmetric, e.g.:

fa^{cc}āl-related:

fa^{cc}āl—fa^{cc}āla:

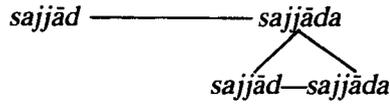


CN—UN:

Cf. § 2.3.1

fa^{cc}āla-related:

fa^{cc}āl—fa^{cc}āla:



CN—UN:

Cf. § 2.3.2

Abbreviations occurring in the text

- Belot — Belot, J. B.: *Vocabulaire arabe-français*. Beyrouth, Imprimerie catholique (16^e éd.) 1951.
- Dozy — Dozy, R.: *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I—II. Leiden—Paris, E. J. Brill-Maison-neuve-Frères (2^e éd.) 1927.
- Lane — Lane, E. W.: *Maddu-l-Kamoos. An Arabic-English Lexicon*. Part 1—5. London, Williams and Norgate 1863—1874; Part 6—8. Edited by S. L. Poole. London, Williams and Norgate 1877—1893 (quoted after the Beirut photomechanical edition: Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1968).
- Lexique — Roth-Laly, A.: *Lexique des parlers arabes tchadosoudanais (An Arabic-English-French Lexicon of the Dialects Spoken in the Chad-Sudan Area)*. Vols 1, 2. Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1969. The abbreviations TRE., CAR., LET. and HILL., used in the Lexicon, should be identified with its main sources as follows: Trenga, G.: *La bura-mabang du Ouadai*. Paris 1947. Carbou, H.: *Méthode pratique pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé au Ouaday et à l'Est du Tchad*. Paris 1913. Lethem, G. L.: *Colloquial Arabic, Shuwa dialect of Bornu, Nigeria and of the region of Lake Tchad*. London 1920. Hillelson, S.: *Sudan Arabic: an English-Arabic Vocabulary*. London 1930.
- MWA — Modern Written Arabic
- Wehr — Wehr, H.: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. Fourth (enlarged) Ed. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1979. The English equivalents are given in full or in 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 quoted after Wehr, irrespective of whether the source is explicitly indicated or not.
- Wright — Wright, W.: *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, I—II. Cambridge, University Press 1967.

OSMANISCHE KRIEGSGEFANGENE AUF DEM GEBIET DER HEUTIGEN SLOWAKEI IM 16.—18. JAHRHUNDERT

VOJTECH KOPČAN, Bratislava

Der Autor untersucht auf Grund von Archivquellen zeitgenössischer Publizistik und Literatur die Frage türkischer Gefangener im allgemeinen sowie auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei. Da nach kürzerer oder längerer Gefangenschaft die Mehrzahl der Kriegsgefangenen von ihren Familien losgekauft oder gegen heimische Gefangene ausgetauscht wurde, widmet der Autor seine Aufmerksamkeit auch diesen Fragen. Ein Teil der Gefangenen blieb aus verschiedenen Gründen für längere Zeit in Gefangenschaft oder siedelte sich nach ihrer Taufe auf die Dauer auf unserem Gebiet an. Der Autor untersucht auch die gesellschaftliche Stellung der türkischen Gefangenen in einer fremden Gesellschaft, sowie auch ihre Geltendmachung in verschiedenen Dienstleistungen oder Produktionszweigen.

Die osmanische Expansion im 16.—17. Jahrhundert ins Donaugebiet beeinflusste nicht nur die politische Entwicklung des ungarischen Königreichs, das in drei Teile zerfiel, sondern widerspiegelte sich im wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Leben des Landes. Vom ganzen Problemkomplex wurde der Frage der Kriegsgefangenen, ob auf osmanischer oder ungarischer Seite, eine verhältnismäßig kleine Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet, obwohl diese ein sehr kompliziertes gesellschaftlich-ökonomisches Problem darstellt, von ihrem menschlichen Aspekt gar nicht redend, weil — wie bekannt — das Los von Kriegsgefangenen seit den Anfängen der Geschichte der Menschheit stets sehr kläglich war. In diesem Beitrag möchten wir wenigstens kurz auf das Problem der türkischen Gefangenen auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei hinweisen.

Während die christlichen Gefangenen im Osmanischen Reich, mit Johann Schiltberger, Georgius de Hungaria, Bartholomäus Georgiević und weiteren beginnend, seit dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts eine große Anzahl Zeugnisse hinterließen, die nicht nur die Lage der Gefangenen, sondern auch das Leben, die Gewohnheiten und Sitten der Türken schilderten und nicht selten auch Angaben über osmanische Institutionen und politische Ereignisse brachten,¹ sind Berichte türkischer Gefange-

¹ Über die Gefangenen im Osmanischen Reich siehe Göllner, C.: *Turcica III. Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert*. București—Baden-Baden 1978, besonders das Kapitel Flüchtlinge, Renegaten und Sklaven, S. 316—333. *Rabok, követek, kalmárok az Oszman birodalomról* (Sklaven, Abgesandte, Krämer über das Osmanische Reich). Hrsgb. von L. Tardy. Budapest 1977. Das Problem der Nutzung der Gefangenen-Sklaven im Osmanischen Reich bearbeitete in letzter Zeit Inalcık, H.: *Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire*. In: *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*. Ed. by A. Ascher, T. Halasi-Kun, B. K. Király. Brooklyn 1979, S. 25—52.

ner aus der christlichen Gefangenschaft sehr rar. Am bekanntesten ist die Autobiographie Osman Ağa aus Temeschwar, der gegen das Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts (1688—1699) elf Jahre in österreichischer Gefangenschaft verbrachte.² Dies ist einer der Gründe, warum wir angewiesen sind, die Schicksale türkischer Gefangener in den europäischen Ländern meist nur aus nichttürkischen Quellen zu verfolgen.³ Wie es bereits die Forscher, die sich mit der Frage der türkischen Gefangenen in Österreich, Deutschland und Slowenien befaßten, festgestellt haben und wie dies auch aus der ungarischen Literatur ersichtlich ist, sind Angaben über die türkischen Gefangenen sehr bruchstückartig. Sie befinden sich in den verschiedenlichsten Fonds der staatlichen Zentralarchive, edelmännischen sowie städtischen Archiven, und vielerlei Nachrichten bringt auch die zeitgenössische Publizistik. Auf ihre Art originell ist die osmanische Liste der Gefangenen aus der Garnison Eger (Erlau) und den umliegenden Burgen, die in die Gefangenschaft der ungarischen Soldaten fielen und in den Grenzburgen Fíakovo, Košice, Szécsény, Szendrő und Onod, sowie auch

² Die deutsche Übersetzung *Leben und Abendteuer des Dolmetschers Osman Ağa*. Eine türkische Autobiographie aus der Zeit der großen Kriege gegen Österreich. Übersetzt von R. F. Kreutel und O. Spies. Bonn 1954, zweite Ausgabe *Der Gefangene der Giauren. Die abendteuerliche Schicksale des Dolmetschers 'Osman Ağa aus Temeschwar, von ihm selbst erzählt*. Graz—Wien—Köln 1962. Der türkische Text der Autobiographie wurde von Richard F. Kreutel, *Die Autobiographie des Dolmetschers 'Osmān Ağa aus Temeschwar* herausgegeben. Der Text des Londoner Autographen in normalisierter Rechtschreibung. Cambridge—Hertford 1980. Über das Werk Osman Agas siehe Kreutel, R. F.: *Die Schriften des Dolmetschers 'Osmān Ağa aus Temeschwar*. In: *Der Orient in der Forschung*. Festschrift Otto Spies. Wiesbaden 1967, S. 434—443. Der zweite türkische Gefangene, der seine Erlebnisse während seiner anderthalbjährigen Gefangenschaft auf Malta (1597—1598) beschrieb, ist Macuncuzade Mustafa Efendi. Siehe Parmaksızoğlu, I.: *Bir Türk kadısının esaret hatıraları* (Eines türkischen Kadis Memoiren aus der Gefangenschaft). In: *Tarih Dergisi*, 5, 1953, S. 77—84. Es ist zu hoffen, daß bei einer weiteren Erforschung türkischer Bibliotheken und europäischer orientalistischer Sammlungen noch Erinnerungen auf die Gefangenschaft oder Werke ähnlichen Charakters gefunden werden.

³ Siehe Arbeiten von Spies, O.: *Eine Liste türkischer Kriegsgefangener aus dem Jahre 1700*. In: *Der Islam*, 39, 1964, S. 231—241; *Schicksale türkischer Kriegsgefangener in Deutschland nach den Türkenkriegen*. In: *Festschrift Werner Caskel*. Leiden 1968, S. 316—335. In beiden Studien ist die ältere deutsche Literatur angeführt. Über Slowenien siehe Voje, I.: *Naseljavanje turskih zarobljenika u slovenačkim zemljama u XVI i XVII v.* (Die Ansiedlung türkischer Gefangener in Slowenien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert). In: *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis*, 8, 1969, S. 38—43; auf Slowenisch verbreitet *O usodi turskih ujetnikov v slovenskih deželach v XVI. i XVII. stoletju*. In: *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 1972, Nr. 2, S. 254—262. Über das Schicksal der türkischen Gefangenen im alten Österreich gibt es eine umfangreiche Studie von Karl Teplý: *Vom Los osmanischer Gefangener aus dem großen Türkenkrieg 1683—1699*. In: *Südostforschungen*, 32, 1973, S. 33—72. Jahn, K.: *Zum Loskauf christlicher und türkischer Gefangener und Sklaven im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: *ZDMG*, 111, 1961, S. 63—85. Von den älteren ungarischen Arbeiten sei folgende Studie erwähnt, Takáts, S.: *Török és magyar raboskodás* (Türkische und ungarische Versklavung). In: *Rajzok a török világból I*. Budapest 1915, S. 160—303 sowie mehrere kleinere Arbeiten. Von den neueren Szakály, F.: *Ali kóppányi bég sarca* (Die Ranzion von Ali, Beg in Koppány). In: *Folia Historica*, 2, 1973, S. 35—56.

in weiteren Festungen im Grenzgebiet gefangengehalten wurden.⁴ Unsere Angaben über die türkischen Gefangenen in der Slowakei haben wir größtenteils aus dem Briefwechsel der Ofener Statthalter mit den Repräsentanten der kaiserlichen Seite, aus dem Briefwechsel bedeutsamer Darsteller des ungarischen Adels, aus den Matrikeln des St.-Martin-Doms zu Bratislava, sowie aus fragmentarischen Quellen unterschiedlichen Charakters gewonnen. Es ist interessant, daß es uns nicht gelungen ist irgendein Material zu dieser Problematik in den Archiven der Trinitarier-Klöster in der Slowakei (Ilava, Komárno, Bratislava, Trnava) ausfindig zu machen, obwohl diese nicht nur die christlichen Gefangenen loskauften, sondern oft auch die Freilassung türkischer Gefangener vermittelten.⁵ Interessante Angaben über die türkischen Gefangenen bringen zeitgenössische publizistische Arbeiten, wie z.B. Speers *Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus*,⁶ Feigius' *Wunderbahrer Adlers Schwung*,⁷ Happelius' *Der Ungarische Kriegs Roman*⁸ und weitere.

Ungarn, das bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Osmanischen Reich auf dem Balkan verwickelt war, gewann türkische Gefangene aus diesen Kämpfen, wenn auch in einer unvergleichlich kleineren Anzahl als es dies den Osmanen gelang. Diese nahmen nämlich große Mengen von Gefangenen nicht nur bei Kämpfen, wie z.B. bei Nikopol (1396) oder bei Warna (1444) gefangen, sondern vor allem beim Eindringen der *Akincis* auf ungarisches Gebiet. Bedeutendere türkische Gefangene wurden meist auf den königlichen Hof gebracht und dem Herrscher zum Geschenk gemacht, der dann über sie nach seinem eigenen Willen verfügte. So wurden nach dem Sieg des Pankratius von Svätý Mikuláš und Jan Jiskra von Brandýs über die osmanischen Armeeeinheiten bei Smederewo im Jahre 1437 auf den Hof des Kaisers Sigismund in Prag vier bedeutende türkische Gefangene gebracht.⁹ Ähnlich wurden auch bei Hunyadi János's sog. Winterfeldzug tief ins Hinterland des Osmanischen Reichs am Balkan im Jahre 1443 die bedeutenderen Gefangenen aus der großen Anzahl der gefangengenommenen Türken auf den königlichen Hof nach Ofen (Buda) ge-

⁴ Die nichtdatierte Handschrift (um das Jahr 1630) befindet sich in den Fonds des Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Sign. nicht angegeben), übersetzt ins Ungarische von A. Velics in der bekannten Edition *Magyarország történelmi emléktárai II (Türkische Kassendefter aus Ungarn)*. Budapest 1890, S. 738—745.

⁵ *Magyar Országos levéltár*. E 151. Lad. 39. Fasc. 273, Lad. 40. Fasc. 274—279, 285—288.

⁶ Speer, D.: *Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplicissimus*... o.O. 1683. Die slowakische Übersetzung: *Uhorský Simplicissimus*. Übersetzt von J. Vlachovič. 2. Aufl. Bratislava 1975.

⁷ Feigius, J. H.: *Wunderbahrer Adlers Schwung oder fernere Geschichts-Forsetzung Ortelii redivivi et continuati (1664—1691) I—II*. Wien 1694.

⁸ Happelius, E. G.: *Der ungarische Kriegsroman oder ausführliche Beschreibung des jüngsten Türkenkrieges I—V*. Ulm 1685—1689.

⁹ Urbánek, R.: *Češi a války turecké (Die Tschechen und die Türkenkriege)*. In: *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu*. Praha 1939, S. 118.

bracht.¹⁰ Diese Leute schenkte der Herrscher gewöhnlich anlässlich eines Friedensschlusses dem Sultan, oder aber man stellte es ihnen frei sich loszukaufen, oder aber wurden sie gegen eigene Leute ausgetauscht.¹¹

Nach der Niederlage bei Mohács (1526) wurde Ungarn für die Osmanen zu einer ausgiebigen Quelle für die Gewinnung von Gefangenen. Während der Sultanfeldzüge gegen Wien (1529, 1532) oder der Einfälle osmanischer Begs aus dem Grenzgebiet, wie z.B. im Jahre 1530 auf das Gebiet der Südwestslowakei, gewannen die osmanischen Armeen große Mengen von Gefangenen, während die gefangengenommenen Türken verhältnismäßig selten erwähnt werden.¹² Diese Situation dauerte auch nach der Besetzung Ofens durch die Türken (1541) und in den nachfolgenden Jahren an, als sich die Türken vieler ungarischer Festungen und Städte bemächtigten, und so das Gebiet ihrer ungarischen Provinz erweiterten. Bis zur Errichtung des Verteidigungssystems in den sechziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts war die Überlegenheit der osmanischen Einheiten im Prinzip eindeutig, aber die Erwähnungen über türkische Gefangene in den Händen des ungarischen Adels oder der Befehlshaber der Grenzburgen sind häufiger. Ungarischen Chroniken zufolge ist es gelungen die Burg Fiľakovo i. J. 1554 gerade mit Hilfe eines türkischen Gefangenen zu erobern,¹³ der beobachtete, daß man in die Burg durch ein kleines

¹⁰ Cvetkova, B.: *Pametna bitka na narodite* (Denkwürdige Schlacht der Völker). 2. Aufl. Sofia 1978, S. 278, wo die Anzahl der gefangenen Türken mit 4000 angegeben wird, darunter viele Begs und Paschas.

¹¹ Zum Beispiel Çandarlı Mahmud Çelebi, der Sandschakbeg von Bolu in Kleinasien, der während des angeführten Feldzuges 1443 in ungarische Gefangenschaft gefallen war, hat sich aus der ungarischen Gefangenschaft losgekauft. Siehe *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte. Frühzeit und Aufstieg des Osmanenreichs nach der Chronik „Denkwürdigkeiten und Zeitläufe des Hauses Osman“ vom Derwisch Ahmed, genannt Aşık-Pascha-Sohn*. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Richard F. Kreutel. Graz—Wien—Köln 1959, S. 183. „Andererseits kaufte man den Bruder des Halil Pascha vom Ungarn frei“. Laut dem zwischen den Abgesandten des Sultans und König Wladyslaw III. Jagiello in Szeged im Juli 1444 geschlossenen Friedensvertrag sollte der König die türkischen Gefangenen freilassen. Cvetkova, B.: op.cit., S. 288. Das Verschenken bedeutender Gefangener wurde auch später praktiziert. Der Ofener Statthalter Sinan Pascha schrieb am 2. Mai 1590 dem Erzherzog Mathias er sei von seinem, Mathias' Willen überzeugt des Sultans Wunsch zu erfüllen und ihm zwei gefangengenommene Begs zu schenken. Mathias lehnte jedoch schließlich ab dies zu tun, anscheinend auf Grund eines Eingreifens ungarischer Befehlshaber. Siehe Bayerle, G.: *Ottoman Diplomacy in Hungary. Letters from the Pashas of Buda 1590—1593*. Bloomington 1973, Nr. 40, 49, S. 83—86, 98—99.

¹² Ratkoš, P.: *Die Slowakei während der osmanischen Expansion 1526—1532* (Der erste osmanische Feldzug in die Slowakei vom Jahr 1530). Actes du I^{er} Congrès International des Etudes Balkaniques III. Sofia 1969, S. 737—752.

¹³ Istvánffy, N.: *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV*. Tyrnaviae 1712 — die slowakische Übersetzung *Rabovali Turci...* Bratislava 1972, S. 34—37. Forgách, F.: *De statu republicae Hungaricae*. Budapest 1886. Tejnil, E.: *K dejinám tureckého panstva na Slovensku I. Dejiny fiľakovského sandžaku* (Zur Geschichte der türkischen Herrschaft in der Slowakei I. Die Geschichte des Sandschaks Fiľakovo). In: *Historické štúdie*, 4, 1958, S. 188—192.

Fenster eindringen kann, und setzte den Sandschakbeg Hamza von Szécsény (Sečany) darüber in Kenntnis. Interessant ist auch, daß der erwähnte Gefangene auf der Burg Fířakovo, die Franz Bebek gehörte, in einer Werkstatt oder einem Ergastulum arbeitete, wo noch mehrere türkische Gefangene sein mußten.¹⁴

Die Errichtung des Systems von Grenzfestungen von der Adria bis zu den Grenzen Siebenbürgens und die Zusammenarbeit der habsburgischen Macht mit der ungarischen Feudalklasse haben schließlich den weiteren Vormarsch der Osmanen in Ungarn zum Stillstand gebracht. Die neue Verteidigungstaktik ungarischer Grenzgarnisonen und ihre Einfälle auf das von Osmanen kontrollierte Gebiet zwangen auch die türkische Seite ein ähnliches System zur Verteidigung des eigenen Gebietes zu erbauen, und sich so vor dem Eindringen des Feindes zu schützen. Dieses Verteidigungsprinzip, bestehend auf dem Prinzip des Schutzes des eigenen und der Beschädigung des fremden Eigentums, schuf ideale Bedingungen für die Gewinnung von Gefangenen. Und so häufen sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts immer mehr die Erwähnungen über türkische Gefangene in den Händen der Grenzgarnisonen, der Befehlshaber oder anderer Personen und Institutionen.¹⁵

Die Aktivität ungarischer Grenzgarnisonen stieg außerordentlich an, nachdem das Osmanische Reich den Krieg mit Persien begonnen hat (1578) und die Stände der osmanischen Garnisonen in Ungarn verringert wurden.¹⁶

Auch wenn das Verschleppen von Menschen in Friedenszeiten sehr häufig vorkam, erhöhte sich die Anzahl der türkischen Gefangenen noch mehr in den Zeiten anfänglicher Erfolge der kaiserlichen Armeen in Ungarn zur Zeit des sog. Fünfzehnjährigen Krieges (1593—1606).¹⁷

¹⁴ F. Bebek mußte auf der Burg Fířakovo anscheinend mehr Gefangene haben. Tejnil, E.: op.cit., S. 191. In dieser Hinsicht ist von Interesse Hasan Odabaşı's Brief aus Pest an Georg Bebek vom 27. Juni 1557, dieser solle auf seiner Burg (Krásna Hórka?) nicht mehr als hundert türkische Gefangene halten. Siehe *A. budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése (1553—1589)*. Hrsg. von Takáts, S. — Eckhart, F. — Szekfű, Gy. Budapest 1915, Nr. 9, S. 9.

¹⁵ Siehe *A budai basák...* Nr. 5, 8, 11, 14, 27, 31, 49, 52, 54, 59, 63, 68, 88, 96, 101, 103, 104, 108, 110, 111, 123, 127, 147.

¹⁶ Siehe *A budai basák...* Nr. 180, 190, 197, 211, 238, 242, 251, 257, 265, 274, 276, 280, 283, 286, 289, 292, 299, 300, 305, 308, 310, 312, 321, 322, 324, 333, 376, 378, 384, 390, 392, 399, 402, 406, 416, 417, 419, 422, 427, 434, 437, 438, 439, 446. Bayerle, G.: op. cit., Nr. 5, 10, 14, 24, 29, 30, 34, 35, 38, 40, 41, 49. Szakály, F.: *Ali koppányi beg sarca (Adalékok a hódoltságkori magyar kereskedelem problematikájához)* (Die Ranzion von Ali, Beg in Koppány). In: *Folia Historica*, 2, Budapest 1973, S. 35—56. Matunák, M.: *Drégely és Palánk, katonai szerepe törökök alatt 1552—1593*. Krupina 1901; derselbe: *Z dejín slobodného a hlavného banského mesta Kremnice*. Kremnica 1928, S. 381, 386, 391, 392, 393.

¹⁷ Štátny oblastný archív (ŠOBA), Bytča (Regionales Staatsarchiv, Bytča). Thurzovská korešpondencia (Thurzoscher Briefwechsel). II-D/35, II-B/47, II-B/10; Archív mesta Bratislavy (Städtisches Archiv, Bratislava). Korešpondencia N 1795, N 1914; *Történelmi Tář* 1893, S. 355.

Nach Beendigung des Krieges, der über das neue Schicksal Ungarns nicht entschieden hat, entstand an den Grenzen dieselbe Situation, wie sie bereits vor Kriegsbeginn herrschte.¹⁸

Im Krieg des Osmanischen Reiches mit Kaiser Leopold I. (1663—1664) gelang es der osmanischen Armee und den plündernden Tataren große Mengen von Gefangenen nicht nur aus der Mittel- und Westslowakei, sondern auch aus Mähren und Schlesien zu verschleppen, aber auch die osmanische Seite blieb nicht ohne Verluste, besonders im zweiten Kriegsjahr. Erwähnungen über türkische Gefangenen sind aus diesem Jahr relativ häufig.¹⁹ Zusammenfassend kann jedoch festgestellt werden, daß bis in die achtziger Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts hinein die Anzahl türkischer Gefangener wesentlich niedriger war als jener Menschen, die in türkische Gefangenschaft gefallen waren.

Eine Wende bedeutete die erfolglose Belagerung Wiens durch die osmanische Armee unter dem Großwesir Kara Mustafa Pascha im Juli bis September 1683 sowie die nachfolgenden Niederlagen der türkischen Armee. Nur bei der Eroberung von Nové Zámky im Jahre 1685 nahmen die kaiserlichen Armeen etwa 200 osmanische Soldaten und eine größere Anzahl von Frauen und Kindern gefangen.²⁰ Nach den

¹⁸ Nach den Sivatorker Friedensbestimmungen (Punkt 7) sollte gegen die Gefangenen wie folgt vorgegangen werden: „jene Gefangenen auf beiden Seiten, deren Lösegeld vor dem Frieden bestimmt worden ist, nach Bezahlung ihres Lösegeldes bis zum Zeitpunkte des Friedensschlusses nicht bestimmt worden ist, sollen gegen andere entsprechende Gefangene ausgetauscht werden. Nach dem Friedensschluss darf niemand Gefangene halten; wenn aber doch jemand irgendwie gefangen werden sollte, soll er ihm genommen und freigelassen werden; ohne Zahlung von Lösegeld soll er freigelassen werden und diejenigen, die ihn gefangen halten, sollten ausgescholten werden und zwar von beiden Seiten.“ Siehe Fekete, L.: *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy 1606—1645*. Budapest 1932, S. 209—210. Die Friedensbestimmungen wurden, natürlich, nicht eingehalten, wie davon weitere türkische Dokumente Ofener Statthalter sowie anderer Würdenträger an den Palatin zeugen. Siehe Nr.: 9, 14, 29, 34, 39, 40, 45, 49 (Die Urkunde über den Austausch von 9 türkischen Gefangenen gegen 9 „deutsche“ Gefangene), 50.

Der erwähnten osmanischen Liste der Gefangenen aus den Garnisonen Eger, Heves und weiteren zufolge befanden sich um das Jahr 1630 nur in Filakovo, Košice, auf Muráň, sowie Bzovík um die 60 türkische Gefangene. Siehe Velics, A.: op. cit., II, S. 738—745.

¹⁹ Nach dem Schreiben von Stefan Vizkelety vom 18. 11. 1663 hielt Gabriel Illésházy in Trenčín vier Türken gefangen. ŠOBA Nitra. Illésházysche Korrespondenz Nr. 1360; nach Briefen von M. Szörényi an Georg Illésházy vom 12. 1. und 23. 5. 1664 (Nr. 2205, 2331) gab es auf dem Schloß Broumov mehr Gefangene. Zwei davon versuchten zu fliehen, was ihnen jedoch mißlang (Nr. 3643). Gefangen wurde auch der Sohn von Kara Osman Aga aus Nové Zámky, das Zeugnis darüber finden wir in den Briefen von P. Farkas und S. Bánóczy an Georg Illésházy vom 11. und 22. 1. 1664 (Nr. 1826 und 2164). Mitte März 1681 gelang es einer Truppeneinheit aus Modrý Kameň 40 Infanteristen aus Szécsény gefangenzunehmen. Siehe Simon, J.: *Török rabok Nógrád megyében*. In: *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 11, 1910, S. 500—502.

²⁰ Feigius, J. C.: *Wunderbahrer Adlers Schwung...* Wien 1694, die slowakische Übersetzung über die Eroberung von Nové Zámky *Rabovali Turci...* Bratislava 1972, S. 151—152. Das Werk *Der siegreich geendigte... XV. Jährige Türken-Krieg I*. Hamburg 1699, S. 52 beschreibt das Los türkischer

neueren Erfolgen der kaiserlichen Armee und ihrer Verbündeten, wie z.B. nach der Eroberung von Ofen (1686) und weiterer Städte und Burgen in Ungarn, flossen Ströme osmanischer Gefangener nach Österreich, ins deutsche Reich sowie auch in übrige Gebiete Ungarns. Eine weitere große Welle türkischer Gefangenen erschien nach der Eroberung von Belgrad und weiteren Städten in Ungarn im Jahre 1688, diese erreichte jedoch nicht die Ausmaße jener aus dem Jahre der Eroberung von Ofen. Türkischen Gefangenen begegnen wir auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei auch in den folgenden Jahren des großen Krieges und auch nach dessen Ende.²¹

Bevor wir uns mit den konkreten Fragen osmanischer Gefangener in der Slowakei befassen werden, muß die Frage derer gesellschaftlichen Stellung im fremden Milieu geklärt werden. Kriege waren von jeher ein Mittel zur Gewinnung von Gefangenen, die dann nach Bedarf der Gesellschaft in Sklaven oder in andere abhängige Schichten der Bewohnerschaft umgewandelt wurden. Man kann voll mit H. Müller übereinstimmen, der behauptet, daß „uns die Geschichte der Sklaverei bei Natur- und Kulturvölkern lehrt, daß Sklaverei zu allen Zeiten im allgemeinen vorwiegend wirtschaftlich bedingt war. Es gilt die Regel: Wo keine Sklaven gebraucht werden, werden auch keine gemacht; wer den besiegten Feind nicht verwenden, ausbeuten, für sich arbeiten lassen oder verkaufen kann, der tötet ihn oder läßt ihn laufen. Die Möglichkeit, Sklaven zu verwenden, hängt ab von der bestehenden Lebens- und Wirtschaftsweise...“²²

Während in der Welt des Islams seit der Zeit des Kalifats der Abbasiden die Sklaven eine bedeutende Rolle im wirtschaftlichen Leben (als Arbeitskräfte auf landwirtschaftlichen Gütern, in Bergwerken, bei handwerklichen Arbeiten, als Hausdienerschaft), ja sogar im politischen Leben muslimischer Länder als Leibwächter der Herrscher (das mameluckische Ägypten, das Osmanische Reich, das safawidische Persien) einnehmen, sank nach der Durchsetzung der feudalen Produktionsweise in Westeuropa die Bedeutung von Sklavenarbeit als einer weniger

Frauen aus Nové Zámky: „Anfangs waren die türkischen Weiber unter denen Gefangenen gut kauff, und hat eine wolgestaltete 20 biß 30 Thaler gegoldet; nachgehends aber ist keine unter 200 Marck zu bekommen gewesen. Unter solchem Preiß sind verschiedene nach Wien geschickt worden, deren Nägel an Händen und Füßen vergüldet, hatten große schwartzte Augen, welche Sie für Traurigkeit zur Erden niedergeschlagen, und trauerten über den Todt ihrer niedergemachten Männer.“ Zitiert nach Těplý, K.: *Vom Los osmanischer Gefangener...*, S. 35. Nach einer Liste aus dem Jahre 1700 kehrte auch eine türkische Familie in die Stadt zurück, die dann hier bis 1685 lebte. Matunák, M.: *Nové Zámky pod tureckým panstvom 1663—1685* (Nové Zámky unter der türkischen Herrschaft). In: *Slovenské pohľady*, 18, 1898, S. 675.

²¹ Noch im Jahre 1725 befand sich beim Michaeler Tor das „Coemiterium Haereticorum“, welches von den Bratislavaer Trinitariern errichtet wurde. ŠOBA Bratislava. Matrikeln. Röm.-kath. Pfarramt vom Hl. Martin Bratislava, *Matricula baptisorum 1706—1713*, Anmerkung auf dem ersten Blatt.

²² *Sklaven*. In: *Geschichte der islamischen Länder VI. 6: Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit* 1. Leiden—Köln 1977, S. 53.

produktiven immer mehr. Es wird oft behauptet, daß sich die Kirche um die Abschaffung der Sklaverei z.B. in Ungarn verdient machte,²³ dies muß jedoch dahingehend richtiggestellt werden, daß die Kirche vor allem gegen den Kauf und Verkauf, sowie das Gefangenhalten von christlichen Sklaven ankämpfte.²⁴ Ihre Haltung gegenüber Sklaven nichtchristlichen Ursprungs, oder sogar Orthodoxen und Häretikern (Bogomilen) war nicht so eindeutig, nicht einmal in späteren Zeiten. Es ist bekannt, daß es in der Zeit großer Überseeentdeckungen in verschiedenen Teilen Europas richtige Sklavenmärkte gab, und das sogar in Mitteleuropa. Die Nachrichten über den Sklavenhandel im 15.—16. Jahrhundert sind leider sehr spärlich und vereinzelt, und daher ist auch das Bild, das man sich über diese Frage machen kann, sehr mosaikartig und unvollständig. Dank der Arbeiten von C. Verlinden und weiterer Forscher ist diese Frage in Italien der Renaissance und in dessen Kolonien am eingehendsten bekannt. Die italienischen Seerepubliken führten von der Krim und den nördlichen Schwarzmeergebieten in ihre Heimat Sklaven und Sklavinnen meist tatarischer Herkunft ein. Nach der Eroberung von Istanbul (1453) und Kaffa (1475) unterbanden die Osmanen diesen Handel mit muslimischen Sklaven und deshalb wurden die Tatarinnen durch Sklavinnen tscherkessischer und russischer Herkunft ersetzt. Im Falle der Tatarinnen, die vorher häufig mit venezianischen Schiffen eingeführt und an Patrizierhäuser der italienischen Städte als Dienstmädchen verkauft wurden, ließ das Halten und den Verkauf der Sklaven auch das Papsttum zu, da diese sich nicht zu dem christlichen Glauben bekannten. Als nach dem erwähnten Verbot der Bedarf der italienischen Aristokratie durch russische oder tscherkessische Sklavinnen befriedigt werden mußte, änderte sich an der Haltung der Kirche nichts, da jene auch nicht katholischen Glaubensbekenntnisses waren.²⁵ Den Bedarf an Sklavenarbeitskraft in den italienischen Kolonien im Mittelmeer deckten meist Sklaven von osmanischen Märkten (Gefangene aus Kleinasien und später dann vom Balkan).²⁶ Aus den erwähnten Tatsachen ist ersichtlich, daß das Problem der Sklaverei auch in Europa des 15.—18. Jahrhunderts stets lebendig war.

Wie die Rechtslage der gefangenen türkischen Soldaten sowie der Frauen und Kinder in Wirklichkeit war, erklärt uns gut der Fall vierer türkischen weiblichen Gefangenen, die dem Grafen Ferdinand von Hardegg, dem erfolglosen Verteidiger von Raab im Jahre 1594, gehörten. Für die Auslieferung von Raab an den

²³ Luby, Š.: *Dejiny súkromného práva na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1946, S. 164—165.

²⁴ Kučera, M.: *O otrokoch v Uhorsku v 10.—12. stor.* In: *Historické štúdie*, 5, 1959, S. 234—236.

²⁵ Mikoletzky, H. L.: *Sklaven im alten Österreich*. In: *Otázky dějin střední a východní Evropy*. Hrsg. F. Hejl. Brno 1971, S. 70.

²⁶ İnalçık, H.: *Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire*. In: *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*. Ed. by A. Ascher, T. Halasi-Kun, B. K. Király. Brooklyn 1979, S. 37.

osmanischen Großwesir Sinan Pascha wurde Ferdinand von Hardegg im Jahre 1595 zum Tode verurteilt und durch das Beil hingerichtet. Das Gericht verurteilte ihn auch zur Konfiskation seines Eigentums. Nach seinem Tode forderte die Witwe Anna Maria Susanna, geborene Gräfin von Thurn die Rückerstattung ihrer Mitgift sowie der Geschenke, die sie von ihrem Gatten erhalten hatte. Sie forderte vor allem die Rückgabe ihrer persönlichen Juwelen, aber genauso hartnäckig kämpfte sie um die vier türkischen Sklavinnen, die sie von ihrem Gatten vor dem Jahre 1594 als Geschenk erhielt. Gerade aus diesem Eigentumsprozeß erfahren wir mehr über die Lage türkischer weiblicher Gefangenen in Österreich um die Wende des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts.²⁷

Nach der Erklärung des Kammerprokurators der Hofkammer W. Schwanser aus dem Jahre 1596 sollten die Türkinnen „alß Serui bello capi für mancipia vnd Leib aigen gehalten, khünnen possidirt, verkhaufft, verschenckht, vertauscht vnd damit gehandelt werden, wie mit anders aines Jeden aigenthumblichen guet, vnd sonderlich mit ainem andern vnuernufftigen Vieh, das obwohl in den rechten inter res et personas liberas Ein vnder schiedt...“²⁸ Beim Beurteilen der Ansprüche von Hardeggs Witwe wurden auch solche Fragen untersucht, wann ihr der Gatte die Sklavinnen geschenkt hat, ob „vor oder nach dem Verlust Rab“ oder ob „die Menschen für Vahrende Haab zu rechnen, Inmassen in Beheimb vnd Märhern auch Laib aigene Leuth, die doch für Varnnde haab nit gehalten werden“. Zu diesen Fragen äußerte sich wieder der bereits erwähnte Kammerprokurator W. Schwanser wie folgt: „das was von den Laibaigenen im Behamb, vnd Märhern vermeldet wierd, sein dieselben nit solche mancipia wie die Türckhen vnd serui bello capti, in welche die Herrn ius uitae et necis hatten oder derselben Personen, ausser verwendung der guetter, verkhaufen, oder wie mit ainem Roß, Khue oder Essel handeln dürfften...“²⁹

Aus der weiteren Argumentation erfahren wir, daß so damals wie auch in vorangegangenen Zeiten sich die „christlichen“ und die „heidnischen“ Gefangenen voneinander unterschieden unter dem Vorwand, daß sich die Türken den gefangenen Christen gegenüber tyrannisch benehmen. „Es ist aber zwischen denselben vnd den gefangenen Türckhen ain grosser Vnderschied, vnd daherr von denselben auf die gefangenen Türckhen als a separatis nit zu argumentiern oder eingleihait zu schliessen. Vnd obwohl auch nit weniger das die Leibaigenschaft bey den Christen so weit augehebt, das die so in dem Khriege gefangen werden, nit mehr für Leibaigenen khunen gehalten vnd wie Vieh oder andere Sachen verkhaufft oder

²⁷ Dieser Vorfall wurde auf Grund von Archivmaterialien vom österreichischen Historiker H. L. Mikoletzky, op. cit., S. 69—83 bearbeitet.

²⁸ Mikoletzky, H. L.: op. cit., S. 73.

²⁹ Ebenda, S. 75.

umgebracht werden. So verstehet sich doch solches allain auf die Christen, so in Khriege von andern Christen gefangen werden vnd gar nit auf die Unglaubigen alß Tattern vnd Türckhen, welche die gefangene Christen gleichfalls wie das unuernüfftige Vieh in eüßerister vnd schwerister Seruitut vnd Dienstbarkhait ohne alles mitleiden vnd Barmherzigkeit tyrannisch erhalten...³⁰

Aus den angeführten Zitaten geht hervor, daß die österreichischen und ähnlich auch die ungarischen Institutionen die türkischen Gefangenen als Sklaven im Sinne der antiken Auffassung der Sklaverei betrachteten, wo der Mensch Ware war, über die der Inhaber frei verfügen, d. h. diese kaufen, verkaufen, eintauschen usw. konnte.

Hinsichtlich des großen Umfangs der Anwendung von Sklavenarbeit im Osmanischen Reich, ob nun im Handwerk, in der Landwirtschaft, als Bedienstete oder bei Spezialarbeiten, ist es begreiflich, daß die Nachfrage nach Gefangenen sehr groß war. Sie wurde durch Kriegsführung in Mitteleuropa, im westlichen Mittelmeer, am Kaukasus, sowie durch Tatarenüberfälle auf Polen und Rußland gesichert.³¹

In den europäischen Staaten, das Reich der österreichischen Habsburger inbegriffen, wurde die Sklavenarbeit mit Ausnahme von Galeeren (wo sich außer der muslimischen Gefangenen auch Verbrecher oder religiös verfolgte Menschen befanden) fast überhaupt nicht verwendet. Trotzdem ist auch auf europäischer Seite eine Jagd nach Sklaven zu beobachten, und das nicht nur für den Bedarf der Kolonien im Übersee. Die Türkenkriege wurden auf eine gewisse Art zu Unternehmungstätigkeiten und führten in einzelnen Fällen zur sogenannten ursprünglichen Kapitalanhäufung und beeinflussten die Struktur der Kapitalverteilung. Im Vergleich zum Kriegsgewinn in neueren Zeiten gingen solche Kapitalverschiebungen weniger aus wirtschaftlicher Tätigkeit (etwa Waffenproduktion, Schwarzhandel) hervor, galten aber wohl in den Augen der Zeitgenossen als weniger verwerflich als heutzutage der Kriegsgewinn. So bedeuteten die Türkenkriege nicht für alle Einwohner der betroffenen Länder nur den wirtschaftlichen Ruin, Verarmung oder andere Leiden der Kriegszeiten, wie Plünderung, Aufenthalt der Armeen, sondern wurden für manche Leute sogar zu einer Erwerbsquelle.³²

Der Krieg als Geschäft hatte jedoch auch seine tragische Seite. Eine der ertragreichsten Quellen von Einkommen war die Verschleppung von Menschen und deren Loskaufen. Dies geschah natürlich nicht nur in Kriegszeiten, sondern während des ganzen Zeitraumes der osmanischen Nachbarschaft in Ungarn, also auch in

³⁰ Ebenda, S. 75.

³¹ İnalçık, H.: op. cit., S. 35—40. Fisher, A. W.: *The Sale of Slaves in the Ottoman Empire: Markets and State Taxes on Slave Sales*. In: *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, 6, 1978, S. 149—174.

³² Vilfan, S.: *Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege aus der Sicht der Ranzionierung, der Steuer und der Preisbewegungen*. In: *Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege*. Hrsg. von O. Pickl. Graz 1971, S. 175—179.

Friedenszeiten. Für die Osmanen bedeutete, wie bereits erwähnt, die Sklavenarbeit nicht nur einen bedeutenden Anteil der Produktion oder der Dienstleistungen, die Kriegsgefangenen wurden vielmehr auch als Kolonisten verwendet oder waren eine Quelle finanzieller Einnahmen aus der sogenannten Ranzion, die im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Ungarn nie gewesene Ausmaße erreichte. Für die Osmanen hatte die Ranzion Bedeutung als erfolgreiches Mittel zur Gewinnung von Edelmetallen in Form von Geld oder anderer gefragter Waren (strategische Rohstoffe), für die andere Seite war es eine erprobte Art der Anschaffung orientalischer Luxusgüter (Stoffe, Teppiche, Waffen) und rassiger Pferde. Fast in einem jeden Vertrag über den Loskauf eines türkischen Gefangenen finden wir die Erwähnung über türkische Waren, Pferde, manchmal als Geschenke zur Gesamtsumme des Lösegeldes³³ oder auch anstelle von Geld.³⁴

Wir haben bereits erwähnt, daß die ungarischen Garnisonen oder die kaiserlichen Armeen türkische Gefangene nicht nur auf Grund siegreicher Kampfhandlungen auf den Schlachtfeldern oder bei Eroberungen von Festungen gewannen (dies war die Hauptquelle der Gefangenen im Krieg 1683—1699), sondern mehr gelang es ihnen diese bei türkischen Überfällen des königlichen Gebiets oder direkt bei Raubfeldzügen der königlichen Einheiten ins osmanische Gebiet gefangenzunehmen.

Die Gefangenen wurden zuerst verhört, um etwas über die Pläne ihrer unmittelbaren Befehlshaber oder höherer Würdenträger in Erfahrung zu bringen. Als eine Garnisonseinheit aus Levice anfangs 1590 den Aga aus Visegrád und weitere Türken gefangen nahm, erfuhr sie, wo die Truppen aus Esztergom in nächster Zeit Plünderungen planen.³⁵

In den Kriegen europäischer Staaten war es ein alter Brauch, die Gefangenen nach Kriegsende gegenseitig auszutauschen, was im Prinzip auch im türkisch-ungarischen Grenzgebiet praktiziert wurde. Dieser Vorgang war am geläufigsten, handelte es

³³ Ali, Beg in Koppány, freigelassen im Jahre 1584, versprach außer einer finanziellen Summe von 30 000 Gulden noch zwei rassige Pferde, acht Pferddecken, einen neuen Perserteppich, kleinere Teppiche, Reiherfedern usw. Siehe Szakály, F.: op. cit., S. 40.

³⁴ Für einen armen türkischen Gefangenen aus Eger (Erlau) schickte Ahmed, Beg in Esztergom im Jahre 1627 Stefan Pálffy nach Nové Zámky ein Pferd. Siehe Jedlicska, P.: *Adatok a török hódoltság történetéhez*. In: *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 11, 1910, S. 315—316. Nach dem Schreiben von Gabriel Illésházy an seinen Bruder Georg kaufte er im Jahre 1570 in Székesfehérvár ein Pferd vom Beg für zwei türkische Gefangene. ŠOBA Nitra, Illésházysche Korrespondenz Nr. 1490. Auf Burg Lietava im Jahre 1593 versprach nach seiner Folterung ein türkischer Gefangener ein Lösegeld von 1000 Gulden, da er jedoch kein Bargeld hatte, war er bereit bis zur Höhe dieser Summe Kleider (Stoffe?) und Teppiche zu geben. Siehe *Rabovali Turci...*, s. 174. ŠOBA Bytča, Oravský komposorát, Thurzosche Korrespondenz II-D/35.

³⁵ Matunák, M.: *Drégely és Palánk, katonai szerepe*, S. 52. Gleichzeitig versuchten sie herauszubekommen, ob diese das notwendige Lösegeld haben, oder ob es jemand gibt, gegen den sie sie austauschen könnten.

sich um gewöhnliche Soldaten. Sogar der Beschluß der ungarischen Ständeversammlung aus dem Jahre 1596 bestätigt diesen Brauch.³⁶ Den Austausch der Gefangenen von ungarischer Seite führten die Festungshauptleute oder ihre Stellvertreter durch. Daß diese Verhandlungen nicht immer glatt verliefen, davon zeugt der Fall von Ibrahim Aga aus Drégely, der über den Austausch der Gefangenen mit dem Leutnant Michal Bory aus Pukanec verhandelte. Bei diesen Verhandlungen zerstritten sich beide derart, daß sie einander schriftlich zum Duell aufforderten.³⁷ Nach der Einwilligung des Ofener Statthalters Ferhat Pascha, gestattete auch M. Pálffy, der Oberhauptmann des Vordonau-Distrikts, das Duell. Das Duell, das in der Nähe von Pukanec hätte stattfinden sollen, wurde wegen verschiedener Einwände von Seiten der königlichen Offiziere nicht durchgeführt und die Garnisonen der königlichen Burgen nutzten die Lage zu Überfällen auf türkische Einheiten aus. Diese erlitten große Verluste und diese Begebenheit fand ihr Nachspiel im Briefwechsel zwischen dem Ofener Statthalter Ferhat Pascha und dem Erzherzog Ernst.³⁸

Über bedeutendere Gefangene entschieden die Sandschakbegs oder sogar der Ofener Statthalter, kaiserlicherseits wieder der Distrikthauptmann, der ungarische Statthalter oder der Palatin.³⁹ Im allgemeinen wurde das Prinzip beibehalten, daß gegen einen Gefangenen ein anderer ausgetauscht wurde.⁴⁰ Manchmal wurden auch ganze Gruppen ausgetauscht. Standen jedoch auf der einen oder anderen Seite der Grenze keine entsprechenden Gefangenen für den Austausch zur Verfügung, mußten passende Partner anderswo gesucht werden, was den Gefangenen nur das Leben noch mehr erschwerte. Oft hing der Austausch jedoch nur vom privaten Interesse der einen oder anderen Seite ab.

Eine viel größere Anzahl von Gefangenen, als sich beide Seiten austauschten, mußte sich aus der Gefangenschaft loskaufen. Durch Gewalt wurden die Gefangenen im Gefängnis gezwungen, ein womöglich hohes Lösegeld zu versprechen. Da die Garnisonen oft sofort Geld gewinnen wollten, boten sie die Gefangenen zum Verkauf an. Als es der Garnisonseinheit aus Vígfaš im Jahre 1590 gelungen war Sefer Voyvoda aus Divín und drei Türken zu fangen, kündete der Kommandant der Burg Vígfaš Baron H. Thanhausen für den 10. März 1590 eine Versteigerung an, zu der auch die Bergstädte eingeladen wurden, sofern sie Gefangene kaufen wollten.⁴¹ Ähnlich handelten auch andere Befehlshaber des kaiserlichen oder ungarischen

³⁶ Artikel 54: „Captivorum Turcarum dimissio in confinio fiat presciter capitaneum cuiuslibet loci, in dimittendis vero captivis dominorum et nobilium, extra confinia habitantium, servetur consuetudo, hactenus ab antiquo observata.“

³⁷ Matunák, M.: *Z dejín slobodného a hlavného banského mesta Kremnice* (Aus der Geschichte der freien und Hauptbergwerkstadt Kremnica). S. 392.

³⁸ Bayerle, G.: op. cit., S. 45, 54, 67.

³⁹ Siehe den Briefwechsel A budai basák, Bayerle, Fekete.

⁴⁰ Fekete, F.: *Türkische Schriften*, S. 361.

Heeres. Der Oberhauptmann des Vordonaubiets N. Pálffy kaufte im Jahre 1592 von der Garnison in Pukanec den Kommandanten der Kavallerie aus der drégelyer Palanke Ibrahim Aga für 300 Gulden, wahrscheinlich mit der Absicht von ihm dann ein vielfach höheres Lösegeld zu erzwingen.⁴² Anscheinend ähnliche Ziele leiteten im Jahre 1610 den kaiserlichen Offizier Sigmund Kollonich, der für eine große Summe den Sohn des ehemaligen osmanischen Statthalters in Raab kaufte.⁴³ Als Heiducken, die auf dem illésházyschen Gut in Šintava streunten, im März 1664 einen Türken fingen, kaufte diesen sofort irgendein deutscher Hauptmann für 200 Gulden wissend, daß er von ihm, da dieser nicht arm war, ein hohes Lösegeld erhalten würde.⁴⁴ W. E. Hapfelius berichtet über öffentliche Märkte mit türkischen Gefangenen in Ungarn, wo unter Mitwirken eines Lizitators so Menschen als auch andere Beute verkauft wurden. Der Gefangene fiel an den Meistbietenden. Der Türke wurde sofort nach dem Kauf in starke Eisenfessel gelegt. Bei den anderen türkischen Gefangenen erkundigte sich dann der Eigentümer des Gefangenen über dessen finanzielle Verhältnisse. Die Zusage von Lösegeld wurde meist durch rohe Folterungen erpreßt. Wenn die Höhe des Lösegeldes vereinbart wurde, wählten die Gefangenen einen aus ihrer Mitte, der dann auf türkisches Gebiet ging und das Lösegeld für sich und die übrigen mitbringen sollte. Hapfelius erwähnt Mönche aus Hronský Beňadik, die von einem Türken, den sie selbst für 600 Gulden erstanden hatten, 6000 Gulden und verschiedene orientalische Waren dazu erhielten.⁴⁵ Besonders einfallsreich erwies sich bei der Folterung eines türkischen Gefangenen Ján Ďurčanský auf Burg Lietava, um von diesem 1000 Gulden Lösegeld zu erzwingen.⁴⁶

Das Foltern von türkischen Gefangenen war auch während ihrer Haft üblich. So beschwerte sich im Februar 1590 der Ofener Statthalter, daß die gefangenen türkischen Bega mit Hunger und Durst gequält wurden und daß ihr Gefängnis im Winter nicht beheizt wurde.⁴⁷ Derselbe Würdenträger schrieb Ende 1590 an den Erzherzog Mathias, daß einige ungarische Befehlshaber die türkischen Gefangenen verstümmelten, ihnen Zähne ausrissen, Nasen und Ohren abschnitten als Vergeltung dafür, daß der vorzeitig entlassene Gefangene, dem sie Bürgschaft leisteten, nicht zurückkehrte.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Matunák, M.: *Z dejín...*, S. 391.

⁴² Ebenda, S. 395.

⁴³ AMB, Bratislava. Korrespondenz N 2092.

⁴⁴ ŠOBA Nitra, Illésházysche Korrespondenz, 2149.

⁴⁵ Hapfelius, E. G.: *Der Ungarische Kriegs Roman...* I, Ulm 1685, S. 275—276.

⁴⁶ ŠOBA Bytča, Oravský komposesorát, Thurzosche Korrespondenz II-D/32. Hrsg. von P. Horváth in *Rabovali Turci...*, S. 173—174.

⁴⁷ Bayerle, G.: op. cit., S. 23—24.

⁴⁸ Bayerle, G.: op. cit., S. 81—82.

Was die Höhe des Lösegeldes betrifft, schwankte diese, wie bereits gesagt, je nach den finanziellen Verhältnissen der Gefangenen von einigen ...zig bis zu 20 000, ja sogar 30 000 Gulden im Falle hoher Würdenträger. Nach der Liste der türkischen Gefangenen aus Eger bewegten sich um das Jahr 1630 in den Festungen Fiľakovo, Szécsény, Košice, Muráň die Summen der Lösegelder bei Janitscharen von 28 000 bis 200 000 Akča, bei Gönüllü von 350 bis 1000 Gurüş, bei Reitern (Fāris) von 250 bis 3000 Gurüş, bei Martalosen von 300 bis 600 Gurüş.⁴⁹

Einer Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1629 zufolge zahlten vier türkische Gefangene an Stefan Pálffy ein Lösegeld von 959 Silbertalern in bar, zwei Pferde und weitere orientalische Waren.⁵⁰ Dies waren keine geringe Summen, die die Familie des Gefangenen oft wirtschaftlich ruinierten. Und es gab Fälle von türkischen Gefangenen, die in verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit auch dreimal in Gefangenschaft fielen. In solchen Fällen mußten sie sich auf die Unterstützung ihrer Mitkämpfer verlassen.

Hinsichtlich des schweren Schicksals in der Gefangenschaft versuchten die türkischen Gefangenen sehr oft die Flucht zu ergreifen, obwohl sie dafür mit strengen Strafen zu rechnen hatten. König Ferdinand I. befahl im Jahre 1558 dem Richter sowie dem Rat der Stadt Bratislava die Verfolgung zweier gefangener Türken aufzunehmen, die mit Eisenfesseln auf dem Hals geflohen waren.⁵¹ Juraj Dražkovský, ein Beamter der Herrschaft Sklabiňa, forderte die Rückerstattung eines Türken, der von ihm geflohen war und auf der Burg Vígľaš festgenommen wurde.⁵² Manchmal versuchten mehrere Gefangene die Flucht zu ergreifen.⁵³

Gefangene, die kein Lösegeld aufbringen konnten, oder auf den Austausch warteten, wurden von ihren Inhabern für verschiedene Arbeiten verwendet. Sie halfen bei Instandsetzungsarbeiten auf Burgen, bei Befestigungsbauten, in verschiedenen Werkstätten oder bei anderen Arbeiten. Wir kennen einen Fall, wo türkische Gefangene zum Ausroden eines Waldes benutzt wurden, der dann in landwirtschaftlichen Boden verwandelt wurde.⁵⁴ Ähnlich wurden in der Ortschaft Slivník in

⁴⁹ Velics, A.: op. cit., II, S. 738—743.

⁵⁰ Takáts, S.: *Török rabok ára 1629-ben* (Der Preis türkischer Sklaven im Jahr 1629). In: *Magyar gazdaság történelmi szemle*, 7, 1900, S. 92—93.

⁵¹ AMB, Bratislava, Korrespondenz GL 38 F 1 N 191.

⁵² Slovenský letopis, III, 1879, S. 229.

⁵³ Zum Beispiel im Jahre 1615 entflohen aus dem Schloß Pilski in Polen nach Ungarn 10 türkische Gefangene. Thurzosche Korrespondenz II-2/9; Nikolaus Széchy fordert die Umstände der Flucht mehrerer Gefangener aus Szécsény (um 1610—1615) aufzuklären; ebenda, II-S/44.

⁵⁴ Magyar Országos levéltár, Urbaria et Conscriptioes, fac. 28, No. 42. Das Urbarium des Städtchens Jasov. In diesem Urbarium von Jasov aus dem Jahre 1575 wird bei den herrschaftlichen Grundstücken angegeben, daß eines davon der Bischof von Varadín, Martin Pethő, ausroden ließ, während das zweite Grundstück auf 40 cubulus „per captivos Turcas extirpari procurata“ war. (Für diese Angabe danke ich meinen Kollegen P. Horváth.)

Zemplín im Jahre 1580 mit Hilfe der Arbeit türkischer Gefangener Weingärten angelegt.⁵⁵

Ein großer Teil türkischer männlicher und weiblicher Gefangener befand sich in den Händen des ungarischen Landesadels oder der Städte. Von diesen ist nur sehr wenig bekannt. Die Stadt Kremnica, die im Jahre 1605 keinen Scharfrichter hatte, benutzte für diese Dienste einen gefangenen Türken, der diese Belastung psychisch nicht verkraftete und einen Selbstmordversuch unternahm.⁵⁶ In verschiedenen Quellen werden türkische Weberinnen und Goldstickerinnen erwähnt. Nach dem großen Zustrom türkischer Gefangener in den langen Kriegsjahren 1683—1699 wurden viele von ihnen getauft und blieben im Dienst ihrer ehemaligen Herren als Hausdiener, Pagen, Zuckerbäcker oder bei anderen handwerklichen Arbeiten.

Der Taufe türkischer Kinder begegnen wir noch vor dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. So wurde z.B. 1597 anlässlich der Taufe des Sohnes von Michal Czobor, des Herren der Herrschaft Holíč, auch ein türkisches Mädchen in Anwesenheit vieler ungarischer Magnaten getauft.⁵⁷ Vom Jahre 1683 bis Mai 1686 wurden im Dom zu Sankt Martin in Bratislava 11 türkische Kinder (teilweise auch Kinder der aus türkischer Gefangenschaft befreiter Frauen) und Erwachsene getauft. Christoph Erdödy, der Präsident der Bratislavaer Kammer, stand bei mehreren von ihnen Pate.⁵⁸ Die Matrikel für die Jahre 1687—1696 ist leider verlorengegangen. In den nachfolgenden Jahren (1697—1707) wurden in dieser Kirche noch 10 Türcinnen und Türken (bei einigen finden wir die Angabe, sie stammten aus Ofen oder Belgrad) getauft.⁵⁹ Im Vergleich zu Wien oder zur Umgebung ist diese Anzahl relativ gering.⁶⁰ In diesen Jahren kam es zur Taufe von Türken beinahe auf dem ganzen Gebiet der Slowakei.⁶¹

In diesem Beitrag wollten wir auf die bislang wenig bekannte und wenig erforschte Frage der türkischen Gefangenen in der Slowakei aufmerksam machen und so die Problematik der osmanischen Expansion auf unserem Gebiet erweitern.

⁵⁵ Gyongó, Gy.: *Vegyések*. In: *Adalékok Zemplén vármegye történetéhez*, 19, 1913, S. 94—95.

⁵⁶ Križko, P.: *Z dejín banských miest na Slovensku* (Aus der Geschichte der Bergwerkstädte in der Slowakei). Bratislava 1964, S. 346—353.

⁵⁷ Siehe *Torténelmi tár*, 1893, S. 355.

⁵⁸ ŠOBA Bratislava. *Matrikeln. Röm.-kath. Pfarramt zum Hlg. Martin. Liber baptisatorum 1680—1686*.

⁵⁹ Ebenda, *Liber baptisatorum 1697—1705*.

⁶⁰ Těply, K.: *op. cit.*, S. 54—56.

⁶¹ In Suchá nad Parnou wurde im Jahre 1684 ein Kind eines Türken aus Nové Zámky und einer christlichen Mutter getauft; 1680 wurde ein Türke aus Belgrad getauft. *Slovenský letopis*, II, S. 237—238.

BOOK REVIEWS

Lexikon fremdsprachiger Schriftsteller von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (Dictionary of Non-German Writers from the Beginnings up to the Present). Leipzig, VEB Bibliographisches Institut, Vol. 1 (A–G), 1977, 652 pp.; Vol. 2 (H–O), 1979, 571 pp.; Vol. 3 (P–Z), 1980, 598 pp.

During the last years, the well-known Bibliographical Institute in Leipzig has published three volumes of a Dictionary of writers using other languages than German. According to the Introduction, the Dictionary comprises about 7000 entries, not only those of authors but also titles of the most famous anonymous books, such as Avesta, Koran, Kalila and Dimna, Manas, etc. Each personal item gives basic life data and facts concerning the author in question, characteristics of his literary activities, titles of his main writings in the original, information on their translations into German and eventually into other world languages. The initials of the author are usually followed by a small-type appendix containing further works, translations and sometimes even literature related to the contents of the item.

About 1200 articles are devoted to authors and anonymous books from Asia, Africa and the Soviet East. It might be of interest to find out the respective numbers of items relating to individual literatures or their groups.

The highest number of entries is devoted to literatures of the subcontinent of India — 220 in all, including also a few articles concerning Bengali, Tamil, Kashmiri and other New Indian literatures. More than 130 authors and books are from China and 130 from Japan. Vietnamese items number 22, Burmese 18, Indonesian 18, Cambodian 10, etc. Sub-Saharan Africa is covered by only 50 articles. The authors and books of classical Arabic literature, as well as modern national literatures written in various forms of Arabic are represented by some 80 entries; there are more than 60 articles on Turkish literature and a smaller number of items cover ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Syrian and other literatures. Almost 60 articles are devoted to Persian authors and books and ten concern Afghan literature.

An interesting group, usually not to be found in Dictionaries of this kind, is formed by about 200 entries describing various literatures of the so-called Soviet East. A considerable part of it is occupied by Georgian (42 articles) and Armenian literatures (both Eastern and Western, 38 entries), followed by Uzbek (23), Azerbaijani (18), Kazakh (17), Tajik (12), Kirghiz (7), Ossetian (7), Buryat, Lesgin,

Chukchi and other literatures, the latter covered by only one to three entries. For comparative reasons, let us add that 98 Czech and 44 Slovak writers have been included. When compared to older books of this sort, the Dictionary undoubtedly represents a distinct step forward. The editors had to respect the interests of the German user who is traditionally more familiar with French, Scandinavian, Russian and other European literatures, due to a larger number of translations and an easier access. Nevertheless, at first glance, the number of articles devoted to Asian and African cultures, sometimes of thousand-years' duration, appears too small when compared to the remaining literatures, practically all in European languages.

The list of authors of articles found in the first volume comprises 78 specialists, predominantly German, out of whom 31 have contributed entries concerning literatures of Asia and Africa. In the third volume, there are some articles signed by further authors, a number of items being supplied by the editors. Articles covering major literatures were usually divided among several authors, while the smaller ones were processed by a single author. Specialists will be probably interested to know who has taken part in the elaboration of the items. African literatures were described by B. Forstreuer, Turkish by S. Kleinmichel, Persian by B. Alavi, Arabic by H. Teweleit, Armenian by A. Latchinian, Georgian by H. Fähnrich, Central Asian by D. Schultz (in this particular case, however, it would have been more proper to characterize the entries written by this specialist as "Turkish literatures of the Soviet East, excluding Kazakh literature", because the Tartar and Azerbaijani literatures do not belong to the area of Central Asia), Tajik, Kurd, Ossetian and Afghan literatures by M. Lorenz, Kazakh by E. Thiele, Mongolian and Buryat by H. Schnura, Indian ones by R. Beer, H. Nespital, M. Schetelich, S. Sen-Gupta, M. Gatzlaf, Ch. Oesterheld and G. Leiste, Burmese by A. Esche, Thai and Indonesian by K. Huber, Khmer and Cambodian by R. Sacher, Vietnamese by K. Matzke, Chinese by I. Fessen-Henjes, E. Müller and F. Gruner, Japanese by J. Berndt, Korean by W. Ruben, Tibetan by M. Taube, Manichean by W. Sundermann, Syrian by H.-J. Zobel, Ancient Egyptian by I. Müller, Hebrew by W. Strohmeier and Yiddish by W. Grünzerodt and H. Junghans.

Let us add a few remarks concerning the individual entries. *Alpomish* (*Alpamysh*) is not only an Uzbek epic, it is known also by other Turkish nations, as well as the Tajiks. One should not write any more that Ibn Sīnā was an Arabic philosopher. Though writing mostly in the Arabic language, he originated from a Tajik milieu, used also Persian, and Dushanbe and Bukhara were rightly the centres of celebrations of Ibn Sīnā's millennium, in 1980. *Abolqāsem Lāhūtī* (*Lōhūtī*) should rather be presented as a Persian (Iranian) poet, even though he has been considered a favourite poet in Tajikistan and one of the founders of modern Tajik poetry. The Azerbaijani writer to be found in the 3rd Volume is *Vāzeh*, not *Vazech*. Unlike some of our literary dictionaries, the Leipzig editors have not utilized the possibility of concluding their book by a survey of authors and books of the individual literatures,

in a chronological order. This would, to some extent, also solve the problem of where some authors belong; e.g., Rudaki is presented as a Persian poet but the Tajiks consider him a personality of their own literature, because he was born and spent all of his life in Central Asia; he should at least be mentioned as a Persian-Tajik poet. Similar problems concern Turkish literature and literatures in Turkic languages, the Mongolian, Buryat and sometimes also Tibetan literatures, etc. In these surveys of national literatures, such problematic authors could be mentioned in more than one place.

As a whole, however, the Dictionary is a very thorough work, both by its selection of items and their elaboration. This is a very useful handbook which certainly will not be left lying in libraries unused.

Jiří Bečka

Gukhman, Mirra M.: *Istoricheskaya tipologiya i problema diakhronicheskikh konstant* (Historical Typology and the Problem of Diachronical Constants). Moscow, Nauka 1981. 248 pp.

Historical typology is a relatively recent branch of linguistics. Well into the second half of the twentieth century typology was regarded as incompatible with any historical interpretation of compared data. Such an interpretation was thought to be a monopoly of historical linguistics. Although this had its historical justification, it led to an untenable situation. For quite a long time particular research in historical typology had no adequate theoretical basis.

Typology studies languages without trying to explain their similarities and divergences with the aid of genetic reasons. M. M. Gukhman asks in the introduction whether genetically related languages can be the subject of study of historical typology. The trouble is that the genetic relatedness implies typological proximity, but not vice versa. It is the typological investigation of genetically unrelated languages that leads to the possibility of distinguishing what is universal from what is inherited.

M. M. Gukhman stresses the priority of synchronical typology because the latter supplies basic data for historical typology as well.

Another serious problem that represents a limitation of historical typology is the absence of data from older periods of language development. It is even not obvious whether there are any general types of language development or not.

All these facts have had their impact upon M. M. Gukhman who decided to concentrate upon these questions: (1) to investigate and define the subject of historical typology, (2) to describe varieties of usual typologically marked and unidirectional processes, (3) to verify the possibility of qualitative transformations of

formal and contensive types, (4) to discover the factors involved in typological changes.

In Chapter 1 (pp. 14—60) M. M. Gukhman makes an attempt to define the content and limits of historical typology. According to the author, historical typology concentrates upon discovering and investigating usual unidirectional processes that may result in the restructuration of a language type. At the same time she is well aware of the fact that such a restructuration is only hypothetical so far. This hypothesis should be verified by historical typology.

M. M. Gukhman discusses various typological models suggested in recent decades. In her opinion, a plausible model should account for all language levels (including phonology, grammar and vocabulary).

Since historical typology ought to focus on typical processes, the question of universals is of a special interest here. It is hard to agree that the interest in the general theory of universals was exhausted by the end of sixties; we still have no complete list of universals at our disposal and, besides this, we are not clear how to verify them.

Chapter 2 (pp. 61—127) is devoted to typological diachronical constants and to the development of inflective paradigms in genetically related languages. M. M. Gukhman employs data from Germanic, Iranian, Turkish and Finno-Ugrian languages. In conclusion, she stresses the importance of external factors for the ways the diachronical constants are realized.

In Chapter 3 (pp. 128—150) M. M. Gukhman goes on to discuss the problem of diachronical constants as well as that of transformation of types defined in terms of formal structure. She believes that the structure of a word comprises, in a condensed manner, coordinates of the formal structure of the whole language. This is also merely a postulate that has not been proved yet.

Chapter 4 (pp. 151—239) is devoted to contensive typology. The author discusses, e.g., the question of ergative versus accusative sentence structure and employs data from various Indo-European languages. This is a question much debated now throughout the world and has a long tradition of research in the Soviet Union.

M. M. Gukhman's book may be recommended to all linguists interested in the general questions of their discipline.

Viktor Krupa

Diachkov, M. V. — Leontiev, A. A. — Torsueva, E. I.: *Yazyk Tok-Pisin* (Pidgin English). Moscow, Nauka 1981. 72 pp.

Recent decades are witness to an increasing interest in the Neomelanesian language, generally known as Pidgin English. Thus in 1975, the first Japanese

handbook of this language was published (by Y. Iwasa) and the present volume is the first publication of its kind in Russian.

The most prominent linguist of the past who was engaged in the study of Pidgin English is perhaps H. Schuchardt. In the twentieth century the descriptive work was pushed forward especially by R. A. Hall, F. Mihalic, S. A. Wurm, T. E. Dutton and D. C. Laycock.

The interest in Neomelanesian is motivated by both theoretical and practical considerations. First, it is worthwhile to study Neomelanesian as such, as an instance of a pidgin that undergoes creolization. Second, it is the most important medium of interethnic contact in the new state of Papua New Guinea.

The origin of Neomelanesian is still somewhat obscure. It is believed to have come into existence either in Australian Queensland, or in Samoa; the latter alternative seems to be preferred by the authors.

In the Introduction (pp. 8—20) the readers are being acquainted with the rise of pidgins in general, as well as with their creolization. Besides, the authors survey the particular history of the New Guinea Pidgin. The introduction includes some socio-linguistic data. Its use is on advance so that some 80 % of children had some knowledge of it in 1975. On the other hand, less than 10 % of the population of the whole country speak English. Neomelanesian also replaces other lingua franca in Papua New Guinea, e.g. Police Motu.

The readers of the volume would certainly appreciate more psycholinguistic data on Pidgin English which would explain its regional, ethnic and social variability, as well as the process of standardization. The unification and standardization are perhaps the most serious problems that must be solved for Neomelanesian to be able to fulfil its manifold functions in the newly founded State (cf. pp. 16—18).

The history of research in Neomelanesian is discussed on pp. 18—20.

One should appreciate that the authors have included detailed information on articulatory and acoustic properties of Neomelanesian vowels and consonants (pp. 20—28) which deviate considerably from their standard English counterparts. Information on phonological inventory is complemented by equally useful data on suprasegmental features (pp. 28—35).

Vocabulary and grammar furnish more than enough evidence that Neomelanesian is no mere simplification of English, but that its structure basically follows a Melanesian pattern (cf. meanings of such words as *sista* from English sister, *dai* from English die, *wara bilong hai* from English words water + belong + eye, etc.).

The authors are right when refusing to consider examples like *wara bilong hai, gras bilong het* or *het bilong haus* as metaphorical expressions (p. 38). Melanesian patterns are hidden behind many grammatical categories. This is obvious from data contained in the chapter devoted to syntax (pp. 49—60). Here, such aspects of Neomelanesian are described as simple sentence types, communicative types, negation, modality, functional sentence perspective, and complex sentences.

The monograph includes four sample texts (pp. 61—67) and two bibliographical lists (pp. 67—71).

The volume under review has no doubt achieved the tasks proposed by the authors and this despite its small size. Yet, as a linguist I would appreciate the inclusion of a discussion concerning the genetic status of Pidgin English.

Viktor Krupa

Parnikel, B. B., *Vvedenie v literaturnuyu istoriyu Nusantary 9.—19. vv.* (An Introduction to the Literary History of Nusantara of the 9th—19th centuries). Moscow, Nauka 1980. 244 pp.

In the Introduction (pp. 3—9), Parnikel defines the term Nusantara as referring to the insular world of Southeast Asia which has experienced Indian, Moslem and European cultural influence so that now it roughly coincides with modern Indonesia. Among other things, the Introduction contains a brief survey of research in the particular literatures of Nusantara.

The text itself consists of five parts. Part One (Common Roots, pp. 10—30) deals with traditional literature as a common heritage of the whole Indonesian or even Austronesian world. The author states that oral literature of Nusantara used to be more homogeneous in the past than it is now (p. 11). In that early period it included not only Indonesia but also the Philippines. Some of his arguments are necessarily hypothetical — simply because they cannot be proved. The most ancient layer includes songs as well as myths. The latter were constructed upon the opposition of Heaven and Earth which occurs not only in Western Austronesia but also throughout Oceania. This dualism may be regarded as at least potentially universal throughout the world (cf. male and female, good and evil, active and passive, etc.). It cannot be excluded that its basis is of sexual nature and thus anthropomorphic.

Another common feature may be seen in animal tales centring around *kanchil* (p. 20); their roots are also mythological.

The figure of trickster with which *kanchil* has much in common is likewise part of the ancient Austronesian heritage.

Part Two (First Impulses, pp. 31—54) deals with the early phase of Indian influence in the 9th—12th centuries. This was an era of first states in Indonesia. Mediaeval Nusantara has synthesized Hinduist and Buddhist traditions with the local religious elements and this is manifest from literature as well.

The author appreciates the role of Sanskrit models in Indonesian literature. He tries to shed some light upon the functioning of Malay and Javanese languages. It was Javanese that played a central role during the whole period.

Although early Javanese poets obeyed Sanskrit models, they used Indian literary material in a liberal way, modifying it freely.

Part Three (Adoption, pp. 55—87) is devoted to the culminating period of Indian influence that was terminated by first Islamic intrusions. This period covers 13th—16th centuries.

One of the most typical features of Indonesian cultural history is perhaps its cumulative character, as stressed by Parnikel. In other words, new never entirely replaces old in Indonesia but is added or superimposed upon it (p. 55). The focal role was continued to be played by Java. The Javanese assimilated Indian cultural elements and passed them on to other nations of Nusantara (pp. 72—87), e.g., to the Madurese, Balinese, Sundanese, Sumatran Malays and peoples of southern Sulawesi.

Part Four (Change of Direction, pp. 88—151) discusses the Islamic era in Nusantaran literature, i.e. 15th—17th centuries. Parnikel gives a brief characteristic of the historical background of Islamization and of its advance before and after the arrival of Europeans.

It is the so-called Littoral culture that takes shape in Indonesia during the Islamic era. The Malay language serves as its most important vehicle and Sumatra as well as Malacca its early dispersal centres. In this chapter the author gives a survey of Malay literature, taking into account both form and content, and investigates the links between written and oral literature. Parnikel pays special attention to *chefs-d'œuvre* of Malay literature such as *Sejarah Melayu* or *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and analyses them from the point of view of their content.

However, Javanese literature has survived the Malay dominance in the early phase of Islamic era. It has reappeared upon the stage and interacted with Malay literature brought to Java. Javanese functioned as the language of Islam in Madura and Lombok; Southern Sulawesi and the Moluccas take up a different position in this respect. Javanese influence was also felt in Pasundan, the western part of Java peopled by the Sundanese where another variety of the Littoral culture appeared.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Dutch domination cut the links between Nusantara and its Moslem partners abroad. This amounted to the dawn of a new era in the development of Indonesian literature (Part Five, pp. 152—203). In this period, it turned to its local resources and later began to take notice of European models. The process of Islamization slowed down, and the last quarter of the eighteenth century is often called Javanese renaissance. According to Parnikel, it resembles European literature of the end of Middle Ages. Strangely enough, the period of political decline was simultaneously an era of intensive cultural creativity.

Other literatures have established themselves in addition to Javanese and Malay literatures, i.e. Balinese, Sundanese, Madurese, Minangkabau, etc. However, in the nineteenth century the Malay language begins to play an ever increasing role within

the whole Indonesia. This is natural since Malay was a lingua franca for many centuries and as the vehicle of Islam it became a unifying force in the archipelago. It is Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munshi who terminates this period and at the same time opens a new era of modern Malay and Indonesian literature.

In conclusion Parnikel expressed his doubts as to whether he managed to prove his case, i.e. that all the various literatures of Nusantara represent a kind of a whole. However, it seems certain that the literatures of Nusantara share more common features among themselves than with any literature outside Nusantara. The students of Indonesian culture will feel obliged to Parnikel for his attempt to sketch a general picture of the literary past of Nusantara.

Viktor Krupa

Bildwörterbuch Deutsch und Vietnamesisch, Teil I, II. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1981. 464 + 200 S.

Das *Bildwörterbuch Deutsch und Vietnamesisch* besteht aus einem Text- und einem Bildteil. Der Textteil enthält an die 9000 Bedeutungswörter aus zweihundert unterschiedlichen lexikalisch-semantischen Bereichen (so z.B. Erde, Pflanzenreich, Tierreich, Familienleben, Kultur, Sport, Industrie, Landwirtschaft, Gesundheitswesen, Bildung, Staat, Verkehr, Ökonomie u.ä.). Der Bildteil enthält 200 Bilder, davon acht mehrfarbige Abbildungen. Es sind dies weder künstlerische, noch detailliert wissenschaftlich konzipierte Abbildungen oder Schemen, jedenfalls stellen sie durch ihre Anschaulichkeit und inhaltliche Einfachheit für den Benutzer des Wörterbuchs ein hervorragendes Hilfsmittel dar. Die Beilage des Wörterbuchs ist ein wertvolles und zweckdienliches Register in Deutsch und Vietnamesisch.

Das rezensierte Wörterbuch ist kein herkömmlicher Typ eines zweisprachigen Übersetzungswörterbuchs, obwohl es grundsätzlich auch auf dem Prinzip der Bestimmung von Äquivalenzen in sogenannten Übersetzungsbedeutungen aufgebaut ist. Zur Geltung kommt weiter das Prinzip der semantischen Strukturierung des Stichworts, d.h. eine Ausgliederung von Übersetzungsbedeutungen, was eine gewisse Anleitung für die Übersetzung darstellt. Das Wörterbuch umfaßt vor allem die fachliche (in einem gewissen Maße jedoch auch die gebräuchliche) Phraseologie der gegenwärtigen deutschen Schriftsprache, sowie den frequentiertesten Wortschatz des kulturellen, wirtschaftlichen, Sport- und Alltagslebens. Die wissenschaftlich-technische, bzw. fachlich-naturwissenschaftliche Terminologie ist in einem Umfang angeführt, der im vollen Ausmaß gestattet die populär-wissenschaftliche Literatur zu lesen und zu übersetzen. Die Stichwörter in den einzelnen Bereichen sind beziffert und in der grammatischen Grundform angeführt. Realien, für die es im Vietnamesischen keinen adäquaten Ausdruck gibt (bzw. der bislang nicht eindeutig

und genau festgelegt wurde), werden umschrieben, mit einer Erläuterung übersetzt. Sollte das vietnamesische Äquivalent die Bedeutung des deutschen Wortes nicht vollkommen wiedergeben, wird in Klammern eine ergänzende Charakteristik hinzugefügt, die die Bedeutung oder den Nutzungsbereich näher bestimmt.

Das Bildwörterbuch kann so Benutzern, die der deutschen Sprache mächtig sind, als auch jenen, die das Vietnamesische beherrschen, und zwar gleichsam Anfängern sowie Fortgeschrittenen, dienen. Die Bildbeilage, wo der Benutzer laut Nummern für jedes Stichwort das entsprechende Bild findet, stellt vor allem bei der Auswahl und der Anwendung der einzelnen Wörter eine große Hilfe dar.

Dem ganzen Kollektiv der Zusammensteller und Mitarbeiter (Nguyen Luyen, Dr. Do Ngoan, Tran Thi kim Duong, Tran Thi Yen, Pham Nhu Anh und Man Winkel), wie auch allen Autoren des Bildteils ist es gelungen ein wertvolles Werk zu schaffen, das nicht nur allen Benutzern gute Dienste leisten, sondern gleichzeitig einen Beitrag zur modernen didaktischen Lexikographie überhaupt bedeuten wird.

Ján Múčka

Iriye, Akira (Ed.): *The Chinese and the Japanese. Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1980. 368 pp.

The book publishes part of the revised papers of the research-workers participating in a project concerning Chinese-Japanese relations read at a workshop conference in Chicago in May 1974, and later at a research conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in June 1976.

In addition to the *Introduction* by Akira Iriye, Professor and Chairman of the Department of History at the University of Chicago, this volume comprises sixteen studies concerned with political, economic and cultural interrelations between China and Japan during a very important period of their modern history, approximately from the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 up to the end of the Anti-Japanese War in 1945, except two — the first of which is an analysis of the functions of China in Tokugawa thought and spans the time between the seventeenth and the greatest part of the nineteenth centuries, and the second treats of the Sino-Japanese rivalry in Korea between 1876—1885.

These two studies create, in fact, the background, the atmosphere for the remaining works. They point out a gradual transformation taking place in the China-Japan image, for the most part from the Japanese — less from the Chinese viewpoint, but they do so lucidly, on concrete examples, on numerous events, on the views of prominent representatives, on the way of acting of individuals and entire social groups, organizations, institutions, and even of both these nations. The respect engendered by the very image of China as the Middle Kingdom (*zhonghua, chūka*),

as a central point of the “sinocentric world order”, began already during the Tokugawa, but certainly in the second half of the seventeenth century, slowly but definitely to wane until it disappeared entirely. In those days already the view began to spread that as regards the preservation of such cardinal virtues as wisdom, humanity and valour, “Japan greatly excels China in each of them and undoubtedly merits the name of middle kingdom (*chūchō*) far more than China” (p. 14). Later, in the first decades of the 19th century, Hirata Atsutame (1876—1943) stated that not China, but Japan is not only “the most superior (sic!) country in the world”, but also “the source of value and invention” (p. 26). Brushing aside the excessive and then as yet ungrounded boastfulness, we see that the opposition “Middle Kingdom vs Barbarians” acquired a totally different meaning. Not the Japanese any more, but the Chinese were considered to be barbarians. However, Japanese ideologists forgot that occasionally it was the Chinese who initially had contributed to their Westernization in the field of foreign trade and elsewhere. The irrefutable fact, nevertheless remains, that in every sphere, but particularly in technology, industrial production, commerce, military art, the Japanese began relatively fast to catch up with their erstwhile teachers and after World War II often outran them.

During the Sino-Japanese War (1894—1895), “dwarf pirates” defeated the descendants of the sage kings Yao and Shun. Then began an uninterrupted chain of misunderstandings, quarrels, threats and defiances, and military defeats lasting exactly half a century. The last one between 1937 and 1945 ended in Japan’s defeat not because China would have made any special contribution towards this defeat, but it was brought about by the combined military efforts of the Allied Forces, particularly the USSR. Towards the end of the last century the Chinese finally came to realize that the so-called “ocean devils” are powerful, after all, but continued to judge the “Japanese dwarfs” through the prism of a sinocentric view of the world. It ought to have been clear to the Chinese at least as far back as the year 1876 (Treaty of Kanghwa which meant a separation of Korea from China and its annexation by Japan) that they would meet in future in an armed conflict. Instead of ensuring the required resources for armament and their own defence, they spent immense sums on the preparations of extravagant celebrations of the sixtieth birthday of the powerful Empress Dowager Cixi (1835—1908). The Japanese did not then seem to exist for the Chinese. The latter did not consider them to be any weighty factor in the political, military and economic life within their geographical environs.

We do not know what response at that time was evoked in Japan (China doesn’t come in here at all) by the well-known article *Datsu-A-ron* (Dissociation from Asia) by the famous Japanese journalist and apostle of Westernization Fukazawa Yukichi (1834—1901), published on 16 March 1885. In it we find the words: “Western civilization spreads like measles . . . Japan has alone freed itself from old ways, and it must now move beyond all Asian countries by taking ‘dissociation from Asia’ (*datsu-A*) as the keynote of a new doctrine” (pp. 328—329). There were naturally

people in Japan holding different, occasionally quite opposite views. For instance, Sugita Teiichi (1851—1920) was in favour of a Sino-Japanese alliance as a weighty alternative to face the “white danger”. Another author, Tarui Tōkichi (1850—1920) proposed to set up Daitō (Great East) a Federation of Japan, China and Korea as a defence against the imperialist powers of Europe and America — and became the advocate of fashionable Panasianism.

A follow-up of the half-century from 1895 up to 1945 reveals a two-sided attitude on the part of the Japanese towards the Chinese. It was at first, expressions of sympathy towards the deeds of Chinese reformers or revolutionaries, fighters against despotism of the foreign Manchus, a readiness to help in educating tens of thousands of Chinese professionals for the most diverse branches of politics, economics, warfare, science and culture. But then also expressions of hatred, ruthless aggression, barbarian conduct of Japanese soldiery plundering, pillaging among Chinese populations, raping Chinese women and massacring hundreds of thousands of Chinese without any reason at all, particularly at the start of the Anti-Japanese War in the year 1937. The events of the few months after the Marco Polo Incident on 7 July 1937 up to the fall of Nanking on 12—13 December 1937, represented the darkest pages of World War II. Japanese soldiers committed horrible cruelties in Nanking before the eyes of western observers.

Nevertheless, it would be difficult to imagine the so-called Qingyi Movement without Japan, i.e. a Chinese form of national renovation represented by reformers grouped around Liang Qichao (1873—1929) following the unsuccessful Movement of 1898. The support given to Chinese reformers on Japanese soil proved of momentous consequence to the subsequent development of Chinese culture. The first linking of Chinese literature, literary thinking and aesthetics with the world currents took place at the turn of this century precisely on Japanese soil.

Relatively much room is devoted in the book under review to foremost figures of Japanese modern history — the sinologist Naitō Konan (1866—1934), the philosopher and journalist Ishibashi Tanzan (1884—1973), and important army leader and political figure Ugaki Kazushige (1868—1956). Each of these entertained a different attitude towards China. Naitō started from a relatively deep knowledge of the social and cultural reality of old China and, in its new development, the “warlord era” of a broken up, disunited China suited him well enough. He was against any interference of the Western and Tsarist imperialism in Chinese affairs, but was for Japanese “aid” which was not to go beyond making of China a supplier of raw materials or agricultural semi-products. Ishibashi was probably an exception among Japanese intellectuals when he energetically “stood in total opposition to Japan’s imperialist expansion to China” (p. 185), and above all, resolutely rejected and condemned the so-called Twenty-One Demands from the year 1915, designed to bring about a total transformation of China into a Japanese colony. Ukagi was a representative of a rapacious Japanese imperialism. According to him: “Power is

the only determinant in politics. A state which fails to take advantage of good opportunity with all the power it can muster commits a crime against itself" (p. 201). As China in general and the Yangtse valley in particular represented a "limitless treasure trove" (loc. cit.), they had to be exploited for Japanese aims at all cost: with the aid of diplomatic negotiations, economic exploitation and also military interventions.

Among studies devoted to prominent Chinese personalities, two are of prime interest, both devoted to traitors or collaborators: Cao Rulin (1876—1966) and Zhou Fohai (1897—1948). Chinese historical science has, to a large extent, ignored their existence: that of the first, because he had accepted the Twenty-One Demands, so degrading to China (although a greater share of the blame belongs to the President Yuan Shikai); that of the second, because he collaborated with the Japanese in the years 1937 to 1945, and because he had betrayed the Communist Party of China whose founding member he had become in 1921. In Cao Rulin's portrait we may see a typical case of a Chinese politician of the second decade of our century and the period of the Kuomintang government. According to the very correct remark by Madeleine Chi, the politicians were "factional, corrupt and extremely self-serving. They aimed at personal gain, and their methods were subordinated to this overriding concern. Thus to them government affairs meant, first and foremost, the distribution of posts and profits" (p. 159). That also applied to the period marking the end of the Qing dynasty. The portrait of Zhou Fohai betrays a typical opportunist who changed his ideology and political confession according to his need. While serving the Koumintang, he was, as the author of the book *Sanminzhuyi zhi lilun de tixi* (Theoretical System of the Three People's Principles) one of the principal ideologists of Sun Yat-sen's doctrine; as the editor of the journal *Xin shengming yuekan* (New Life Monthly) and founder of *Xin shengming shudian* (New Life Bookstore), he served Chiang Kai-shek, and in the year 1938 he passed over to Wang Jingwei (1883—1944), Chiang Kai-shek's opponent, until finally in March of 1940, he took service with the Japanese as minister of finance, minister of police and general director of the Central Reserve Bank (and these were only his principal functions) of the pro-Japanese puppet Nanking government.

Fukuzawa's "Dissociation from Asia" could be adhered to only partly within a broader scope. From among the various possibilities which Japan had its disposal, it ultimately decided, as stated by Bunso Hashikawa, professor of Modern Japanese History at Meiji University, for the role of being a "dog in the service of the Western way of despotism" (p. 346). These are Sun Yat-sen's words from the year 1924. To achieve domination over China, every means was fair to them, especially during the period between 1931 and 1945: from fine words appealing to their common national heritage, up to bayonetting of living and innocent people.

The book makes a better presentation of the Japanese than of the Chinese side of the story. There is a sensible lack of views primarily of progressive Chinese

intellectuals and politicians on the Chinese-Japanese problems. Despite this, the book is a serious publication and is worthy of readers' interest.

Marián Gálik

Tam Yue-him — Sanetō Keishū — Ogawa Hiroshi (Eds): *Zhongguo yi Riben shu zonghe mulu* (A Comprehensive Bibliography of Chinese Translations of Japanese Books). Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980. 973 pp.

Tam Yue-him — Sanetō Keishū — Ogawa Hiroshi (Eds): *Riben yi Zhongguo shu zonghe mulu* (A Comprehensive Bibliography of Japanese Translations of Chinese Books). Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1981. 557 pp.

Both publications take contact with the pioneering works of the three editors — in the case of Professor Sanetō Keishū it should be noted that his first bibliography dealing with Japanese translations from Chinese appeared back in 1937. These bibliographies far exceed anything that has been published in this domain and mean an enormous help to those interested in Sino-Japanese relations in the most diverse spheres — philosophy, religion, natural sciences, applied sciences, social sciences, history, geography, economics, literature, arts, etc. The first of them comprises almost six thousand bibliographical units and includes translations of Japanese books between the years 1883 and 1978. The second one has over three thousand bibliographic units and comprises translations of Chinese books from the Kambun era (1661—1672) up to 1978. The answer to the question why the first book does not record translations from before 1883 while the second one carries data on translations from over two hundred years earlier, is extremely simple. The Chinese, as a cultural superpower of the Far East, did not translate books of Japanese “barbarians”. The cultural communication between China and Japan was once a one-way thoroughfare — something like that between Greece and the neighbouring countries in antiquity.

In an extensive *Foreword* published in both books (pp. 37—117 and 43—122, respectively), Dr. Tam bracketed five periods in the Sino-Japanese relations in the mutual translation work as follows: the initial period (1660—1895), the first transitory period (1896—1911), the first flourishing period (1912—1937), the second transitory period (1938—1945) and finally the second flourishing period (1946—1978).

The various periods reflect very satisfactorily the intellectual life in the domain of mutual relationships between these two most significant producers of culture in the Far East.

During the first of the above periods (1661—1895), 129 books were translated from Chinese into Japanese, and only 12 from Japanese into Chinese. Of the 129 units, the major part went to literature — 90 books; the novel *Shui hu zhuan* (Water

Margin) alone was translated eleven times. It should be observed that the above entries do not include a large number of books that were “translated” from Chinese with the aid of the so-called *okurigama*, i.e. Japanese explications of the meaning of Chinese words. One of the translated works, viz. Wei Yuan’s (died 1856) *Haiguo tuzhi* (Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Countries) elicited a far greater response in Japan than it had in China itself. The Japanese took far more to heart than the Chinese, one of Wei Yuan’s maxims: *shi Yi zhi changji, yi zhi Yi*, that is, to learn from barbarians in what they are stronger, and thereby keep a curb over them. Of the 12 books translated before 1896 from Japanese into Chinese, 9 were translated by Japanese.

During the second of the above periods (1896—1911), the reciprocal ratio of translations underwent a total reversal: while the Chinese translated 958 books from Japanese, the Japanese not more than 16 titles from Chinese. The anti-China-oriented xenophobia in the Land of the Rising Sun attained a peak at this time. It should be noted that even that paltry figure of 16 distorts, in some measure, reality, for these titles brought little that was new — for instance, they included 4 translations of Water Margin. Translations from Japanese comprised mostly textbooks and socio-scientific literature. Through Japanese, also numerous translations from European literature reached China not only during this, but also during the subsequent period.

Between 1912 and 1937, communication through translation began to operate on a two-way channel, although translations from Japanese to Chinese still outnumbered more than twice those going in the opposite direction. According to data in these bibliographies, a total of 1760 titles from Japanese and 802 from Chinese were translated between the foundation of the Republic of China and the Anti-Japanese War. The Chinese were primarily interested in works with sociological topics, in works of the classics of Marxism and in books by Japanese Marxists, e.g. over 20 translations were published from Kawakami Hajime. The same is also true of literary critical and theoretical works by Japanese authors, particularly by Kuriyagawa Hakuson, of Japanese sinological production and also of Japanese literary studies. Numerous fundamental works from the new Japanese literature from after 1868 were translated — over 10 titles appeared from the writings of Mushakōji Saneatsu and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke. Works by Japanese proletarian literature, too, enjoyed popularity, but all the major movements were represented: realist, romantic, naturalist, written by adherents of the White Birch School (Shirakaba-ha), of the Leisure School (Yoyū-ha) and others. Similarly as in the past period, so also now Japanese served as a vehicle to numerous translating efforts. Numerous works from Western literature reached China through the medium of Japanese. The Japanese, in turn, were mostly attracted by Chinese philosophical texts, particularly Buddhist and Confucianist writings, then sociological works by contemporary authors, such as Qu Quibai, Zhang Wentian (Lo Fu), Guo Moruo, Tao Xisheng, Ma

Yinchu and others. The Japanese often translated these and other works for "internal use" only and were destined to serve the needs of economic and military circles, security police department, spying and military purposes. But they also translated much from Chinese classical literature and began also to translate works of modern Chinese literature. Of great significance to the propagation of the latter was the foundation of the Chugoku bungaku kenkyukai (Chinese Literature Association) in 1934, which during its existence up to the year 1943 under the direction of Takeuchi Yoshimi and Masuda Wataru, did much to make modern Chinese literature accessible in Japan.

During the darkest years of Chinese-Japanese relations (1938—1945), the Chinese translated 140 Japanese and the Japanese 608 Chinese books. This enormous fall on the Chinese side was naturally due to the Japanese aggression, to an emotional cooling-off of many Chinese promoters of the Japanese modernizing process, but also to a change of mood on the part of members of the Japanese intelligentsia towards the Big Neighbour. The influential sinologist Naitō Konan came to the view that the May Fourth Movement was a matter of a mere handful of dissatisfied students. Disappointed with China was the writer Akutagawa because he came to dislike the old revolutionary Zhang Binglin, and also the other writer Nagayo Yoshio for he failed to understand the moods and the appearance of the face of the grievously ill Lu Xun. The overall state of things in China was such as to evoke only negative feelings among Japanese writers. A considerable number of books (203) were translated from Chinese for political, economic and military aims, though a large part of them were again destined for "internal use" only, hence, for the needs of the voracious Japanese militarist state. The only bright aspect of this period was provided by the translation of 108 books from Chinese literature.

Although during the postwar period, excepting the past few years, the Sino-Japanese relations were tense, translation activity grew into unprecedented dimensions, amounting to 1780 on the Japanese and 2896 titles on the Chinese side. For the first time in the history of reciprocal relations between these two countries in the domain of translation, translations from Chinese literature took first place in the total production in Japan, of which some two-fifths involved modern literary works. More than 10 (in some cases considerably more than 10) titles were translated from each of these authors: Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Lao She, Lin Yutang, Ba Jin, Mao Dun, Zhou Zuoren, Bing Xin, Shen Congwen, Ding Ling, Yu Dafu, Cao Yu and Ye Shaojun. A statistical survey reveals that over 80 of Lu Xun's books, over 50 of Guo Moruo's and over 30 of Lao She's have been translated into Japanese. The Chinese have remained greatly in debt in this respect to the Japanese, particularly since the foundation of the PRC, in which very little indeed has been translated from Japanese, if we except proletarian literature. The 16 translations from Tokunaga Sunao and the 14 from Kobayashi Takiji might perhaps be taken rather as exceptions.

To include a critical remark, we might add that the number of Chinese translations from the most diverse literatures of the world through Japanese was relatively higher than appears from the first of the books under review. As to those included in the bibliography, it may be noted that *Fushite yu cheng* (Faust and Town) is a work by A. V. Lunacharsky (p. 641), A. S. Pushkin's *Captain's Daughter* appeared for the first time in Chinese in 1903 (p. 645), and A. P. Chekhov's *Black Monk* (p. 645) and M. Yu. Lermontov's *Bela* (p. 646) were first published in China in 1907: it is rather a pity that the Editor-in-Chief has not given adequate attention to the book *Wan Qing xiqu xiaoshuo mu* (Catalogue of the Dramas and Fiction of the Late Qing) by A Ying.

Both the volumes may be considered as indispensable reference books to sinological libraries and to those research workers interested in Sino-Japanese relations in the most diverse domains.

Marián Gálik

Deeney, John, J. (Ed.): *Chinese-Western Comparative Literature. Theory and Strategy*. With Preface by Horst Frenz and Foreword by A. Owen Aldridge. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980. 201 pp.

This book brings materials of the Hong Kong Conference on East-West Comparative Literature sponsored by the Comparative Literature and Translation Centre of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Hong Kong, 14—16 August 1979. It was the first such conference at this important "crossroads" of Sino-Western civilization and culture and took place but a few days before the 9th Congress of AILC/ICLA, Innsbruck, 20—24 August 1979. Numerous scholars met at this conference — sinologists and comparatists — from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Western Europe and the USA. In contrast to the usual proceedings of conferences and congresses which tend to be very short, the book under review contains papers of considerable length and interest to students of comparative literature.

Ho-hsiang Yuan's *East-West Comparative Literature. An Inquiry into Possibilities* is of a theoretical nature. Against a background of theoretical principles and practical endeavours especially of the so-called French and American schools of comparative literature and in a certain opposition to, but partly in conformity with the well-known broad definition by H. H. H. Remak, Mr. Yuan defines East-West comparative literature as a "branch of literary study which compares literary works of both the East and the West beyond the confines of national boundaries, seeking mutual understanding through exchange and comparison of ideas, denying not the uniqueness of a national tradition, but giving its manifestation of a new dimension

and making comparative literature a universal medium of communication" (p. 21). This passage makes it evident also that Chinese comparatists are working under a strong pressure on the part of the "fathers of the nation", advocates of old national literary traditions. This is nothing strange in oriental literatures firmly anchored in tradition, proud of their own past, enjoying in some cases over several thousand-year-old literary history, although similar procedures are not rare either in literatures of the European cultural circuit which, however, cannot boast, not by a long chalk, of anything like such an impressive tradition, nor such literary *chefs-d'œuvre*. Although sympathetic, Mr. Yuan's efforts at underscoring the so-called concept of "East-West comparative literature" appear somewhat superfluous. It would probably be more to the point to strive after an adequate application of the methodology and procedures of comparative literature to conditions prevailing in Asian and African literatures having (particularly in their historical past) a number of specific traits conditioned by development in the broadest meaning of the word.

Of the next two contributions applying structuralist methods to Chinese ancient and mediaeval literature, viz. Han-liang Chang's *Towards a Structural Generic Theory of T'ang Ch'uan-ch'i* and Ying-hsiung Chou's *The Linguistic and Mythical Structure of Hsing as a Combinational Model*, the latter is the better. Professor Aldridge also pointed in his *Foreword* to the vain efforts at applying R. Barthes' views and the limited possibilities of T. Todorov's research methods. He pointed out a more practicable and more rewarding procedure of comparison (pp. XVII—XVIII). Mr. Chou's paper is a much needed study that tackles and gets even with basic concepts and terms of Chinese poetics. He rightly takes note of certain stimuli originating in works by Western authors but simultaneously he is conscious that traditional Chinese poetics is very different from its European or American counterparts. Traditional Chinese poetics was not primarily concerned with an investigation of the verbal texture of a work, with an exact definition of poetic tropes or figures of speech, but with understanding essential phenomena behind the work and in determining the philosophical and ethical hot-bed from which it originated. Thus, according to Chou *xing* appears "on the surface as a metonymical device, placing one natural object or event next to a human situation. Yet through careful cultural-mythical readings, one finds beneath the surface of linguistic phenomena the metaphoric relationships which place the natural world and human world on top of each other" (p. 76).

The pair of essays by a pupil of William Tay and his teacher Wai-lim Yip entitled *Fragmentary Negation: A Reappraisal of Ezra Pound's Ideogrammic Method*, and *Andersstreben: Conception of Media and Intermedia*, derive from a common basis: interest in Ezra Pound's theoretical and poetic work in relation to Chinese literature. Both are known to have written several studies of fundamental significance on this topic. In the present papers, however, only Dr. Tay deals predominantly with the relation between literary theory and practice created by E. Pound and Chinese

(eventually Japanese) stimuli in the avant-gardist world of the 1910s, further with problems of imagist concreteness, idea of the ideogrammic method, but also with Pound's remarkable reflections on the need of an aesthetically valuable poetry which should not "play up to the law of supply and demand" (p. 132). Pound's ideas are a springboard to Professor Yip, even though he devotes more attention to a criticism of Lessing and an explication of Herder. Pound and Eliot create a part of the basis of his poetic creed and he compares their views with "metaphysical theories" (James J. Y. Liu's term) of the Taoist-Buddhist variations. He does not analyse in any detail the relationship between Chinese poetry and painting, although his criticism of Lessing's views would dichotomically require it. It seems that the closest to Yip is that "poetic state, ineffable by normal discourse" which is "evoked by a unique manipulation of words in such a way that when the reader reads the poem, he is no longer aware of the words as such, but, as in flash, he is transported into the 'world' suggested by the words. Words are pointers into an ineffable, complex state of feelings" (p. 165). Here one may note the author's (and the poet's — for Wai-lim Yip is also a poet) harmony with Laozi, Siking Tu, Yan Yu, and with European symbolists. Of course, Confucian poetry existed in China and epic and narrative poetry in Europe. Yip's *Andersstreben* in future will have to acquire wider dimensions in order that this effort might be preserved in a just measure also towards other poetic and extrapoetic phenomena (bearing in mind also the fruits of other arts) in Chinese and extra-Chinese cultural traditions.

The contribution by Dr. Deeney entitled *A Prospectus for Chinese Literature from Comparative Perspectives* does not seem to have been read at the conference. We read in it about the need of the foundation of solid groundwork for Chinese-Western comparative literary study, of the glossaries of critical concepts, comparative literature termini, anthologies of theoretical works, working out of principles and methods for comparatists. Stress is also laid on a broad international cooperation and scientific processing of weighty Chinese literary and aesthetic concepts such as *fu*, *bi*, *xing* (this has been done in the case of the last one by Dr. Ying-hsiung Chou as mentioned above), *qing*, *jing*, etc. and their "translation" from the metalanguage of Chinese criticism and aesthetics into the language understandable to the foreigner. The so-called "China complex" has of late become all the more complicated in that in 1979 also the People's Republic of China, very cautiously, took place among those interested in a comparative study of literature, although for the time being, under conditions of a complete ignorance of modern theories of literary comparatistics, material and other difficulties (i.e. shortage of scholars and library facilities).

By this book, the comparatists grouped in the Hong Kong Comparative Literary Association have fully joined the international movement pursuing so actively a comparative study of literature.

Marián Gálík

Lévy, André: *Le conte en langue vulgaire du XVII^e siècle* (The Short Story in Vernacular of the Seventeenth Century). Paris, Collège de France. Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises 1981. 481 pp.

André Lévy, Professor of Chinese Literature at the University of Bordeaux, author of *Etudes sur le conte et le roman chinois*, Paris 1971, of numerous further works, and translator of two collections of mediaeval Chinese short stories viz. *L'amour de la renarde, marchands et lettrés de la vieille Chine, douze contes du XVII^e siècle*, Gallimard 1970, and *L'autre aux fantomes des Collines de l'Ouest, sept contes chinois anciens, XII^e—XIV^e siècles*, Gallimard 1972, now presents to readers his most comprehensive work, the first inclusive monograph on the history of the Chinese short story of the seventeenth century in world sinology.

In the book under review Mr. Lévy organizes and summarizes his past investigations, taking contact with the works of his numerous Chinese, Japanese, European and American colleagues. Sinological centres in Paris, in particular, are at present staffed with a larger number of investigators who keep the French reading public in touch with all aspects of the mediaeval Chinese short story as attested to by a six-volume collective work being published now under Lévy's editorship and entitled *Inventaire analytique et critique du conte chinois en langue vulgaire*. In the opinion of the Soviet expert on the *huaben* genre A. N. Zhelokhovtsev, "no reference book of such great scope has as yet been available in world sinology" dealing with this genre, that by its extent could be compared to this work (cf. *Referativnyi zhurnal. Obshchestvennyye nauki za rubezhom. Literaturovedenie*, 1981, No. 2, p. 195). Something similar might also be said about the book under review which is unique not only by its voluminousness, but also by its significance to the study of Chinese mediaeval short story in the vernacular.

The monograph is made up of an Introduction, three comprehensive parts, a Conclusion and Bibliography.

The introduction presents a brief characteristic of the seventeenth-century Chinese society as being a feudal society with "elements of capitalism", pinpoints the major studies done so far in the domain of *huaben*, points to the theoretical aspects involved in the various literary methodologies. On this point, the author adheres to the principle that every method of investigation is good so long as it permits "to specify more explicitly the position and social function of works at the intersection of synchrony and diachrony" (H. R. Jauss). Closest to the author's scientific mentality appear to be representatives of literary — particularly French — structuralism.

In the first part of the book headed The Literary Fact, Mr. Lévy has attempted to resolve the problem of the genre *huaben* and the associated genre, the so-called *ni huaben* (imitated *huaben*), explained the content and structural, original and inferred elements of various collections, their origin and development, their relation to oral literature, the share of versified parts in their overall structure, the role of the

so-called vulgar language in the systemic and structural reality of this genre, its varieties, usually characterized with the aid of a knowledge of mediaeval nontraditional criticism. In the chapter dealing with "typology" of the *huaben* he presents in a smaller measure the "world of characters" and in a greater measure, various forms of the motives as arranged and defined in German literature by Elisabeth Frenzel in her book *Stoff-, Motiv-, und Symbolforschung*, Stuttgart 1963. Lévy's observations in this branch of the literary scholarship have certainly enriched the existing knowledge in this relatively neglected realm of comparative literature called thematology (*Stoffgeschichte*).

In the second part called The Cultural Phenomenon, Mr. Lévy endeavoured particularly to apply the above Jaussian thesis, trying to judge the mediaeval Chinese colloquial story within the broadest possible literary and extraliterary context, in a synchronic cross-section and a diachronic development. Sources and influences are not presented here as precisely as in the first part, but rather in their more general, typological form as oral sources, as written but not literary sources, then as literary sources. Their utilization is also discussed, then the influence of the short stories on other literary genres and on Japanese literature. He also deals here with the urban environment in which *huaben* took their origin and with some further literary and critical issues related to the existence at that time of a "high" and a "popular" component in the literary structure.

The third part entitled Range of Action of the Belletristic Expression might be characterized as a development and completion of the first half of the first part of the book. The reader becomes again acquainted, but this time in more detail and from different angles, with various collections of short stories, many of which, particularly those from Feng Menglong's *San yen* and Ling Mengchu's *Er pai*, have become world-renowned.

The conclusions at the end of the scientific discussion proper are less of the nature of an epilogue than a pausing of new questions or expressing of doubts regarding the position of the *huaben* and "anti-culture" or "mass literature" of the seventeenth century in China. Might it not be the embryo of a new book?

The Bibliography is just outstanding, evidently the best of its kind at present. One drawback, and a major one by all standards of modern book publishing, is the absence of both an author and a subject index which would have still enhanced the value of the monograph to the reader, but particularly to the investigator.

Marián Gálik

Gunn, Edward M., Jr.: *Unwelcome Muse. Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking 1937—1945*. New York, Columbia University Press 1980. x + 380 pp.

In the monograph series Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University, appearing since 1962, the present book is the first monograph dealing with modern Chinese literature. And it should be observed right at the beginning that the author, Assistant Professor of Chinese at Cornell University, has truly hit upon the right idea when choosing the topic of his research.

As a matter of fact, with the exception of a few studies centring on the work of Zhou Zuoren, Zhang Ailing, Shi To and Qian Zhongshu listed in the Bibliography of the present book, Western literature has so far made no survey of Chinese literature written in areas under Japanese military occupation during World War II. This book is the first complex processing and assessment of the literary work and of the objective and subjective situation of writers who then lived and wrote in occupied Shanghai and Peking regions. This literature, together with that written in regions under the Kuomintang control and in Yanan, constitutes a part of the history of modern Chinese literature and, as shown by Edward M. Gunn's book, deserves to be seriously examined.

Besides evaluating the various literary movements and the writers, the author also explains the overall specific situation in which men of letters then wrote. It deals with the spirit of resistance as reflected in literature and art, created principally under the auspices of the Shanghai International Settlement until its capture in 1941, as also with the meagre success on the part of Japanese authorities to organize a pro-Japanese literary movement. Because of censorship, an open anti-Japanese resistance in literary writings, especially after 1941, was not possible, nevertheless, pro-Japanese attitudes in literature occurred sporadically only — in contrast to the Japanese controlled film industry. The present book provides information also on works of small literary value, sentimental novels and plays in which some patriotic, anti-Japanese allusion was occasionally made.

As implied in the author's evaluations, the principal significance of writings by the best writers in the occupied regions resides in a continuity and development of trends of modern Chinese literature from before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. The author finds such a direct connection in several aspects.

In the works by continuators of Lu Xun's *zawen*, particularly in essays by Ke Ling and Tang Tao, as also in the autobiographies by Su Qing, in the stories by Shi To and plays by Li Jianwu, Edward M. Gunn shows traits common to romanticism of the May Fourth period and he considers these works as a decline of that romanticism in modern Chinese literature which Leo Ou-fan Lee had characterized in his book. The author rightly devotes considerable attention to modern drama and its variations. Here, the spirit of resistance and patriotism is most forcibly reflected in plays by Yu Ling, thematically affected by French film and Mao Dun's fiction. Of greater

importance appear to be historical plays staged as costume drama, particularly those by A Ying, Yao Ke (in 1948, a film *Malice* was made in the Qing Court according to his then most important costume drama, which in the early fifties became the target of the first cultural-political campaign in the People's Republic of China and one of the arguments for removing Liu Shaoqi during the "Cultural Revolution") and by Qin Shouou, whose historical topics permitted more room for expressing patriotic, resistant attitudes. Resistance in modern drama was also present in the interpretation of Confucian tradition: while the Japanese authorities propagated the authoritarian aspect of Confucian traditions, these historical plays laid stress on humanness, scepticism embodied in Confucianism. Costume drama gained popularity also in view of Chinese theatre traditions. Dissent with Japanese-propagated model of the Confucian strong family was also manifested in other works, particularly in antiromantic fictions and plays, describing family relations in an anti-orthodox, ironic manner. Edward M. Gunn designates modern drama in occupied areas, just as the "familiar essays" by Zhou Zuoren and his followers Wan Zaidao and Ji Guoan, and also essays by Zhou Lian, close to Yu Dafu by their tuning, as "resurgence of tradition". Of considerable interest is the last, the most extensive chapter analysing the works of anti-romanticism, into which the author has assigned writings marked by scepticism and irony, such as poetry by Wu Xinghua, essays and stories by Zhang Ailing, plays by Yang Jiang, essays and fiction by Qian Zhongshu. Mr. Gunn's analyses here point to the influence exercised especially by Somerset Maugham and Aldous Huxley; however, in contrast to these disillusioned British writers from the times following World War I, the author of the present book rates Chinese anti-romanticists as "unillusioned". It is precisely in anti-romantic fictions from the mid-forties that he sees a startling comeback of modern Chinese fiction which were practically absent since the late thirties.

Edward M. Gunn, probably rightly, finds no radical changes in literature written in Japanese occupied Shanghai and Peking against the past, but sees its importance to reside in a further advancement of the trends of modern Chinese literature from the pre-war period. In this book the author set himself as a basic task to offer an outline of the literary history of wartime Shanghai and Peking and to focus critical attention on the works of greatest literary merit. The present book processed mainly on the basis of Chinese and Japanese sources, has met this task. It brings a fine analysis of many works, making erudite comparisons with Chinese and foreign authors and ideas. In addition, it presents an interesting overall image of the cultural life in the two occupied centres of culture.

The book *Unwelcome Muse* is certainly an original contribution supplementing our knowledge of modern Chinese literature, especially from the aspect of the development of the May Fourth trends during the Sino-Japanese war. Moreover, it might serve as a basis for comparing Chinese literature of the war years written in different social, political and ideological conditions and also as a contribution to

a study of the question of the subsequent development of the May Fourth trends in post-war Chinese literature, written in and outside the People's Republic of China.

Anna Doležalová

Chinese Fiction from Taiwan. Critical Perspectives. Ed. by Jeannette L. Faurot. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1980. ix + 272 pp.

There are works whose publication opens up and encourages scientific interest in new, as yet markedly neglected fields of research. Such a role in the domain of research into the literature of the People's Republic of China for the English speaking world was met by the publication of papers from the first conference on this topic in the West, held in Oxford in August 1962, in the *China Quarterly*, No. 13, 1963 and by a separate book edited that same year by Cyril Birch. There are reasons to hope that this book, will fulfil a similar role for the promotion of serious research into contemporary Taiwan literature. As a matter of interest, this book, too, materialized mainly from papers delivered at the first symposium on Taiwan fiction, held in February 1979 at the University of Texas at Austin. That was the first symposium on this topic in the USA. No such symposium has as yet been held in Europe where Taiwanese literature is hardly investigated at all.

Contemporary Taiwanese literature has for long remained outside the scope on interest also of American students of Chinese literature. A few studies on this literature appeared only in the seventies, principally those by C. T. Hsia and Joseph S.M. Lau (these were preceded by Tsi-an Hsia's study published as an Appendix to *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction 1917—1957* by C. T. Hsia, New Haven 1961) as well as by the as yet evidently unique monograph dedicated to the Taiwanese writer Chiang Kuei by Timothy A. Ross, New York 1974. In the late seventies, considerable attention in the whole professional world was roused by the stories of Ch'en Jo-hsi. However, this attention was stimulated not so much by interest in Taiwanese literature as such (it is in fact questionable whether these stories are to be considered as part of Taiwan literature at all), as in a perfect portrayal of life in the People's Republic of China during the "Cultural Revolution". Of considerable significance in stimulating interest on the part of American scholars in Taiwanese fiction, as also intimated in closing remarks of this book by C. T. Hsia, was the publication in the USA of an anthology *Chinese Stories from Taiwan: 1960—1970*, New York 1976. The preceding year an anthology *Taiwan Literature 1949—1974*, had been published in English in Taipei.

Alongside the highly erudite Introduction by Jeannette L. Faurot, the thought-provoking Closing Remarks by C. T. Hsia, and the Selected Bibliography of Studies of Contemporary Taiwan Fiction compiled by James C. T. Shu — of great value to prospective students of Taiwan fiction, the book under review comprises twelve

papers, eight of which were presented at the above symposium on Taiwan fiction. The whole book is focused on Taiwan fiction after 1960.

The first four studies, by Leo Ou-fan Lee, Shi-kuo Chang, Jing Wang and Cyril Birch respectively, are devoted to different aspects of contemporary Taiwan fiction, while the remaining eight deal with different writers.

In the first essay on "Modernism" and "Romanticism", Leo Ou-fan Lee, on concrete examples from the magazine *Hsien-tai wen-hsüeh* (Modern Literature) and of five writers, endeavours to establish mainly a continuity between Taiwan literary movement and writings, and the May Fourth Movement heritage. The next two papers analyse *hsiang-t'u wen-hsüeh* (Literature of the Soil, or Regional Literature) an unusually important movement in contemporary Taiwan literature, concentrated on a description of ordinary people in their region, in contrast to *lang-tzu wen-hsüeh* (Literature of the Wanderer) describing those who left home "in search of roots". Shi-kuo Chang focused primarily on the relationship between these two directions of Taiwan realistic literature and the rise of middle class in society and literature, Jing Wang on the development of *hsiang-t'u wen-hsüeh* and on the controversy over this literature. Cyril Birch, on the example of three stories by Chu Hsi-ning, Hwang Chun-ming and Wang Chen-ho, associated with the *hsiang-t'u wen-hsüeh* movement, shows the image of suffering of characters in Taiwan fiction deriving from the socio-political situation in Taiwan.

In the remaining papers, Lucien Miller analyses the stories of Ch'en Yin-chen from the viewpoint of the French existentialist Gabriel Marcel. Howard Goldblatt, translator of Hwang Chun-ming's rural stories, finds in them a "substantial contribution to the literary and sociological history of modern China". Then Robert Yi Yang investigates the characteristic of Wang Chen-ho's satire in his stories. Joseph S. M. Lau chose as the subject of his investigation the fiction of Chang Hsi-kuo, an incredibly productive young scientist, novelist, essayist, playwright and translator whom he appraises as obsessed with Taiwan, China and the common fate of man. Pai Hsien-yung's short-stories collection *T'ai-pei jen* (Tales of Taipei Characters) mainly their thematic patterns, are analysed by Mrs. Ou-yang Tzu. James C. T. Shu investigates the first novel by Wang Wen-hsing, *Chia-pien* (A Change in the Family) from the aspect of formal innovation and iconoclastic description of the Taiwan family system. C. H. Wang emphasizes the virtuosity in the interplay of fancy and reality in Ch'i-teng Sheng's fiction, and in the last essay, Kai-yu Hsu analyses the artistic and mental development of Ch'o-hsi's literary career from romanticism to short stories, written "with restraint" on useless human suffering during the "Cultural Revolution".

The papers embodied in the present book show that the best in contemporary Taiwan novels are an original contribution enriching the image of world literature and as such deserve serious attention on the part of researchers and translators. The collection of papers of members of the American universities included in the book

under review represents an unusually valuable and inspiring step towards the promotion of an adequate research of contemporary Taiwan literature.

Anna Doležalová

Taylor, Robert: *China's Intellectual Dilemma. Politics and University Enrolment, 1949—1978*. Vancouver and London, University of British Columbia Press 1981. xiii + 215 pp.

This book initiates a new series of Asian Studies Monographs, published by British Columbia University Press, devoted to Asian history and society. The next announced volume is to be a monograph on political mobilization of agricultural labourers in Kuttanad, South India. If we are to judge by the first volume written by Robert Taylor, this new series, it seems, will be of use not merely to scholars pursuing academic erudition, but also to every one with serious interest in Asian affairs.

Robert Taylor, senior lecturer in Asian politics at the University of Auckland, deals in nine chapters with problems of university enrolment in the People's Republic of China within a broad range of ideological, economic and political relationships. In his research he drew support principally in Chinese contemporary newspapers and periodicals, as well as in works of Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi, Chinese statistical sources and books and periodicals published in English. The book is suitably supplemented with synoptic tables supplying relevant data up to the year 1958, in two cases up to the year 1965.

In processing the problems of university enrolment, the author chose two principal aspects. Alongside his explanation of university enrolment as a whole, including a comparison of the educational policy of the Chinese Communist Party and Koumintang, he also compares it with the Confucian educational concept (Mao Zedong's educational philosophy in the author's view had inherited mainly the traditional relationship between education and society) and the educational system in the Soviet Union. The topic of this book necessarily evoked the need to include also the system of Chinese secondary education and of the overall preparation for entrance to university. In the book we find questions of eligibility and preparation of future university undergraduates processed in parallel with the administration of university enrolment and the selection system. The author treats of this complex in broad relationships that have conditioned these specific Chinese approaches and solutions and marshalls an impressive array of concrete data in support of his statements. Of great interest are passages dealing with the solution of the ever recurring conflict between ambitions of educational theories tending towards the

ideal of mass numbers and egalitarianism and pragmatic needs of the economic development provoking also in this sphere and making possible a certain degree of egalitarianism also in this sphere. This conflict found a reflection not only in changes of the educational system, but also in the changing priorities of ideologic conceptions. These two conceptions demonstrated in the book on concrete examples, induced the author to designate as “revolution” the system enforced in 1958 by Mao Zedong including integration of education and productive labour, and to denote as “counter-revolution” (without quotation marks in the book) those theories pitted against it in the early sixties by Liu Shaoqi and his adherents. The author observes that this Liuist conception could be broken down only by the closure of universities and a destruction of the educational system which took place during the “Cultural Revolution”. The author evaluates the situation of the seventies as a nonrealization of Maoist vision, hence Mao Zedong’s own notion about an integration of education and society, and a return to Liuist conceptions. The post-Mao Zedong leadership, according to the author, refused a return to Maoist reforms of the Great Leap and the “Cultural Revolution” (and in his words “it would be over-simplified to see all these measures in negative terms”) and subjected education to the programme of modernization. The author concludes his book with a vision, that if by the turn of the century the modernization aims are achieved, “Mao’s more utopian goals may be heard of again”.

A certain methodical inconsistency may be detected in the book under review. The author states that few of Mao Zedong’s theoretical writings do not deal at least implicitly with education, nonetheless, he deals with Mao Zedong’s educational conception, from his earliest works up to his last, as if it were a homogeneous whole, although a comparison of Mao Zedong’s attitudes towards education, e.g. from the early fifties with those of the late sixties would reveal that Mao Zedong considerably altered his standpoints. Although one may, and most readers certainly will disagree with many of the author’s judgments and inferences, yet his book contains several interesting insights and will prove of value by its wealthy factography.

Anna Doležalová

Essays on China’s Legal Tradition. Edited by Jerome Alan Cohen, R. Randle Edwards and Fu-mei Chang Chen. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1980. 438 pp.

This is the 12th publication of the series Studies in East Asian Law, Harvard University, which specializes in traditional and modern aspects of the Chinese law — very often from a comparative point of view. The motto selected by the editors is

a quotation from the Analects (*Lunyu*) by Confucius: "Review the past to understand the present".

In the *Introduction*, Professor Cohen starts from E. Balazs's conviction that "no justification is needed to study Chinese legal history" (p. 3). We cannot hope to gain an adequate understanding of Chinese civilization as one of the greatest and also most remote from our European civilization, without a study of its legal component. Although, as is generally known, Confucian China did not entertain any special respect for the law (*fa*) and all that referred to it, for it considered the entire legal complex to be an unavoidable evil, it does not mean that law and legal institutions did not exert an influence on it. Nay, the impact of the old imperial legal institutions and judicial administration may be said to be still active in China to this day, so to say, "from beyond the grave". For instance, from 1957 until recently, inquisitorial methods of adjudication were practised in China; here, the "culprit" could not defend himself with the aid of a legal counsel and in a stressful situation into which he had been driven through unlawful arrest, torture, public humiliations, he was delivered to the tender mercies of an enraged mob of fanatics just as under the last Qing dynasty (1644—1911), when surrounded by guards wielding whips and bamboo sticks, the poor wretch was at the mercy of members of the magistracy. Courts of law in the imperial China and in the PRC served more as instruments for maintaining the power of the State rather than enhancing the sense of security of its citizens. And this applies in a certain measure also to the position of the law and legal reality in Taiwan, where indeed, the lawyers do play a role in the criminal process, but it is a "limited one compared to that of judges, prosecutors and police" in an "essentially inquisitorial system" (p. 8). What this has led to is best known from the history of the PRC of the years 1957 till 1976.

The book under review consists of nine studies all connected with the traditional law, not only in China but also in Japan and Korea. Japanese and Korean law developed until the nineteenth century under the strong impact of Chinese law. The book covers the period from 1122 B. C. until the nineteenth century A. D., although it does not take up every period. And thus, it is rather a pity that neither the Han Dynasty (206 B. C.—A. D. 220), nor the Tang Dynasty (608—906) has been made a subject of investigation.

H. G. Creel's contribution *Legal Institutions and Procedures During the Chou Dynasty* provides a considerable amount of new material into the study of Chinese law. Students might be surprised by the persistence of certain terms that have not changed throughout the existence of Chinese traditional society, e.g. *song* (to litigate), *gao* (to accuse) and *xun* (to interrogate). Creel has pointed to the so-called family motive in Chinese law which determines the need of correct relationships among members of the family as guarantees of an adequate functioning of the social system, and likewise to the official role of the law in the system of State administration. While laws regulating the run of State administration were rare in the Roman

Empire, they were relatively complete in China. This was naturally conditioned by the varying nature of Chinese and Roman judicial institutions and the place of the individual in society. Already at the time of the Zhou Dynasty, hence, relatively early in the Chinese historical development, those who were administering justice, were officials and rulers, who practised the administrative duties as well. Creel maintains that the defence was also active in trials. This contrasts with later practice valid until the end of the nineteenth century when “advocates were rigidly excluded from legal proceedings” (p. 41).

Ichisada Miyazaki in his contribution *The Administration of Justice During the Sung Dynasty* (960—1279) shows how contact was made during its rule with the gains of the previous Tang Dynasty. The Song Code was an adaptation and a modification of the Tang Code. The latter has been preserved “in its entirety” (p. 56) and only some new provisions have been added to various sections. The sentences meted out were more moderate than in the preceding centuries and it was forbidden to own or copy codes of laws. The rulers wished in this manner to ensure observance of Confucian principles by all subjects, particularly that of *li* under which was understood ideal behaviour in social and political life, and other norms and postulates, such as *ren* (benevolence), *yi* (righteousness), etc. Fears were expressed that should private individuals (this did not apply to interested bureaucrats) learn the wording of the laws, they would strive to bypass them. A different view prevailed during the Ming Dynasty (1368—1644) when law codes and prescriptions came to be generally accessible and their study was encouraged.

All the remaining contributions to the volume deal with the period following extension of Chinese contacts with the so-called *waiyi* (outer barbarians) among whom were counted first Europeans and later also Americans. The ideal of the Chinese legal policy was to “show concern and kindness to the outer barbarians, while not departing from the fundamental regulations of the Celestial Empire” (p. 222). But in reality, everything was far more complex and the Europeans, particularly the English found the “alien jurisdiction” of the Chinese Empire very inconvenient, especially the “principle of collective responsibility”, trials with the exclusion of the advocates, trials of the Europeans by the Chinese authorities only, the broad variance between European and Chinese laws.

Quite a different approach to Chinese laws and the overall legal system was adopted by the Japanese and Koreans to whom Chinese experiences and practice in this domain were a source of inspiration. In both cases they took contact principally with the Ming Code.

Some of the studies are devoted to the commercial contract law in late nineteenth-century Taiwan, the aged, the young and also infirmity in the law of Qing China and some other problems.

A relatively considerable part of the book is made up of a bibliography of the works in Western and East Asian languages, a very useful and necessary glossary of

terms used in Chinese, Japanese and Korean original together with an English translation, and an index.

Marián Gálik

McDougall, Bonnie S.: *Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art": A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*. Ann Arbor, Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan 1980. ix + 112 pp.

Mrs. Bonnie S. McDougall is known as a serious investigator in the field of modern Chinese literary criticism (alongside several studies, she has published an important monograph *The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into China, 1919—1925*, Tokyo 1971), as well as a discerning connoisseur of modern Chinese literature, particularly the works of He Qifang, an author to whom she dedicated her book *Paths in Dreams*, Queensland 1976.

In the work under review she took as the object of her investigation and translation the most important of Mao Zedong's texts on literature and art, his two talks delivered at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art 2—25 May 1942, hence, texts which since 1942 have not ceased in diverse interpretations to be taken as the basis of the official cultural policy of the Chinese Communist Party and leaders and men of letters and arts in the People's Republic of China continue to refer to them even today. The texts of Mao Zedong's Yan'an Talks have gone through significant changes between the 1943 and 1953 editions. In the present work, B. S. McDougall has published a very exact and at the same time very readable translation based on the edition published in Yan'an in October 1943. In an Appendix to this translation she sets down not less than 268 changes found in the text published in the 3rd volume of *Mao Zedong's xuanji* (Selected Works of Mao Zedong), Peking 1953. As we know, this later edition of Mao Zedong's Yan'an Talks is used and quoted to this day in the People's Republic of China. It is, however, of importance that researchers be familiar with both texts and that they take note of the changes between them. Although an exhaustive list of changes is available in Japanese in various editions of the Yan'an Talks, in *Mō Takutō shū* (Collected Writings of Mao Zedong), Tokyo 1970—1972, B. S. McDougall's work will prove a reliable source of fundamental significance to English-reading researchers and readers.

The translation of Mao Zedong's Talks is preceded in this book by an equally important, extensive and learned introductory study investigating the Yan'an Talks from diverse aspects of the literary theory. In the critical bibliography of existing works dealing with the Yan'an Talks to which the authoress refers, there is a glaring lack, evidently due to the language barrier, of works published in Russian, for instance, those by V. F. Volzhanin and A. N. Zhelokhovtsev. A sympathetic feature

in B. S. McDougall's approach to the analysis of the Yan'an Talks, which she modestly terms "commentary", is her endeavour at being objective and her understanding of the Talks as being a weighty source of contemporary Chinese literary theory.

Although concentrating especially on an explication of the texts themselves, Mrs. McDougall did not omit the passage about literary and ideological affinities that had conditioned their appearance. Her analyses partially summarize also certain comparisons of the Yan'an Talks with Chinese traditional notions on literature, further with theories on revolutionary literature of modern Chinese men of letters, as well as with the Marx, Engels and Lenin theory of literature and art. As the authoress mentions, she does not intend consciously to pursue the question of originality of the Yan'an Talks. Yet many of her readers probably regret that this question of originality did not seem to her to be a central issue in view of the aim she had set herself — a serious analysis from this point of view would have shown the considerable eclecticism in Mao Zedong's literary theory.

B. S. McDougall focused her attention on a number of the most significant aspects in the Yan'an Talks, such as problems of "audience" of literary works, relation between the writer and his audience, questions of source of art, difference between "high" and "low" art, relationship between politics and art, between form and content, problem of party discipline and basic ideology, of relation between motive, or subjective desire and effect, or social practice.

In the conclusion of her analysis, the authoress briefly deals with the impact and prominence of the Yan'an Talks in China after 1949. It would be interesting to show how during these three decades it was possible to refer to the Yan'an Talks in putting through very divergent, even contradictory theses and demands dealing with literature and art. This points to one of the objectively weak spots in the Yan'an Talks permitting an unduly elastic interpretation.

This work, supplemented with the bibliography of major editions and translations of the Yan'an Talks appeared as the 39th issue in the series of the Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies. This is incontestably a valuable work which will be readily used by investigators of modern China, its ideology, literature and art.

Anna Doležalová

Gelbras, V. G. : *Sotsialno-politicheskaya struktura KNR v 50—60-e gody* (Socio-Political Structure of the PRC of 1950s and 1960s). Moscow, Nauka 1980. 263 pp.

The well-known Soviet sinologist V. G. Gelbras summarizes in this book the results of his long-term research of the socio-economic structure and political processes in the Chinese society of the 50s and 60s.

The book comprises 8 parts: Methodological Issues and Scientific Premises of Research, Social Class Structure of Pre-Revolution Society and Working Class, Transformation of Socio-Economic Relations and the Position of the Working People in the 1950s—1960s. Changes in the Position of the Working Class, The Peasants, The Intelligentsia, The National Bourgeoisie, and Kanpu and Their Role in the Socio-Political Life of the PRC.

The author starts from the basic methodological questions of research and an evaluation of sources and relevant literature. Socio-political processes in the PRC during the 1950s and 1960s could not proceed without a mutual affinity and relationship with the structure of Chinese pre-revolution society. The progress of social class processes after 1949 was then marked by a lack of development of the class structure of the pre-revolution society in which the forming process of a capitalist mode of production had just only begun. The author takes a detailed note of the transformation in the socio-economic relationships following the foundation of the PRC, and gives a characteristic of the economic relations during the period of a gradual development of the revolutionary process (1949—1957) and during the time of a stagnation or recession of these processes in the Chinese society (from the year 1958), as also of the resulting changes in the social class structure of the society as a whole and in the different classes and strata. He follows closely the processes taking place in the formation of the working class, examines the causes hampering this formation. V. G. Gelbras portrays in an interesting way the historical specificities in the development of Chinese intelligentsia which, as a stratum in the class composition of the Chinese society, has not been analysed to any depth in Marxist sinological literature.

The author has turned to good account the great quantity of notions and his thorough theoretical preparation achieved through a long-term investigation of the socio-economic complex of the Chinese society. From a strict Marxist standpoint he analyses the mutual connection and conditionedness of the economic activity, social and class composition and political processes during the first twenty years after the foundation of the PRC, putting the main stress on the position of the working class. In addition, he compares the development and changes in the social and class structure with those that had taken place in Soviet Russia. Of great value is his critical appraisal of accessible sources and of pertinent literature. His comprehensive list of references comprises no less than 615 entries and many data are summarized in the text in 15 systematic tables.

In four parts of the Supplement, the author presents a summary overview of the data processed in the book, and of the principles by which he was guided in surveying the social composition of the pre-capitalist strata of the population in pre-revolution China, in investigating the dynamics and structure of the overall industrial and agricultural production in the PRC, the total number of workers and clerks in the PRC, in evaluating the mutual ratios of factory, manufacturing and artisan workers.

Taking contact with his preceding studies from this domain, the author has pointed out the positive factors in the development of the socio-political complex of the Chinese society and simultaneously has uncovered the harmfulness of Maoist policy in this sphere.

This book ranks among studies that should not escape the attention of researchers interested in any domain whatsoever of the socio-political complex of the Chinese society.

Eva Salajková

Antipovsky, A. A. — Borevskaya, N. E. — Franchuk, N. V.: *Politika v oblasti nauki i obrazovaniya v KNR 1949—1979 gg.* (The Policy in the Sphere of Science and Education in the PRC 1949—1979). Moscow, Nauka 1980. 287 pp.

This monograph by a team of authors from the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences presents a methodical analysis of the school system and of science in the People's Republic of China (PRC) during the years 1949—1979, the first of its type in Soviet sinological literature. Starting from a Marxist standpoint, the authors follow up questions of the structure of elementary, secondary and higher learning and of science and their management in the political sphere.

The book is made up of three independent chapters: The School (N. E. Borevskaya), Higher Education (N. V. Franchuk), Science (A. A. Antipovsky).

The first chapter gives an overview of the chronological development in the structure of elementary and secondary schools in the PRC from 1949 until 1979, the second one analyses primarily questions relating to the political struggle in the domain of higher education from the foundation of the PRC until the year 1979, and the third one is concerned with the development of a scientific-research base during the period under study.

As implied by the very title of the book, the authors focused attention particularly on an analysis of the political aspects in the building up and management of the whole educational complex — elementary and secondary schools, institutions of higher learning and scientific-research establishments in connection with the overall historical process of development of the Chinese society between 1949 and 1979. They present an analysis of the initially low standard of development in this area, of the problems that cropped up in connection with efforts at doing away with illiteracy, at setting up a new structure of higher education and a new scientific-research base, of the successes achieved in the fifties, the harm caused by the Maoist leadership particularly during the so-called "Cultural Revolution", and also show how the

struggle for political power became manifest in this sphere after Mao Zedong's death. The book brings a quantity of interesting facts on the structure of the school system and science as regards territorial division, numeric representation of the various types of schools and scientific institutions, financial subventions by the State, number of undergraduates, teachers, scientific workers. It deals with educational discussions, conceptions and individual solutions in the organization of this complex, with the role of political campaigns in the struggle for enforcing some definite conception, and with centralization or decentralization of management in this domain. The authors assess the standard of the school system and science from the aspect of the level of general education, professional qualification and the availability of experts in national economy. They also take up the question of aid provided by Soviet specialists in setting up the structure of education and science, the teaching syllabus, the pedagogical activity exercised by Soviet lecturers, training of Chinese specialists in the USSR.

The great quantity of original Chinese material with which the authors worked as well as the books and journals in Russian, Japanese and the languages of West Europe are listed in the appended bibliography. In the introductory essay, V. A. Stashevsky presents a succinct appraisal of the deformations brought about by Maoist policy in this domain. In the concluding part, the authors summarize accessible data on the numbers of pupils at elementary and secondary schools, and enrolments at institutions of higher learning, scientific and clerical workers of the Academy of Sciences PRC, the institutes of this Academy and financial subventions from the State at the different stages between 1949 and 1979. The appended name index will be helpful in working with the book.

The monograph brings a new, more complex view of the policy in one of the most important domains of the entire socio-political life of the Chinese society. Keeping in mind the overall socio-political conditions prevailing in the country, the authors have introduced the policy in the field of education and science against a background of an continuous struggle for political power in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. They also touched on some questions of the social process, and their further elaboration would present an even more detailed insight into the intricate, often puzzling mechanisms involved in the development of the school system, education and science in the PRC.

Eva Salajková

Leys, Simon: *Broken Images. Essays on Chinese Culture and Politics*. Transl. by Steve Cox. London, Allison and Busby Ltd. 1979. 156 pp.

The book comprises eleven essays originally published unaltered (though some in an abbreviated form) during the years 1975—1978: *Lu Hsun's Weeds in the Gardens of Government; Is Ah Q Alive and Well?; Chen Jo-hsi: A Literary Witness of the "Cultural Revolution"; A Portrait of Chiang Ka-shek (1887—1975); Mao Tse-tung and Chinese History; Aspect of Mao Tse-tung (1893—1976); Peking Duck Soup; Comrade Chiang Ch'ing; Footnote to a Barthesian Opusculé; Closed for Repairs; A Note on Museum in People's China. Broken Images.*

As evident from the above chapter headings, the book carries a wide range of questions. The author deftly draws a picture of the cultural and political life of contemporary China. He presents Lu Xun's image against a background of a noisy campaign of excessive celebrations of this giant of Chinese literature and history. He ponders over the reasons why Maoist leaders disliked the film *Peking Duck Soup* and analyses the role of such figures of Chinese history as Jiang Jieshi, Mao Zedong, Jiang Qing. Critically, even ruthlessly, he uncovers their character, their way of thinking, points to their unpropitious, even fateful contribution to many domains of Chinese social life. He depicts Maoist China, the practices of Maoist policy as reflected in everyday life of the Chinese, and illustrates them with statements by Chinese who for various reasons had left the PRC and with his own impressions from a stay in China. The book carries explicative notes and an index.

The essays betray the author's high degree of erudition, a deep knowledge of Chinese culture, history and the other fields of social life in China. His book contains an abundance of interesting facts and reflections over events that influenced the social life of contemporary China. It also brings a satirical insight into numerous aspects of Maoist deformation of Chinese culture and the other aspects of life of the Chinese society.

Eva Salajková

Robb, Peter — Taylor, David (Eds): *Rule, Protest, Identity. Aspects of Modern South Asia*. London—Dublin, Curzon Press Ltd., and Atlantic Highlands, NJ, Humanities Press Inc. 1978. viii + 234 pp.

This is the 1st volume in a series *Collected papers on South Asia* set up by the Centre of South Asian Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. According to the authors of the preface, the series will include sets of papers on narrowly defined topics, but will also bring together papers which illustrate the wide range of the Centre's activities (p. vii). The book reviewed presents rather the

latter than the former of the goals mentioned. It comprises eleven full-length studies all of which relate to a wide range of subjects of contemporary research in the field of South Asian studies. The contributions are written by specialists in their particular field and the majority of them present a penetrating analysis of the investigated problems.

The papers are divided into three sections named, in accordance with the title of the book, *Rule, Protest, and Identity*.

The first section includes the following contributions: *The Governor-General, The Bengal Council and the Civil Service, 1800—1835*, by Richard J. Bingle, discussing a leading role of bureaucracy in India, the sources and types of leadership and the ways in which they operated in the given period; *Sayaji Rao Gaekwar and 'Sedition': The Dilemmas of an Indian Prince*, by Ian Copland, dealing with the friction between Baroda and the British Raj that flared into a complicated political situation in 1911; *The Bureaucrat as Reformer: Two Indian Civil Servants and the Constitution of 1919*, by Peter Robb, treating of the role of bureaucracy in the reforms; and a profound analysis by J. Duncan M. Derrett, titled *Emergency and Preventive Detention in India: A Question as to the Courts' Proper Function*.

The second part of the volume consists of papers *Jaina Goals and Disciplines in Gandhi's Pursuit of Swaraj*, by Stephen Hay, *The Dandi Drama*, by Dennis Dalton, *'Gora'*, *Gandhi's Atheist Follower*, by Hugh Gray, and *Reformism, Nationalism, and Protest in British Ceylon*, by Michael Roberts. It is interesting enough that three of the essays concerning "protest" regard Gandhi. Two of them deal with Gandhi himself (with his South African years where, as the author believes, Jaina goals and disciplines deeply influenced both Gandhi's ideas and his methods of action, and with Dandi march, viewed as a good drama here), and the third deals with one of Gandhi's followers.

The final part of the book includes three essays. Christine Baxter investigates the development of the term *Babu* and its development as a literary device in the essay *Genesis of the Babu: Bhabanicharan Banerji and Kalikātā Kamalālāy*. She believes that use of the term in a certain context reflects changes in Bengali society and in Indo-British relationships in general. The paper *Raja Rao's Serpent and the Rope and the Idea of India*, by Haydn Moore Williams, analyses this novel about a marriage as a metaphysical novel, the basis of which is the conflict between monism and other theories in Indian religious philosophy. The paper by C. Shackle named *Rival Linguistic Identities in Pakistan Punjab* deals, after a description of some essential features of the historical background and the traditional pattern of the language use in the area, with two language movements in Pakistan Punjab, i.e. with the partially successful Punjabi movement (Punjabi versus Urdu) and with the Siraiiki Movement, an unsuccessful attempt of activists to achieve an official recognition for Siraiiki language.

Anna Rácová

Taylor, David — Yapp, Malcolm (Eds): *Political Identity in South Asia*. London —Dublin, Curzon Press Ltd., and Atlantic Highlands, NJ, Humanities Press Inc. 1978. 266 pp.

This is the 2nd volume of the series *Collected Papers on South Asia*. The contributions included here have their origin in a conference held in May 1978 at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. All of them discuss the relationship between language, religion and political identity and this either in general, or by studying the way they are manifested in various Indian states and groups of inhabitants.

A profound introductory study *Language, Religion and Political Identity: A General framework* by Malcolm Yapp deals with what has already been written upon the subject. It discusses at length the theories concerning nationalism which is considered a part of political identity. The theories are divided into four groups and termed the natural, the unnatural, the reactive and the modernizing theories. The author gives their basic characteristics, analyses and evaluates them. He believes that the theories based upon modernization are the most valuable for the study of political identity in South Asia. In considering the implications of these theories, Yapp discusses also the role of the state, religion, caste organization, and language in the political identification. He considers language and religion to be the principal, but not the only emblems of political identification in South Asia. There are some further significant factors in this identification, such as the rate of urbanization, the progress of industrialization, the pressure of government, the international factor, the advent of democracy, the relative compactness of the community, the influence of example. The essay refers to many important works on the subject, however, only such as are written in English.

The author of the following essay, Paul R. Brass, is mentioned in the preface to this book as the main inspirator of the conference, due to his earlier work on the political implication of language and religion in northern India. In the present essay, named *Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity among the Muslims of South Asia*, he discusses several significant problems. First he introduces some objections to the primordialist point of view on ethnicity. Brass believes that the study of ethnicity and nationalism is "the study of the process by which elites within ethnic groups select aspects of the group's culture, attach new value and meaning to them, and use them as symbols to mobilize the group, to defend its interests, and to compete with other groups" (p. 41). He illustrates this by the penetrating exploration of three elements of Hindu and Muslim traditional culture — different attitudes towards the cow, the role of the personal and family law components of the Sharia in Muslim life, and the attitudes of Hindus and Muslims towards the Hindi and Urdu languages. Then Brass analyses how these symbols have been used by religious and

political elites, and also the constraints on the freedom of elites to select and manipulate them.

F. Robinson in his paper *Islam and Muslim Separatism* studies the ideas contained in the Islamic tradition, i.e. the idea of community, the Muslim attitude to non-Muslims, the feeling of superiority, the sense of brotherhood, etc., and examines the impact of the ideal that Muslims should form a distinct religio-political community on the Muslims in north India, and the role of Islamic ideas amongst the Muslim elites of the UP. Robinson often argues with Brass and, in contrast to him, inclines more towards the position of the primordialists. He stresses the role of Islamic ideas and their continuing power.

The paper *Language, Religion and Political Identity — The Case of the Majlis-e-Ittehadul-Muslimeen in Andhra Pradesh*, by G. Ram Reddy, deals with the origin, history and role of the Majlis, a representative organization of the Muslims in the state, especially in the old city of Hyderabad.

Dagmar Bernsdorf in her paper *Region and Nation: The Telengana Movement's Dual Identity*, discusses the regional identities that led to a movement (1969—1971) for the partition of Andhra Pradesh and the formation of a state of Telengana. She summarizes the main features of the movement, the basis of which was Telengana identity based neither on language nor religion, but on history. She brings along a brief analysis of the opposing political identity, that of Vishalandhra, the reaction of the Muslim minority and also of the central leadership to the movement.

The next contribution, *Conflicting Roles of Language and Religion in an Indian State: A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh*, by R. V. R. Chandrasekhara Rao, has a close connection with the preceding one and this not merely as regards the region investigated. It explains the problem in wider contexts and as if from another side (not stemming from Telengana). It pays attention also to the development of the movement for a Telugu-speaking Andhra state and similarly as Bernsdorf, shows how limited was the hold of language as a unifying factor, as a source of political identity there. Then he examines the Telengana movement and comes to the conclusion that the economic and employment factors constituted its main causes. However, he treats also of other facts, e.g. the role of Telengana Regional Committee and of the Mulki rules in perpetuating the feeling of separate identity, as also the strength of an historical, regional identity in Telengana, and the role of the Muslim minority.

James Manor, the author of the essay *Language, Religion and Political Identity in Karnataka* shows that linguistic identifications have had little importance in the politics of the region. He examines the relationship between religion and political identity and after analysing the attitudes of the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas towards the social organization and also towards religious tenets, symbols and rituals, he comes to the conclusion that "identifications with social groups have taken

precedence over identifications with religious tenets, symbols and rituals — even among Lingayats” (p. 186).

The paper *Ethnic Groups in the Politics of Sri Lanka* by Urmila Phadnis, deals with the source of inter-ethnic rivalry, i.e. language, religio-politic, and politico-economic calculations in the region.

The contribution by T. V. Satyamurthy, *Language, Religion and Political Economy: The Case of Bangladesh*, may be considered an historical approach to the study of the role of language, religion and political economy in the East Pakistani movement in favour of separatism. It deals with the problems in wider contexts. The author treats of the origins of Hindu-Muslim politics in north India, brings along brief characteristics of Bengali society before partition, discusses linguistic question as an important point of conflict after the emergence of Pakistan and also deals with the political situation in the whole of Pakistan. One may agree with the author that “the seeds of East Pakistani separation were sown in the language agitation of 1952. Yet, the language agitation by itself could not have led to secession without powerful economic factors coming into play — factors which emphasized the growing political imbalance between the West and the East even despite the fact that the class aspirations of the East Bengal leadership were substantially similar to those of the entrenched and economically far more powerful leadership at the centre” (p. 230).

The essay *The Changing Position of Tribal Populations in India* by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf deals with tribals in Nagaland and in Andhra Pradesh. In Nagaland, the standard of living of tribals has been raised by the central government and also the government’s educational policy has been successful. The tribal populations of the region are in a strong position at present in contrast to middle Indian tribal populations represented here by the Gonds of the Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh. The author tries to illuminate their present position by reviewing developments during the past fifty years. He points out the economic, as also psychological effects of various changes leading to the deterioration in their position.

The concluding essay by David Taylor, *Political Identity in South Asia*, discusses first the identity and its development in general, and then political identity and the levels and units within which it is studied, in particular. It deals with various patterns of political identity in South Asia and the role of language and religion in identification. According to the author’s view, “the concept of a specifically Indian political identity is still in its infancy” (p. 265) (in contrast to the situation in Pakistan).

This is a good book, providing the reader with many profound and penetrating insights into various problems and aspects of political identity in South Asia. In contrast to the previous volume of the series, it is more homogeneous. All the papers concentrate basically upon one and the same problem (political identity), although studied from different points of view. The homogeneity of the volume is considered by the present reviewer to be a contribution to the conception of the series and

therefore it is hoped that the forthcoming volumes of the series will also be of this character.

Anna Ráková

Bykova, E. M.: *The Bengali Language*. Moscow, Nauka 1981. 187 pp.

E. M. Bykova, a Soviet Indologist and specialist in Bengali language, is authoress of many papers on Bengali grammar and also of two books, i.e. *Podlezhashchee i skazuemoe v sovremennom bengalskom yazyke* (Subject and Predicate in Contemporary Bengali Language) (Moscow 1960) and *Bengalskii yazyk* (Bengali Language) (Moscow 1966). The present monograph is a considerably amplified English version of the above-mentioned *Bengalskii yazyk*. In comparison with the Russian version, it presents a more complete and deeper insight into various phenomena of Bengali grammar. It comprises information on its phonetics and phonology, morphology and syntax and is divided into following sections: *Phonetics and Phonology, Writing, The Word, The Word Combination* and *Sentence*. All of them give proof of the authoress' erudition and deep knowledge of the Bengali language.

Many concrete problems are discussed in a new way and with many interesting sidelights. This is true, for instance, of the system adopted in dealing with parts of speech, consisting of 17 elements. "The factors important in forming the classes and lexical groups which determine the relations among the groupings of lexical units are the degree to which the nominative function manifests itself, the character of reference to the objects of reality and grammatical characteristics" (p. 39). On the basis of these criteria, Bykova divides the vocabulary into autosemantic words, auxiliary words, interjections and imitative words. The autosemantic words are further subdivided into nominative words and pro-words (substitutes). Nominative words include not only verbs, substantives, adjectives, numerals and adverbs, but also substantival-adjectival words and adjectival-adverbial words. Pro-words are divided into substantival pronouns, adjectival pronouns, pronominal adverbs, substantival-adjectival pronouns and adjectival-adverbial substitute words. Auxiliary words are divided into conjunctions, postpositions and particles. As may be seen, the authoress starts mainly from the general grammatical meaning of words when constructing her system. Words characterized by two grammatical meanings are placed into two classes in the subgroup of nominative words and the same also applies to the subgroup of pro-words. This is one of numerous examples given by the authoress of the existence of grammatically polyfunctional words, which reflects one of the typological features of Bengali — a tendency towards syncretism.

However, when analysing particular parts of speech, Bykova does not follow her system; in accordance with the linguistic tradition, she speaks about the noun, the

adjective, the numeral, pronouns and pronominal words, the verb, the adverb, imitative words and auxiliary words (postpositions, conjunctions and conjunctive words, particles). The various chapters are dealt with in greater or smaller detail depending on how much a part of speech is interesting insofar as grammar is concerned.

The substantive and the verb are elaborated in great detail.

When describing the substantive, attention is paid to its derivational modes, to different grammatical categories and morphological derivation. Bykova discusses at large the categories of number and case, separate subchapters are devoted to definitive affixes and to the category of gender. The analysis of all the problems, throughout which Bykova rightly emphasizes the polysemy of certain forms, leading to an intersection of different grammatical categories in one form, is subtle and penetrating.

Not less profound is her analysis of the verb (pp. 73—93), its derivational structure, semantic distinctions and morphologic derivation.

Bykova is right when pointing out the fact that the derivational structure of the verb is of small importance in specifying lexical meanings, that the majority of Bengali verbs reflect only the general idea of action or state in their semantics. She tries to show in what way, for instance, the mode of motion, the aspect, voice, etc. are materialized in the language. At several places she makes a brief comparative analysis of certain semantic groups of verbs in Bengali and Russian, e.g. when examining the way of indicating motion and aspect. Of interest is also her discussion of the strict and highly organized character of the system of semantic classes of verbs which is due not only to the compactness of the system, but also to peculiarities that “are determined by the way in which the opposition transitivity—intransitivity in every one of the classes is connected with those of activity—inactivity and causative-ness—non-causativeness” (p. 78).

Non-finite verb forms, including verbal nouns, conjunctives, the infinitive and participles, are dealt with in a more concise way. The term conjunctives is used here to denote the forms ending in *-ite/-te* (imperfective conjunctive), *-i/y/ā/-e* (perfective conjunctive), and *-ile/-le* conditional conjunctive). Here, too, it can be seen that Bykova follows the linguistic terminology used by S. K. Chatterji (as, for instance, when designating the particles *-ṭā*, *-khānā*, etc. as definitive affixes) instead of using the term participles that are more commonly employed in papers on Bengali grammar written in English. Bykova’s designation of given non-finite verb forms may better correspond to Bengali language reality.

Finite verb forms are described in more detail. The authoress treats separately the indicative and imperative moods and within the framework of these subchapters she shows the intersection of category of person with those of the honorific, the tense, the mood and the mode of action. One cannot but agree with Bykova’s conclusions

except the statement that there are just two forms of the present tense. If speaking about forms, I would prefer to consider also the perfect tense as the present tense because of its personal endings which are identical with those of the present and the present imperfect, and different from the endings of all past tenses.

The remaining parts of speech are not analysed in such a detail because these are either less interesting and problematic as regards grammar, or are dealt with in subsequent sections of the book, for instance, postpositions and conjunctions in sections regarding word combinations and sentences, respectively.

I would like to draw attention only to pronouns, namely, to the category of the honorific reflected in them. In contrast to Bykova's view, I would not consider the form *mui* as an informal form of the 1st person which would oppose the neutral *āmi*, as (in contradistinction to familiar and honorific forms of the 2nd person and the honorific form of the 3rd person) it has no support in the existence of a specific personal verbal suffix. I would rather consider it only as a dialectal and poetic form.

The next section *The Word Combination* (pp. 105—139) comprises the description of two types of word combinations, i.e. word combinations consisting of autosemantic words alone and word combinations including auxiliary words.

Word combinations made up of autosemantic words are represented by combinations with various cases (instrumental-locative, genitive, objective), combinations with non-finite verb forms and by pronominal combinations.

Word combinations with auxiliary words comprise the combinations of a noun (pronoun) with a postposition, noun with a word denoting plurality, verbal—nominal combinations, verbal—verbal combinations, combinations of the infinitive with auxiliary verbs, and combinations with copulas. Of these combinations, the analysis of verbal—verbal combinations, i.e. the combinations of the conjunctive ending in *-i/y/ā/-e* + auxiliary verb is considered by the present reviewer as a major contribution to the study of Bengali language. According to Bykova, the auxiliary verbs have three types of functional meanings: (1) a meaning reflecting the spatial characteristic of an action; (2) a meaning reflecting the quantitative characteristic of an action (intensity, mode of action, emotional estimation); and (3) functional meanings indicating transitivity — intransitivity of an action. All the above types of functional meanings are analysed in detail on pages 115—129 and the authoress brings along many original, interesting and convincing conclusions.

The last section of the book *The Sentence* (pp. 139—164), deals with three structural types of sentences occurring in Bengali: simple, with absolute non-finite verb construction, and composite. First, the structural types of the simple sentence are discussed, stress being laid on binominal sentences (nominal and verbal), as binominality is considered a typical feature of Bengali simple sentence. Then follows an analysis of mononuclear sentences (definite personal, indefinite personal, impersonal, nominative), as well as of means of extending a simple sentence.

Sentences with absolute non-finite verb constructions, and then composite (i.e. compound and complex) and asyndetic sentences are treated of in a brief and compendious way.

This is an excellent book, exhaustive and reliable, into which the authoress has invested the results of many years of her research work. It is a major contribution to the study of Bengali language.

Anna Rácová

Kalinnikova, E. Ya.: *Razipuram Krishnaswamy Narayan*. Moscow, Nauka 1981. 207 pp.

The present book was published as the 15th volume in the series *Writers and Scientists of the East*, dedicated to prominent poets, writers and thinkers belonging to various historical epochs. Its author, a specialist in Indian literature written in English, has dedicated it to the life and work of the well-known Indian writer, a laureate of Sahitya Academy of India, Razipuram Krishnaswamy Narayan. This is the first book on the writer in Soviet Indology.

Kalinnikova discusses in detail R. K. Narayan's life and then brings along the basic characteristics of all genres present in his literary work, i.e. of novels, short stories, numerous humorous stories and essays. She introduces the reader to Narayan's artistic world, to the environment where the plot of all his novels and majority of his short stories takes place, to a fictitious Indian town Malgudi. In several places and in various contexts and connections she attempts to show Narayan as an artist standing on realistic positions, and even as a representative of critical realism. It is true, that Narayan himself proclaims more than once that he, being a writer, does not take part in politics, and some of his critics say that he does concentrate more on inner problems of man than on social problems, but Kalinnikova rightly proves that if an author lets his heroes act in a certain social environment, in a certain historical epoch, if he penetrates their problems, he also explains various social problems and expresses social ideas. Narayan, for instance, does not keep clear of one of the most popular movements, Gandhism, and many of his heroes are bearers of this ideology.

Kalinnikova presents Narayan as an excellent psychologist, she stresses his wonderful ability organically to connect the external with the inner world of his hero, his mastery in using descriptions of nature in order to differentiate various states of his hero's mind.

Narayan's ability to look at everything that surrounds him with humour and irony, sometimes light, sometimes really sharp, is considered to be the essence, the main virtue of his literary production. Irony gets deep to the essence of his work, it

becomes the constituent of its structure. And easiness and naturalness of narration, exactness, gracefulness and laconism of language are considered as further characteristic features of Narayan's style.

Kalinnikova attempts to show the writer's mastery as completely as possible and therefore she investigates also the composition of his work. Unforeseen, unexpected ups and downs are typical of the line of his plot construction, the open end of his work is yet another distinctive attribute of his composition, which is occasionally very complicated. Monologues and dialogues, too, represent one of the author's compositional modes. Kalinnikova underscores the symbolism in the titles of novels which in her view, determines the compositional outline of the work. She illustrates all her observations and conclusions by numerous examples, analyses of chosen works and translations of important passages from Narayan's works of art.

Kalinnikova pays attention also to a problem discussed in detail in her book *Indian Literature in English* (Moscow, Nauka 1974), viz. to what literature are Indian writers writing in English to be assigned. She does not agree with those who consider the works of such authors as a part of English literature, because the works by Indian writers are really Indian as regards their spirit and the methods used, they are connected with the historical development and evolution of the country, its culture, its atmosphere and its way of life. Thus also R. K. Narayan, although writing in English, is an Indian writer, dedicated to the national tradition and the old Indian culture. His nationality is present in his national way of seeing and in his world outlook which are reflected in his mode of depicting nature and life, national holidays and religious ceremonies. The attitude of Indian writers towards Indian characters and Indian events considerably differs from that of English writers (Kipling, Forster, Masters) writing on India, as is convincingly shown in the concluding parts of the book under review.

Kalinnikova has written a good book, full of facts, penetrating insights, deep scientific analyses and solid conclusions that provide the reader with detailed information not only on the life and work of R. K. Narayan, but also on the position of Indian literature written in English and its authors within the context of Indian and world literatures. The generally valid methods of research used may arrest attention not only of specialists in Indian literature in English, but also of students of different world literatures.

Anna Rácová

Fragner, Bert G.: *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden. Publiizierte Originalurkunden (bis 1848)*. Islamkundliche Materialien, Bd. 4. Freiburg i.B., Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1980. xiv+389 S.

Seit den fünfziger Jahren ist ein langsamer, aber deutlicher Aufschwung der Erforschung des persischen Urkundenwesens zu beobachten. Es waren dies vor allem die Arbeiten deutscher und sowjetischer Orientalisten H. R. Roemer, W. Hinz, H. Busse, H. Horst, V. S. Puturidze, A. D. Papazjan, sowie des verdienstreichen Forschers auf dem Gebiet der osmanischen Diplomatie L. Fekete und weiterer europäischer und persischer Historiker-Orientalisten. Außer der Editionen persischer Urkunden waren es auch die ersten, der persischen Diplomatie gewidmeten Spezialarbeiten. In der zweiten Hälfte der sechziger Jahre trugen zur Kenntnis der persischen Diplomatie in größerem Maße auch persische Historiker bei, die ihre Arbeiten in der Fachzeitschrift *Barrasihā-yi tārihi* publizierten. Bedeutsame Beiträge zur persischen Diplomatie veröffentlichten in den letzten Jahren M. Ş. Keçik, K. Ekbal, G. Herrmann und, dank G. Hazai erschien post mortem auch das Werk L. Feketes, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie. 101 persische Dokumente*. Budapest 1977. Mit mehreren Arbeiten hat für den Aufschwung dieser wissenschaftlicher Disziplin auch der Herausgeber des rezensierten Repertoriums verdienstvolle Arbeit geleistet.

Das vorliegende Repertorium soll es dem Benutzer ermöglichen, einen hinreichend detaillierten Überblick über die bis 1979 publizierten, vorwiegend originalen persischen Herrscherurkunden und Herrscherbriefe vom Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1848 zu erlangen. Die Arbeit umfaßt auch Urkunden aus umliegenden Ländern (dem Kaukasus, Mittelasien), ergreift jedoch nicht die persischen Urkunden osmanischer Sultane oder der Großmoguln aus Indien.

Dem Verfasser ist es gelungen 868 persische Urkunden und Briefe zu sammeln, von denen die Mehrzahl aus dem Zeitraum der Safawiden (1501—1736) stammt. Bei den einzelnen Urkunden führt das Repertorium die Form der Erhaltung der publizierten Urkunde (Original, Kopie, inschriftliche Überlieferung des Urkundentextes), die Datenangabe umgerechnet auf die christliche Zeitrechnung, das Format der jeweiligen Urkunde und den Aufbewahrungsort der Urkunde mit dessen Signatur an. Im weiteren Teil befinden sich Angaben über die Veröffentlichung der Urkunde (in der ersten sowie den weiteren Auflagen mit Hinweisen auf die betreffenden Seiten, das Faksimile, Kommentare und Übersetzungen), die Angabe des Adressaten, die Angabe des Inhabers oder der Person, zu deren Gunsten die Urkunde ausgeliefert wurde, die Urkundenregesten und abschließend Bemerkungen samt Angaben über den Ausfertigungsort, sowie über die Einleitungsformeln.

Fragners *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden* muß nicht nur als ein wertvoller Beitrag zur persischen Diplomatie, sondern auch als Beitrag zur Ge-

schichte Persiens, der umliegenden Länder, zu den diplomatischen Beziehungen mit europäischen Ländern und zu weiteren Fragen begrüßt werden.

Vojtech Kopčan

Grötzbach, Erwin: *Städte und Basare in Afghanistan. Eine stadtgeographische Untersuchung*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften), Nr. 16. In Kommission bei Dr. Ludwig Reichert, Wiesbaden 1979. 211 S. mit 9 Tabellen und 34 Karten.

Mit dem vorliegenden Buch ist ein gelungener Versuch unternommen worden, eine umfassende Bestandsaufnahme der Grundzüge der jüngeren Entwicklung, Verteilung, der Strukturen, Funktionen und Planungsprobleme afghanischer Städte zu geben. Mit ihm soll die Reihe von landeskundlichen Werken über Afghanistan fortgesetzt und gleichzeitig mit einer spezifischen, ins Detail gehenden Analyse bereichert werden.

Die Probleme Städtewesen, Stadt-Land-Migration usw. werden nicht summarisch, sondern nach geographischen Regionen und nach ethnischen Siedlungstypen in ihren ökonomischen und sozialen Zusammenhängen behandelt.

Infolge der lückenhaften, meistens nur auf Schätzungswerten basierenden statistischen Daten oblag es dem Verfasser, die Angaben durch Feldarbeit und durch eigene Forschung zu ermitteln. Diese Tatsache unterstreicht den wissenschaftlichen Wert und den Nutzen des Buches.

Einleitend bemüht sich der Verfasser, den Begriff ‚Stadt‘ für die afghanischen Verhältnisse zu definieren. Dazu stellt er fest, daß Afghanistan ein agrarisches Entwicklungsland ist, in dem die Industrialisierung und demzufolge die Urbanisierung sich noch im Anfangsstadium befindet. Dementsprechend kann der Begriff ‚Stadt‘ nur unter Vorbehalt verwendet werden. Demgegenüber ist der Basar als „wirtschaftliches Interaktivesystem“ klar abgrenzbar. Bei der Darstellung des afghanischen Städtewesens geht der Verfasser zunächst historisch vor und versucht, die Entwicklung der afghanischen Städte zu periodisieren. Es wird lediglich die Entwicklung seit dem Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts verfolgt, die sich dank der relativ vollständigen und übereinstimmenden Quellenlage mit ziemlicher Kontinuität darstellen läßt.

Der Periodisierung der Entwicklung des Städtewesens liegen die Machtverhältnisse zugrunde. (Bis 1880 die Zeit der fehlenden Staatsmacht; 1880—1920 die Periode der Konsolidierung des Nationalstaates; ab 1920 der Zeitraum des gesteuerten Städtebaus und der Städteerneuerung.)

Hierbei weist der Verfasser über die deskriptive Darstellung der einzelnen Perioden hinaus auf die kausalen Zusammenhänge und auf die sozial-ökonomischen Grundlage der Entwicklung hin. Nach der historischen Betrachtung des Städtewesens in ihrer Komplexität folgt die Einzeldarstellung der städtischen Siedlungen in regionaler Sicht.

Die Hauptstadt Kabul wurde unter den folgenden Aspekten vorgestellt: Die baulich funktionelle und sozial-ökonomische Struktur (unterteilt nach Altstadt und jüngeren Stadtbezirken); Bevölkerungszahl und Struktur; die sozialräumliche Differenzierung; die infrastrukturelle, darunter die soziale und technische Infrastruktur-Ausstattung.

Die vom Verfasser vorgenommene regionale Aufteilung impliziert nicht nur den geographischen Raum, sondern auch eine bestimmte, ethnisch bedingte traditionelle Entwicklung der Städte und Basare.

Besonders breiten Raum widmet er der Analyse der Städte wie: Mazār-i-Šarīf, Herāt, Kandahār, Jalāl-Ābād.

Die Beschreibung bietet nicht nur eine detaillierte Analyse der geographischen Lage und der strukturellen Entwicklung der einzelnen Städte, sondern darüber hinaus auch ein plastisches Bild von ihnen in ihren sozial-ökonomischen Zusammenhängen. Der zuletzt genannte Aspekt kommt besonders deutlich bei der Darstellung des ‚Basars‘ als kommerziellen Zentrums der städtischen Siedlungen zur Wirkung.

Bei dem Begriff ‚Basar‘ geht der Verfasser davon aus, daß die aus der Literatur bekannte Definition von E. Wirth für den Fall Afghanistan nur eine partielle Anwendung finden kann. Im Gegensatz zu den in den großen orientalischen Städten häufig vorkommenden Basaren dualen Charakters (das Nebeneinander von traditionellem und westlich orientiertem Basarwesen) ist für den afghanischen Basar die Symbiose von Handel, Handwerk und Dienstleistungen in traditioneller Form charakteristisch.

Der Verfasser gibt ein detailliertes Bild über die Branchenstruktur und räumliche Gliederung von Basaren unterschiedlichen Typs.

Besonders interessant erscheint der Abschnitt über die Besitzverhältnisse des Basars. Vor allem deshalb, weil dieses Kapitel für den Leser wichtige Informationen über bestimmte ökonomische Rückschlüsse liefert. Hierbei sei z.B. an den Zusammenhang von Besitzverhältnissen und Konzentration des Handelskapitals verwiesen.

Kritisch betrachtet der Verfasser die Konzeptionen der Regierung für die Städteplanung. Sie ist einerseits auf die bewußte Gestaltung der Städte und auf die Verhinderung der Slumbildung gerichtet. Andererseits wird jedoch durch die erschwerten administrativen Maßnahmen die schnelle Urbanisierung gebremst. Letzterer stehen allerdings noch die fehlenden städtischen Arbeitsplätze infolge der langsam voranschreitenden Industrialisierung gegenüber.

Angesichts der jüngsten Entwicklung erheben sich gewisse Zweifel an den abschließenden Bemerkungen des Verfassers, wo er darauf hinweist, daß die Konzeptionen für die Städteplanung der Gestaltung und Funktion des Basars auf die traditionellen Erwartungen der ländlichen Bevölkerung wenig Rücksicht nimmt. Künftig ist mit einer Entwicklung zu rechnen, die eine bestimmte Spaltung hervorruft.

Das moderne Geschäftszentrum der afghanischen Stadt von morgen scheint völlig auf die westlich orientierten Ober- und Mittelschichten zugeschnitten; selbst die Existenz einer städtischen Unterschicht wird dabei übersehen. Deshalb ist damit zu rechnen, daß künftig die ländlichen Basarbesucher noch mehr an die Peripherie gedrängt werden, wie es heute schon in größeren Städten festzustellen ist.

E. Grötzbach gab seinem Buch den Untertitel *Eine stadtgeographische Untersuchung*. Das Buch bietet aber viel mehr als der Titel und der ergänzende Untertitel vermuten lassen. Es liefert wichtige Informationen und bietet ein weites Feld für ökonomische und soziologische Rückschlüsse. Zahlreiche Tabellen und Skizzen ergänzen den Text.

Die vom Verfasser angefertigten Stadtpläne bieten in gewissem Sinne einen Stadtführer unkonventioneller Art. Mit E. Grötzbachs Buch bekommt der Leser eine wissenschaftlich fundierte, aber über den Fachkreis hinaus Interesse erweckende Lektüre.

Judit Balázs

The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern. Ed. by A. Ascher, T. Halasi-Kun, B. K. Király. Studies on Society in Change, No. 3. Brooklyn, Brooklyn College Press 1979. x + 230 pp.

These are proceedings from the Second Annual Brooklyn College Conference on Society in Change, that was held in Brooklyn 3—4 May 1976. The topic of the conference is undoubtedly an interesting one and under many aspects little investigated, therefore, also the papers presented on this occasion constitute for the most part pioneering probes into the subject-matter. The collection includes twelve papers covering the period from antiquity down to the recent past. Consequently, the organizers endeavoured to focus attention on the cultural interchange that took place mainly in the Early Modern Period.

Another characteristic trait of this collection is that the articles, with one exception, all are concentrated on the Turkic segment of the Islamic World, the only Islamic segment that was directly in contact with, and played a major role in the history, in the development of the area under consideration. As the core of the

collection resides principally in the Early Modern Period, articles dealing with Ottoman problems predominate. They are divided into five thematic circuits: I. Early Cultural Interactions, II. Communal and National Relations, III. The Slavic World and Islam, IV. Danubian Europe and the Ottoman Empire, V. Mutual Cultural Impacts.

In our view, the paper by Prof. O. Pritsak, *The Role of the Bosphorus Kingdom and Late Hellenism as the Basis for the Medieval Cultures of the Territories North of the Black Sea*, despite the author's "impressionistic method", best corresponds to the conference topic. Although it touches but lightly on some of the issues, it nevertheless betrays not only the author's impressive erudition, but also his inventiveness in uncovering new affinities and relations. The notions concerning an advancing Hellenism into the Eurasian steppe until the tenth—eleventh centuries and its merits on the origin of Old Slavic as a sacred and literary language, further the statement that in the east of the European steppe, the true bearers of intellectual activity and of the idea of the marriages of cultures were the Iranian Sogdians, while in the west, they were in all probability the Bosphorus Hellenist Jews, are quite fascinating and greater attention ought to be devoted to these problems.

In a paper *Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire*, Prof. H. İnalçık rightly argues that slavery was at all times economically conditioned, consequently, he follows up the issue according to the branches in which slaves were employed in the Ottoman Empire — in the service of the State and the Military Class, in the Crafts and Commerce, in the Agricultural Sector. Although slave representation in the above branches of services and work was not equal, slavery may be said to have been an institution of vital significance for Ottoman society. The second part of this paper deals with supply of slaves and here the author shows how the sources of slaves shifted and which slave groups predominated in the various periods.

The Protestant Reformation and Islam is the title of Prof. S. Fischer-Galati's paper. Some time ago, the author published a book on this topic and now he takes note in his paper of two aspects in the relation between the Reformation and Islam: theological and political. He again asserts that the Infidel Turk was, in fact, the probable saviour of Protestantism in Germany and the ultimate guarantor of Protestant interests in Hungary and Transylvania.

The question of the impact of western nationalism on the Ottoman Empire was studied by Prof. D. A. Rustow in his paper *Western Nationalism and the Ottoman Empire*. He considers nationalism in the Ottoman Empire to have been a cultural import from Europe and a byproduct of Western military and imperialist pressures.

The thematic circuit The Slavic World and Islam comprises the paper by A. W. Fisher, *Social and Legal Aspects of Russian-Muslim Relations in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of the Crimean Tatars, concerned with the development of the society and national culture of Crimean Tatars from the end of the eighteenth century up to World War I*, and that by J. Pelenski, *State and Society in Muscovite*

Russia and the Mongol-Turkic System in the Sixteenth Century in which the author strives to point out the influence of the Kazan Khanate on the socio-political institutions of Muscovite Russia.

The thematic circuit Danubian Europe and the Ottoman Empire carries three contributions. T. Halasi-Kun carries on in his survey of Rumanian settlement of Southeastern Hungary on the basis of the Ottoman census *Defter-i Mufassal* of the Segedin District (TD 579) and in his paper *Serbian and Rumanian in Ottoman Southeastern Hungary: Dette* shows that the Ottomans used the term Eflak to designate conglomerations that can easily be established as ethnic units in their own right and not as social groupings. The paper by B. K. Király — P. Pastor, *The Sublime Porte and Ferenc II Rákóczi's Hungary: An Episode in Islamic Christian Relations* is an outline of the diplomatic relations and attitudes of the leader of the Hungarian rebellion against the Habsburgs towards the Sublime Porte. On the basis of the *Defter-i Mufassal* of the Semendire District (TD 517), A. Z. Hertz in his paper *Muslims, Christians and Jews in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Belgrade* notes that the number of inhabitants on the basis of the above census was lower (7106 inhabitants in 1570) than that estimated by reports of European travellers.

Finally in the last thematic circuit, Mutual Cultural Impact we find three miscellaneous papers. Ü. Ü. Bates studies in three stages of development of the Ottoman Empire *The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture*. P. B. Golden deals with Oguz-Turkic loans in Georgian — *The Oguz Turkic (Ottoman/Safavid) Elements in Georgian: Background and Patterns*. W. G. Lockwood's paper *The Serbo-Croatian Speaking Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina* is a historical-ethnographic analysis of Bosnian Muslims and their historical development.

As a supplement to the authors' reflections, we wish to draw attention to the most recent study by N. Filipović: *A Contribution to the Problem of Islamisation in the Balkan under the Ottoman Rule*. In: *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe and Balkan in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Prague 1978, pp. 305—358.

The book under review brings numerous stimulative insights and new aspects in the knowledge of contacts in the Islamic and Judeo-Christian world in Eastern Europe.

Vojtech Kopčan

Esin, E.: *A History of Pre-Islamic and Early-Islamic Turkish Culture. Supplement to the Handbook of Turkish Culture*. Series II, Vol. 1/B. Ed. by H. D. Yıldız. Istanbul 1980. V+400 pp. CXVI plates, illustrations, map.

The book is an English version of the work *İslamiyetten önceki Türk kültür târihi ve İslama giriş*, published in 1978 in the series Handbook of Turkish Culture. The

authoress set herself the difficult task of outlining the origin and development of Inner-Asian Turkish culture from the first millenary B. C. up to the thirteenth century A. D. The authoress may be said to have been well equipped to meet this challenging task as her present book had been preceded by numerous studies, encyclopaedic entries and papers from her pen dealing with Turkish art in pre-Islamic times. In addition, in view of her command of Russian, E. Esin was able to make use of the abundant results of Soviet archaeology, historiography and ethnography that proved of immense value to an investigation of the topic.

E. Esin divided her exposition into six chapters: 1. The Cultures of Inner Asia in the 1st millenary B. C. attributed to the ancestors of the Turks; 2. Turkish Culture in the Age of Supremacy of the Eastern Huns, of the Kuşan and of the Tabgaç (Toba-Wei) (2nd century B. C. — 6th century A. D.); 3. The Turkish Semi-Nomadic Cultures from the Rise of the Kök-Türk Kaganate (550) down to the thirteenth century; 4. The Sedentary Turkish Civilization in the Kök-Türk and Uygur Periods; 5. The Conversion of the Turks to Islam (Early period: 8th—10th centuries); 6. The Hakanid Turkish Civilization (9th—13th centuries). It is evident from the above that the authoress has broken down her explication into chapters that treat not only of the movements of Turkish tribes, tribal unions, organization of States, that treat not only of the movements of Turkish tribes, tribal unions, organization of States, but also their inner cultural transformations whether due to their own development or to foreign influences. A further division of the chapters takes note of the various Turkish cultures in earlier periods according to findingsites, later according to tribes or State formations. Considerable attention is devoted to cosmologic conceptions, religious notions and generally to the spiritual background of cultures of ancient Turks.

E. Esin has collected a great quantity of material in an effort to expound as fully as possible the cultures of Turkish tribes and States in the pre-Islamic era. In addition, she had to get even with numerous contradictory theories and views that are always at hand where there is a dearth of source material. Unfortunately, the authoress has not avoided these dangers and has taken over certain hypotheses as valid and accepted views, e.g. "Akatziroi by the Byzantines, whose real name must be Ak-Kazır (White Hazar)" (p. 82). As evident from the most recent investigations (see P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies I*, Budapest 1980, pp. 54—55), this question is more complex.

Indexes and the commented list of illustrations with reference to their origin must be considered as very useful supplements to the book. Perhaps the list of references might have been prepared more carefully, and although a list of errata is included, the number of misprints is far higher, and, one might say, exceeds a tolerable measure.

E. Esin's book presents the most complete processing of Turkish cultures in the

pre-Islamic times available today and can serve as a standard manual on this topic not only in Turkey, but also in other countries.

Vojtech Kopčan

Mémorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan. Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul, T. XXVIII. Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve 1980. xvii + 252 pp.

Ce livre est dédié à la mémoire de l'éminent historien turque Ömer Lûtfi Barkan (1903—1979) à qui revient grand crédit pour la recherche de l'histoire économique et sociale de l'empire ottoman. Dans la nécrologie liminaire, R. Mantran tout en présentant ses souvenirs personnels de Ö. L. Barkan, évalue son œuvre étendue qui a été très appréciée tant dans son pays qu'à l'étranger. Ces notes d'introduction sont convenablement supplémentées par une courte biographie et une bibliographie complète de l'historien défunt.

Les contributions au *Mémorial* viennent des turcologues et historiens, amis et élèves du défunt non seulement de la France, mais aussi d'autres pays, tels la Turquie, l'U.S.A., la Bulgarie et Israël. En outre de réflexions théoriques, ce recueil comprend pour la plupart des études de matériaux sur les problèmes les plus divers de l'histoire ottomane dès son début jusque'au 20^e siècle. Malgré une orientation prononcée vers l'histoire économique et sociale, on y trouve aussi des études sur des questions politiques et autres, moins connues, ci qui rehausse le contenu.

Et la toute première contribution par J. L. Bacqué-Grammont est précisément de ce genre — *Sur deux affaires mineures dans les «Registres d'affaires importantes»* (pp. 1—10) ou l'auteur montre, à partir de documents ottomans, qu'au milieu du 16^e siècle un certain déclin des mœurs privées et publiques était survenu aussi dans la vie de la campagne anatolienne.

G. Baer présente une analyse des relations entre patrons et clients dans le quartier du Caire nommé *al-Husayniyya*, vers la fin du 18^e siècle, et déclare que «mediation between the rulers and the people was not a function of all the 'ulamā' as a result of their religious prestige, but of a very small group among them who served as patrons of well-defined groups of clients» (*Patrons and Clients in Ottoman Cairo*, pp. 11—18). En vertu de matériaux d'archives, I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr examine les bases du pouvoir et de la position sociale du cheikh Baba Yusuf de Sivrihisar au temps du gouvernement du sultan Bayezid II. (1481—1512). En même temps, il publie quatre documents sur cette question et une inscription (*L'assise économique d'un saint musulman, le cheikh Baba Yusuf*, pp. 19—37).

L'éminent historien français F. Braudel réfléchit sur la nature de l'économie de

l'empire ottoman (*L'empire turque est-il une économie-monde?*, pp. 39—50), et Cl. Cahen discute sur les questions méthodiques de la recherche des institutions ottomanes anciennes, à savoir, le timar et malikâne-divâni du régime (*A propos de quelques anciennes institutions ottomanes : questions de méthodes*, pp. 51—55).

Le *Mémorial* contient aussi quelques études sur la démographie historique de l'empire ottoman. Une d'elles est par A. Cohen qui examine, sur les recensements ottomans du 16^e siècle, le développement de la communauté juive à Jérusalem et montre que pendant la première moitié du 16^e siècle leur nombre s'accroissait en raison des conditions économiques favorables, alors qu'à partir des années soixante, à cause d'un esprit arbitraire grandissant chez les fonctionnaires ottomans, et aussi des problèmes économiques, il y avait un déclin évident parmi les habitants juifs de la ville (*New Evidence on Demographic Change: The Jewish Community in 16th Century Jerusalem*, pp. 57—64).

L'historienne bulgare B. Cvetkova publie deux documents à partir de la première moitié du 17^e siècle, traitant du vakf Rustem pacha dans la région de Veliko-Tărnovo (*Documents turcs concernant le statut de certaines localités dans la région de Veliko-Tărnovo au 17^e siècle*, pp. 65—73).

Le séjour du publiciste socio-démocrate et économiste Alexandre Israel Help-hand (1867—1924) dans l'empire ottoman et son activité publiciste sont l'objet de l'étude par P. Dumont *Un économiste social-démocrate au service de la Jeune Turquie*, pp. 75—86).

S. Faroqhi, examinant les *sicills* des kadis d'Ankara, poursuit les processus des changements dans les possessions des grandes propriétés foncières orientées vers la production maraîchère et les conséquences qui en découlaient pour la population paysanne (*Land transfer, Land disputes and Askeri holdings in Ankara (1592—1600)*, pp. 87—99).

Les questions autour de l'emprunt intérieur de l'empire ottoman sont traitées dans l'étude de F. Georgeon (*Le premier emprunt intérieur ottoman (mai—juin 1918)*, pp. 101—117).

Le spécialiste en histoire économique du Moyen-Orient des temps modernes, Ch. Issawi examine les prologues menant à la conclusion de l'accord commercial anglo-turque de 1838 et publie trois documents du Ministère des Affaires étrangères britannique concernant les tarifs d'exportation (*Notes on the negotiations leading to the Anglo-Turkish commercial convention of 1838*, pp. 119—134).

B. Lewis publie dans le *Mémorial* des fragments des Régistres *Tapu* ottomans touchant à Acre (Acco) palestinienne au 16^e siècle (*Acre in the sixteenth century according to the Ottoman Tapu Registers*, pp. 135—139).

R. Mantran, à partir d'une analyse de deux documents ottomans du 17^e siècle, explique la signification de l'impôt *bitirme* (*Le bitirme, taxe de l'ih̄tisab d'Istanbul*, pp. 141—148).

L'histoire des premiers temps ottomans est étudiée par I. Mélikoff (*Un ordre de*

derviches colonisateurs: les bektachis. Leur rôle social et leurs rapports avec les premiers sultans ottomans, pp. 149—157). L'auteur prend pour base directe une des premières œuvres de Barkan et met l'accent sur le rôle social de l'ordre des derviches Bektachis de la première époque de l'état ottoman et leur relation spécifique vers les sultans ottomans.

Prenant pour base les sources européennes, D. Pansac poursuit le rôle du port d'Izmir dans le commerce international et intérieur pendant la première moitié du 18^e siècle (*Activité et diversité d'un grand port ottoman: Smyrne dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle*, pp. 159—167).

Informations sur les publications en Serbo-Croate se rapportant aux musulmans Yougoslaves pendant la période post-ottomane sont données par A. Popovic (*Sur quelques publications parues en serbocroate au cours de l'année 1974 concernant les musulmans de Yougoslavie dans la période post-ottomane*, pp. 165—167).

Les contributions démographiques, en outre de l'étude déjà citée de A. Cohen, sont représentées par les travaux de A. Raymond, T. Stoianovich et G. Veinstein. Dans son étude d'application méthodique élargie, A. Raymond s'occupe de la population d'Égypte et plus particulièrement de celle du Caire dans une période critique (*La population du Caire et de l'Égypte à l'époque ottomane et sous Muhammad 'Alī*, pp. 169—178). Il tient à montrer que le développement démographique en Égypte jusqu'à la fin du règne de Mehmed Ali était le même qu'aux siècles précédents mais différait dans les villes. T. Stoianovich, dans sa contribution, stimulative quant à la méthodologie (*Family and household in the Western Balkans, 1500—1870*, pp. 189—203) montre, comment un régime biosocial et des systèmes politiques, économiques et culturels déterminaient le développement de la famille et empêchaient tout changement de base dans les formes de la famille et du ménage prédominant dans les régions diverses des Balkans ouest et ouest-centraux, et les régions adriatiques. Prenant comme point de départ les recensements ottomans, G. Veinstein s'occupe de la population au sud de la Crimée (*La population du sud de la Crimée au début de la domination ottomane*, pp. 227—249).

H. Sahillioğlu dans son étude de la vie, de travail et des métiers à Edirne à la fin du 15^e siècle, *De l'esclavage vers l'entreprise* (pp. 179—188), analyse les problèmes du rachat des esclaves et leur incorporation dans la production artisanale.

L'historien bulgare N. Todorov, auteur d'une monographie importante sur la ville balkanique, écrit sur les biens-fonds des villes du nord de la Bulgarie dans la deuxième moitié du 19^e siècle (*Urban real estate in the Danubian Vilayet according to the census of 1866*, pp. 205—225).

Le *Mémorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan* peut être considéré comme la manière la plus appropriée pour honorer la mémoire de cet éminent historien turque.

Vojtech Kopčan

Eremya Chelebi K m rjian's Armeno-Turkish Poem "The Jewish Bride". Ed. by Avedis K. Sanjian and Andreas Tietze. Budapest, Akad miai Kiad  1981. 197 pp.

Transcribed literary monuments or, to be more exact, monuments written in non-Arabic writing, including also Ottoman linguistic monuments recorded in Armenian belong among valuable sources to the history of the Turkish language. The book under review brings the text of *The Jewish Bride*, one of the most outstanding works in the Ottoman-Turkish language, from the pen of the well-known Armenian author Eremya Chelebi K m rjian.

In the introductory section Avedis K. Sanjian deals with Armeno-Turkish literature which enjoys a long-standing tradition and represents a colourful range of works written not only in Asia Minor, but also in the Ukraine, the Crimea and other places in Europe. An impressive figure in Armenian, but likewise in Armeno-Turkish seventeenth century literature was certainly Eremay Chelebi K m rjian (1637—1695). Prof. Sanjian devotes some space in his introduction also to Eremya Chelebi's biography: he lived most of his life in Istanbul, but knew and travelled across other parts of the Ottoman Empire inhabited by Armenians. His work is extensive, having written over twenty treatises of varying length and content in Armenian. Of these, undoubtedly the most significant are those of a historical character: *History of Ottoman Sultans*, *History of Istanbul* (translated a few decades ago also into Turkish), *Chronological History*, *History of Istanbul Fires*, as also a number of poetic and religious writings. It seems that several of these works might enrich the source base of Ottoman history were they critically edited and translated into some world language. Eremya Chelebi is likewise author of Armeno-Turkish works, and the majority of them have a character similar to that of his works written in Armenian. However, there is often question here of mere translations and adaptations from Armenian or other languages. At the end of his introduction Prof. Sanjian discusses the Turkish, Greek and Armenian versions of *The Jewish Bride* which Eremya Chelebi composed in two versions, one Armenian, the other Turkish. While the Armenian one with brief literary analysis was published some two decades ago, the Turkish version was unknown until recently. It was discovered by A. K. Sanjian among the manuscripts — the Spencer Collection — in the New York Public Library. Quite recently another copy of this work was found in the Yerevan Matenadaran.

Well known, and even translated into French, is the Greek version of this poem. A comparison of the Greek poem with Eremya Chelebi's Turkish and Armenian versions reveals striking similarities as well as notable differences. Sanjian infers from this that originally there must have existed a brief, primitive Greek version of the story of an Albanian youth Dimo and a Jewish girl Markada, known both to the anonymous Greek author and to Eremya Chelebi and both elaborated improved versions independently one of the other. In proof of his assumption, Sanjian gives

a detailed content of the Greek version and compares it with Eremya Chelebi's Turkish and the substantially shorter Armenian versions.

Prof. A. Tietze is the author of a linguistic analysis of Eremya Chelebi's work. In his view, Eremya Chelebi had a very good command of spoken Turkish of his time. He then goes on to analyse the phonology, syntax and lexic of the work, paying special attention to words that occur only in this text and do not belong to the current vocabulary of Ottoman Turkish (hapax legomena).

The text of *The Jewish Bride* was transcribed by A. K. Sanjian and translated into English by A. Tietze. Textual variants are given in brackets, while footnotes provide additional explanations to the text and the translation. The book also has a glossary and bibliography.

This neat, well designed edition of *The Jewish Bride* not only makes accessible this significant work from Armeno-Turkish literature, but likewise enriches our notions on Ottoman language in the seventeenth century.

Vojtech Kopčan

Sovyet türkologların Türk edebiyatı incelemeleri (Studien sowjetischer Turkologen über die türkische Literatur). Istanbul, Cem Yayınevi 1980. 277 S.

Die Publikation, die als Ergebnis der Zusammenarbeit der Turkologen des Orientalistischen Instituts der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR, sowie der Moskauer und Leningrader Universitäten mit dem türkischen Verlag Cem entstanden ist, enthält zwölf Studien von insgesamt neun Autoren. Ein kurzes Vorwort (Önsöz, S. 7—8) verfaßte der Inhaber des Verlags Oğuz Akkan.

Die erste Studie (S. 9—40), derer Autorin E. Maschtakowa ist, behandelt die Anfänge des Eindringens aufklärerischer Gedanken ins Bewußtsein der türkischen Intelligenzler. Im 18. Jahrhundert beginnen die kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Europa und der Türkei eine wichtigere Rolle zu spielen als die traditionelle Orientierung auf die Kultur des Nahen und Mittleren Orients. Obwohl die Kontakte zwischen den türkischen und europäischen Intelligenzlern sehr beschränkt und unsystematisch waren, drangen in die türkische Literatur doch nur neue philosophische und ästhetische Elemente ein.

E. Maschtakowa bewertet die bedeutende Rolle İbrahim Müteferikas (1674—1745), des Gründers der ersten türkischen Druckerei (1727), der, gestützt auf die Erkenntnisse entwickelter europäischer Staaten, ein großartiges Reformprogramm entworfen hat.

Im Abschluß ihrer Studie polemisiert die Autorin mit der verbreiteten Ansicht, daß sich die türkische Literatur im 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts

in einer Krise befand. Obwohl sich im 18. Jahrhundert die Veränderungen im Denken auf anderen Gebieten mehr als in der künstlerischen Literatur widerspiegelten, stagnierte diese auch nicht. Die Wurzeln der neuen türkischen Literatur, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts zu entstehen beginnt, müssen nach E. Maschtakowa bereits in diesem frühen Zeitraum der kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und Europa gesucht werden.

Die Hauptprobleme der türkischen aufklärerischen Literatur (*Türk aydınlanma edebiyatının temel sorunları*, S. 41—57) betitelte Studie der Autorinnen I. Borolina und I. Sonina knüpft an die Arbeit von E. Maschtakowa an und es ist in ihr über die Eigentümlichkeiten der literarischen Entwicklung in der Epoche, die unmittelbar nach den Reformen der Jahre 1839—1856 (*Tanzimat*) folgte, die Rede. Sie macht auf den Zusammenhang zwischen der Entwicklung der aufklärerischen Ideologie in der Türkei und den Übersetzungen der Werke französischer aufklärerischer Denker aufmerksam.

Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmen die Autorinnen der Studie der Persönlichkeit des Schriftstellers, Denkers und öffentlichen Beamten Namık Kemal (1840—1888), heben ebenfalls die Rolle von İbrahim Mütefferika (das Jahr seines Ablebens wird fälschlich als 1747 angegeben) als des Vorgängers der türkischen Aufklärer im 19. Jahrhundert hervor.

Abschließend machen I. Borolina und I. Sonina auf die Ansicht sowjetischer Wissenschaftler aufmerksam, dernach es nicht richtig ist, den Einfluß Europas auf das Entstehen neuer Tendenzen in den Literaturen des Orients zu überschätzen, es sei vielmehr notwendig die heimischen, nationalen Traditionen zu berücksichtigen. Im Fall der türkischen Literatur wäre es auch notwendig, diese Frage noch näher zu erläutern.

Dem Schaffen des bedeutenden Repräsentanten der türkischen Literatur vom Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts Ömer Seyfettin (1884—1920) und einigen ausgewählten Fragen ist die Studie von L. Alkajewa (S. 58—80) gewidmet. Ömer Seyfettin machte sich verdient um das Entstehen eines neuen Typs der Satire, der aus den Traditionen der türkischen Folklore schöpft. Er erreichte Erfolg mit seinen satirischen Portraits von Menschen, die unter den schnell wechselnden sozialen und politischen Bedingungen jener Zeit geboren wurden (Efruz Bey und Cabi Efendi). Die Autorin weist auf die Einseitigkeit hin, die Ömer Seyfettin bei der Kritik der demagogischen Politik der Führer der jungtürkischen Revolution infolge ihres unüberwindbaren Hasses gegen die Völker des Balkans und die Armenier begangen hat.

L. Alkajewa verfaßte auch die nächste Studie unter dem Titel Humanismus in den Romanen von Sabahattin Ali (*Sabahattin Ali'nin romanlarında hümanizm*, S. 81—101). Die Autorin analysierte drei Romane des Schriftstellers Sabahattin Ali (1907—1948). Den Roman *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* (Joseph aus Kuyucak, 1937) betrachtet sie unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Widersprüche zwischen der Welt der Kleinbour-

geoisie und der Welt eines mit der Natur und dem Land verknüpften Menschen, der Vergleich mit Jean Pelergins Roman *Le Cheval en Ville* (1972) klingt nicht allzu überzeugend. Den Roman *Kürk mantolu madona* (Die Madonna im Pelzmantel, 1949) bewertet L. Alkajewa als eine Anklage der bewußten Flucht des Menschen vom Leben und im Roman *İçimizdeki şeytan* (Der Teufel in uns, 1940) weist sie auf die Problematik menschlicher Verantwortlichkeit hin.

Abschließend polemisiert die Autorin mit der Ansicht des türkischen Literaturhistorikers Tahir Alangu über das Schaffen des Schriftstellers und bewertet positiv die Monographie von Fethi Naci *Sabahattin Ali. Hayatı, hikâye, romanı* (Sabahattin Ali. Sein Leben, die Erzählung, der Roman. Istanbul 1974).

Der bemerkenswerten Persönlichkeit des Schriftstellers Sait Faik (1906—1954) ist die Studie von N. Ajsenstejn (S. 102—134) gewidmet. Eines der Hauptthemen des umfangreichen erzählerischen Schaffens des Schriftstellers war die Entfremdung des menschlichen Einzelwesens in der bourgeoisen Welt. Die Autorin der Studie weist auf die Unterschiedlichkeit beim Zutritt zur Problematik der Entfremdung im Schaffen von Franz Kafka und Sait Faik hin. Anregend ist die Polemik der Autorin mit jener Ansicht, die den Protagonisten der Erzählung *Lüzumsuz adam* (Der unnötige Mensch) dem Schriftsteller gleichsetzt. N. Ajsenstejn ist auch mit der Behauptung einiger türkischer Literaten nicht einverstanden, derzufolge Sait Faik kein Realist gewesen sei.

Die Studie von G. Gorbatkina (S. 135—163) untersucht die Beziehung von Nazım Hikmet (1902—1963) zur folkloristischen Tradition als einer Inspirationsquelle, der der große türkische Dichter einen neuen gedanklichen Inhalt verleihen vermochte. Die Autorin analysiert zwei Theaterstücke des Dichters, *Bir aşk masalı* (Die Legende von der Liebe) und *Yusuf ile Menofis* (Joseph und Menophis), weist auf das hin, worin sich die Charakter der einzelnen Gestalten bei Nazım Hikmet von ihren Prototypen aus der klassischen sowie Volksliteratur unterscheiden.

Mit der Beziehung des zeitgenössischen Schriftstellers zur Folklore befaßt sich G. Gorbatkina auch in ihrer zweiten Studie (S. 231—254), die dem Schaffen des Prosaikers Yaşar Kemal (geboren 1922) gewidmet ist. Wertvoll ist vor allem ihre Analyse der Novelle *Ağrıdağı Efsanesi* (Die Ararat-Legende, 1970).

Während weder Nazım Hikmet noch Yaşar Kemal mit ihrer Orientierung auf die Traditionen ihres Volkes die Grundsätze des Realismus in ihrem Schaffen gestört haben, ja im Gegenteil, sie vermochten diese sehr positiv zu aktualisieren, tritt der führende türkische Prosaiker Kemal Tahir (1910—1973) in seinem historischen Roman *Devlet Ana* (Die Mutter Reich, 1967) zu diesen aus einer völlig unterschiedlichen Position heran. Die idealistische, historisch-philosophische Konzeption des Romans, der in der Türkei eine rege Polemik hervorgerufen hat, unterwirft S. Uturgauri (S. 164—178) in ihrer Studie der Kritik. In der Hyperbolisierung der nationalen Traditionen sieht die Autorin eine Bestrebung sich jedweden Einflusses von Außen her, einschließlich fortschrittlicher Ideen, zu entziehen.

S. Uturgauri ist auch die Verfasserin der Studie über den zeitgenössischen Prosaiker Orhan Kemal (1914—1970), die Orhan Kemals Werke — Eine neue Stufe in der Entwicklung des türkischen Realismus (*Orhan Kemal'in yapıtları — Türk gerçekçiliğın gelişmesinde yeni bir aşama*, S. 179—208) betitelt ist. S. Uturgauri hebt den Optimismus in den Erzählungen und Romanen des Schriftstellers hervor und vergleicht sie mit dem Schaffen Maxim Gorkis.

Mit dem Schaffen des Satirikers Aziz Nesin (geboren 1915), dessen sozialer Engagiertheit befaßt sich in ihrer Studie N. Jakowlewa (S. 209—220). Sie berührt ebenfalls das Problem der Anwendung folkloristischer Traditionen und weist auf den vaterländischen Pathos in den Werken des Schriftstellers hin. Die sprachliche Meisterschaft Aziz Nesins, die vor allem in der sprachlichen Charakterisierung seiner Gestalten zum Ausdruck gelangt, schätzt sie besonders hoch ein.

Der türkischen Poesie sind zwei Studien von T. Melikow gewidmet, es geht dabei konkret um die Poesie von Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca (geboren 1914), namentlich um seine soziale Gedichte der 60er Jahre (S. 221—230), sowie um die Problematik des türkischen freien Verses (S. 255—270).

T. Melikow analysiert die Symbolik der Gedichte Dağlarcas und betrachtet auch die Nützung von Elementen der Volkspoesie im Schaffen des Dichters. Er bewertet das, worin der Beitrag von Dağlarcas sozialen Gedichten zur Entwicklung der türkischen Poesie beruht.

In der letzten Studie der Publikation weist T. Melikow auf die Tatsache hin, daß die Dichter des Servet-i Fünun, die in einem bedeutenden Maße von den französischen Symbolisten beeinflusst waren, zwar nicht den Rahmen der klassischen Poesie verließen, sie schufen jedoch günstige Bedingungen für die Aufnahme des freien Verses. Er findet hier eine Analogie zur dichterischen Richtung Shintaishi Undo, die gegen das Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in Japan entstand. In seiner Studie gelangte T. Melikow zum Schluß, daß das Heimischwerden des freien Verses in der türkischen Poesie ihre engere Bindung an das Leben brachte.

Die Bibliographie der Werke sowjetischer Turkologen zur Problematik, die in der Publikation beinhaltet ist, wurde von A. Swertschewskaja (S. 271—275) zusammengestellt.

Dank der initiativen Tat des Verlags Cem bietet sich nunmehr auch den türkischen Literaten, sowie den Turkologen anderer Länder die Möglichkeit mit den bemerkenswerten Ergebnissen der Forschung sowjetischer Turkologen auf dem Gebiet der neuen türkischen Literatur bekannt zu werden, die bislang nur im Russischen veröffentlicht wurden.

Xénia Celnarová

Sakaoğlu, S.: *Anadolu-Türk efsanelerinde taş kesilme motifi ve bu efsanelerin tip kataloğu* (The Petrification Motif in Anatolian-Turkish Legends and a Type Catalogue of These Legends). Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi 1980. 140 pp.

Although a great quantity of legends have been preserved to this day in all the regions of Anatolia, investigators have devoted hardly any attention to this genre of Turkish folk literature. Dr. Saim Sakaoğlu, an Associate Professor at the Atatürk University in Erzurum, has thus gone in for pioneering work when he undertook to focus his scholarly interest on this domain. He has collected an impressive material from the territory of Asia Minor (he has published a selection from it in book form under the title *101 Anatolian Legends — 101 Anadolu efsanesi*, İstanbul, Damla Yayınevi 1967) and now, at the first stage of his investigation he has picked up a group of legends with the petrification motif and has summarized his results in the present publication.

The opening part of the publication (Giriş, pp. 1—22) represents an introduction into the problem of legend and its survey. As collectors in the past often failed to differentiate between a legend and a story, eventually other genres of folk literature, the author deemed it opportune first to explain the term legend itself and to define what it really embraces. He summarizes the results achieved so far in this field by folklorist surveys, and briefly touches on the relationships between legend, myth, story and epos. One could hardly subscribe to the author's view that similarities may be found between legends of various nations, but they do not exist in epos (p. 22). National epic works, just as other types and genres of folk literature present a whole series of analogies conditioned both by genetic-contact relations, but particularly, in a wider range, by typological affinities.

The first chapter of the publication (pp. 23—37) deals with the problem of motif in general, and then S. Sakaoğlu analyses the petrification motif. In legends as in stories, a transformation of form represents one of the most frequent groups of motifs and pride of place in this group goes to the transformation of a living being or an object into stone.

The author gives an answer to questions who, what, is turned into stone, why and how, in the second chapter (pp. 38—44), referring the reader to his catalogue of legends with the petrification motif. S. Sakaoğlu comes to the conclusion that human fancy knows no bounds in this domain and applies the petrification phenomenon to all the spheres of life. Turning to stone in legends is in most cases a punishment for evil committed; as a form of rescue of positive heroes in danger, a topic often met in stories, it is rarely represented in legends. In contrast to stories where the subject sometimes turns to stone in three stages, in legends this always happens suddenly. Again, S. Sakaoğlu met only one case in legends of a return from stone into the original form, while this motif is very frequent in stories.

Chapters Three to Five (pp. 45—77) are of a comparative nature, the author pointing out how the petrification motif reaches by its roots into the distant past, how it was spread in cultures and religions of all times. Legends with this motif from the most diverse parts of the world show only minimal differences. Thus, for instance, the case of Lot's wife turned into a salt pillar in the Old Testament has its parallels in stories and legends of many nations and this motif of turning into stone is also represented in Anatolian legends as a punishment for looking back in inadmissible circumstances.

The core of S. Sakaoğlu's work resides in his type catalogue of Turkish legends with the petrification motif from the territory of Asia Minor (pp. 100—140), whose structure is explained in Chapter Five. The author's aim in classifying the legends was to make the classification acquire universal validity, with possibility of its being applied to an unlimited number of legends. In contrast to the type catalogue of Turkish stories by W. Ebehard and P. N. Boratow (*Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH 1953), S. Sakaoğlu left numeric reserves between the various types of legends, thus providing room for completing his catalogue with further variants.

In the author's own words, this is the first and unique work of its kind, for despite its modest size, it fills a sensible gap in the survey of Turkish folk literature.

Xénia Celnarová

Türk bilmeceleeri. Turske zagonetke (Turkish Riddles). Selection, Prologue, Translation and Commentary by Djukanović, M. and Rajović, L. Belgrade, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti 1980. 292 pp.

The riddle represents an independent, historically developing folk genre. It derived from allegorical speech and among the earliest cultural strata fulfilled primarily a magic function and only gradually acquired an educational and entertaining role.

This selection of Turkish Riddles appears as the first volume in the edition *Balkan Folk Literature (Balkanske narodne umotvorine)* and further volumes are foreseen to bring riddles of other non-Slavic nationalities settled on the Balkan Peninsula. But this is only a part of a rather impressive project which the Committee for Balkan Folk Literature, specially set up near the Department of Language and Literature of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art, intends to put into execution in the coming years. The aim of this programme is gradually to map all the genres of folk literature of non-Slavic nations on the Balkan. In parallel with this project, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art has decided on a critical edition of all the more

significant collections of folk literature in Macedonian, Slovene and Serbo-Croatian.

These designs of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art are spoken of by Vojislav Djurić in his introductory study to the book under review. From an ethnographic aspect, the Balkan Peninsula which has always been the crossroads of numerous civilizations and cultures, represents an object of investigation of an immense interest. The fact that from the fourteenth until the beginning of our century the Balkan Peninsula was under the domination of the Ottoman Empire, had for result that the Christian culture which before the Turkish incursion had began to develop in a promising manner, became arrested in its growth. On the other hand, illiteracy of the original population and even of a great part of the clergy, however, provided a greater opportunity for folk literature to thrive; in it were fixed pagan superstitions, myths, customs reaching back to the primitive communal society. In this manner, the thousand-year old continuity in the development of folk literature of the Balkan nations has persisted until our modern times. However, as V. Djurić remarks, folk literature of nations of the Balkan Peninsula has not as yet been subjected to a systematic and detailed study. The works published in this domain so far show a lack of a sufficiently critical approach to the material. The broadly conceived programme of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art should get even with this outstanding point.

In the Foreword to the first volume of this edition, Dr. Marija Djukanović elucidates the criteria applied by Dr. Lubinka Rajković and herself in their selection of the Turkish Riddles. The choice draws support mainly in the most voluminous collection available, comprising twelve thousand Turkish riddles, and compiled by İlhan Başgöz and Andreas Tietze (Başgöz, I. — Tietze, A., *A Corpus of Turkish Riddles*. Berkeley—Los Angeles—London, University of California Press 1973. 1063 pp. Our review of this unique publication was published in *Asian and African Studies*, 12, 1976). This selection, however, comprises also several as yet unpublished riddles discovered by Dr. Rajković in manuscript stocks.

Dr. Djukanović in her Foreword gives a concise characterization of the structure of Turkish folk riddles and assigns them into three groups: 1. Riddles with a stereotype introduction, the majority of which already contain the term designating the riddle as a type of folk literature; 2. Onomatopoeic riddles; 3. Riddles based on puns.

Dr. Djukanović observes that the object of Turkish riddles are for the most part events of everyday life and in contrast to riddles of other nationalities, there are very few such as would refer to personal names, toponyms or abstract concepts.

The riddles in the present collection are divided into four thematic circuits: I. Nature, II. Plant and Animal Kingdom, III. Man, IV. Miscellaneous. The Collection includes a total of 1253 riddles, all numbered, and their original form and Serbian translation constitute a mirror image. Dr. Rajković strove after an exact philologic translation, but adheres to the language and style of Serbian folk riddles.

This volume also contains a commentary to the various riddles and an index of Turkish answers to the riddles.

This first volume of the edition *Balkan Folk Literature* may be considered to have made a successful start in the implementation of the exacting project of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art.

Xénia Celnarová

Kydyrbaeva, R. Z.: *Genezis eposa Manas* (Genesis of the Manas Epos). Frunze, Ilim 1980. 289 pp.

The evolution of the Kirghiz national epos *Manas* proved to have been a complex process going on for entire centuries, one that reflected the peripeteia in the historical destinies of the Kirghiz and recorded their contacts with other races and nations in whose close vicinity they lived or under whose domination they succumbed. The authoress of the monograph under review fully accepts this fact and examines the genesis of the epos *Manas* in a close interconnection with problems of the Kirghiz ethnogenesis, their material and spiritual culture.

The process of formation of the Kirghiz epos took place in two basic ethno-cultural regions, i.e. the south-Siberian and the Central-Asian, in consequence of which *Manas* embodies numerous elements common also to the epic of Turkic-Mongol nations. While investigating the various stages in the development of the epos *Manas*, R. Z. Kydyrbaeva follows also how the ethnogenetic bonds among the Turkic nations, the affinity in their national destinies and their close mutual contacts conditioned the analogy of motivation, topic, poetry in the epic of these nations. One may, however, speak solely of parallels not of concordances, for the epos of each of these nations, through the action of a specific national spirit has acquired its unique, distinguishing colour.

In the early epic forms of the Kirghiz epos, the authoress traces out motifs analogous with those found in that of Yakut and Altai epos, and in its classical forms points to Oguz-Mongol parallels. At the time when the epos *Manas* was being transformed into the historico-heroic plane, certain analogies appeared in the names, plot construction, motivation of events and in poetics with those in the Kazakh epos.

In the process of its evolution on the territory of Central Asia, the epos *Manas* became formed as a historico-heroic genre. The archaic layers came to be gradually supplemented with new concrete historical and monumentally realistic images. Epic events of diverse races became unified in a mighty epos.

The historical topic of the epos *Manas* became definitely shaped in the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries, hence, at a time when the Kirghiz came under the domination of the Kalmucks (p. 234). The Kalmuck-Kirghiz conflict contributed to the formation of Manas's image as a heroic defender of the nation, its liberator from under the oppression of the Kalmuck khans. At this stage of the formation of this Kirghiz epos, the hyperbolized image of the enemy acquires new shades, it becomes gradually concretized until it fuses with the ethnonym Kalmuck (p. 234). R. Z. Kydyrbaeva notes that in contrast to Slavic epos in which real historical elements gradually displaced mythical, fantastic motifs, these coexist in the Kirghiz epos and thus give rise to the fusion of an enormous material, starting with myth and ending in concrete historical events.

The authoress also concurrently follows up the evolutionary process of the poetics in the epos, observing how its poetic technique changed from one epoch to the next.

R. Z. Kydyrbaeva's monograph represents a solid contribution in the study not only of the epos *Manas* itself, but also of the epic of Turkic nations generally.

Xénia Celnarová

Kästner, H.: *Phonetik und Phonologie des modernen Hocharabisch* (Phonetics and Phonology of Modern Written Arabic). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1981. 131 pp.

The set of phenomena commonly referred to in the inclusive notion of Arabic diglossia (*'izdiwāj luġawī*) is widely responsible for the spectacular unbalance between the state of research and exact knowledge in the domain of phonetics and phonology of Modern Written Arabic (MWA) and that of modern Arabic dialects. MWA, mostly confined to written communication, despite all its inter-regional and pan-Arab validity, has so far no adequate functional style for everyday oral communication and, for that matter, the phonic aspects of this language are tacitly regarded as a matter of secondary importance.

The present study is an important step forward towards creating a scientific basis for an exact description of phonetic and phonological features of MWA. The book is divided into four parts: 1. Basic notions of phonetics and phonology (*Einige Grundbegriffe der Phonetik und Phonologie*); 2. Modern Written Arabic (*Das moderne Hocharabisch*); 3. Sounds of MWA (*Die Laute des modernen Hocharabisch*), and 4. Sounds in relation to the speech act (*Die Laute im Zusammenhang des Sprechakts*).

After getting acquainted with basic notions of phonetics and phonology, the reader will find in the second part of the book an expertly presented picture of the linguistic situation in the present-day Arab World.

Part three, dealing with the sound system of MWA, represents the descriptive core of the book. Allophonic and phonemic features are distinctly kept apart by two distinct ways of writing. The terminology adopted aims at widening the somewhat narrow scope of some traditionally used concepts, restricted to the Arabic or, at best, Semitic studies. One of these terms, consistently avoided in the present monograph, is that of 'emphasis'. Nevertheless, C. Meinhof's coinage 'Pressartikulation' does not seem to be an ideal substitute for the Semitologists' 'emphasis' since (1) it does not appear to be more generally accepted than the latter and (2) it does not point to the most immediate phonetic issue of *tafxīm* which consists in a quite specific participation of pharyngeal resonator in the act of articulation even if, articulatorily, it is mostly due to a higher 'pressure' of the tongue. The concept of 'pharyngalization' (D. H. Obrecht's 'velarization' (1968)), underlying the binary division between 'pharyngalized' (*mufaxxam*) and 'nonpharyngalized' (*muraqqaq*) consonant phonemes, would have been perhaps more appropriate and, from the point of view of general phonetics, even more readily understood by the specialist.

Extending the feature of 'Pressartikulation' to velars $|q, x, ǧ|$ and pharyngals $|ħ, ʕ|$ seems to be quite unjustified, as far as distinct and quite specific prosodic manifestations of *tafxīm* are concerned. As confirmed by fairly sophisticated instrumental tests (e.g. by the Sonagraph-produced synthetic speech perception tests, cf. Obrecht, 1968), the pharyngalized phonemes display quite specific and exactly measurable formant characteristics. With regard to MWA, these characteristics are decidedly absent in $|x, ǧ|$, even if seemingly present in $|q|$ (here the aversion towards an 'emphatic' classification has a somewhat different background) and, likewise, they are totally absent in $|ħ, ʕ|$. Nevertheless, in the linguistic domain of Colloquial Arabic, all these and even other consonants may secondarily be affected by the feature of pharyngalization ('Pressartikulation'), as it is obvious, for instance, from the Kästner-said 'nicht gepresst' glottal stop in the Egyptian Arabic *'amar* (or, prosodically noted, *'amar*) "moon" or *ba'ara* (*ba'ara*) "cow", etc. Some phonemes which, according to Kästner's premises, cannot be classified along with the feature of 'Pressartikulation', as was the case also with the quoted Egyptian Arabic examples (viz. $|b, m, r|$) may, nevertheless, display prosodic characteristics of *tafxīm* both in Modern Written (inclusively of true Classical) and Colloquial Arabic. Such phoneme is $|ʔ|$, as occurring in numerous *Allāh*-related oath-formulae and invocations.

It should be regretted that, in describing the 'emphatic' or 'gepresst' $|q|$, no mention is made of the fricative realization of this phoneme, viz. $|q̣|$ (fricativeness is, in our notation, marked by a subscribed dash, while pharyngalization by a subscribed dot), which is, from an orthoepic point of view, officially postulated for MWA in the greatest part of the Arab World. The stop realization, occurring, for the most, only in the urban centres of the Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian linguistic area, is, despite this drastic restriction, still presented as a unique one. This misinterpretation of actual

facts is apparently due to a deeply-rooted Orientalistic tradition perpetuated in European centres of Arabic studies.

The relatively exact description of *dād*, as given by the Arab grammarians, seems to suggest a lateral articulation (Cantineau, *Cours*; Ibn Yaʿiš (*Mémorial J. C.*, 55)) and, moreover, it is described as a spirant (ibid.: Sibawayhi), with a number of other features which are no longer identifiable with any sufficient degree of reliability. The old realization of *dād* is, then, no more than a hypothesis which cannot be used as a historical argument for any of the two modern realizations (spirant/stop).

Kästner's book presents at any rate, a precise and exact description of the MWA sound system and the classification proposed is fully consistent with the classificatory criteria and methodological principles adopted. The German terminology is surprisingly adequate to the nationally and classificatorily fairly divergent Arabic terms.

The book will be of interest to linguists, phoneticians and Arabists, both students and specialists.

Ladislav Drozdík

Kurpershoek, P.M.: *The Short Stories of Yūsuf Idrīs, a Modern Egyptian Author*. Studies in Arabic Literature, Vol. VII. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1981. X+222 pp.

Yūsuf Idrīs is since the appearance of his first collection of short stories (*Arxaṣ layālī*, Cairo 1954) generally recognized as the leading representative of this genre in the republican Egypt. Despite this, the attention of Egyptian critics is primarily focused on his theatrical work. The present monograph seems to be the first full-scale discussion of Yūsuf Idrīs' short stories in their literary and historic contexts, documented by a great number of bio- and bibliographical data.

Due attention is paid to whatever might throw some light on Idrīs' thematic preferences, his modes of narration, his use of language, as well as on anything which might be of relevance to his creative techniques. The author of the present study, intimately acquainted with modern Arabic literature, cannot avoid stating his views on a number of general problems associated with the modern literary evolution in Egypt (the genesis of short story: is short story a continuation of the native tradition or rather a product of the development inspired by foreign sources? Etc., etc.).

The author's conclusions, based on a variety of carefully classified data which are unusually rich and complete, will no doubt contribute to a better understanding of the social background, work and creative method of Yūsuf Idrīs. Besides written sources, Kurpershoek's monograph contains data obtained by way of a number of private interviews with this great Egyptian story-teller.

The literary activity of Yūsuf Idrīs is here located into a broader social and cultural context. By gathering information about Idrīs the student will, at the same time, gain

an insight into the social and cultural scene characteristic of post-war Egypt of the fifties, sixties and seventies.

The ingenuity of Yūsuf Idrīs, confirmed by the public interest that his stories and plays have never failed to rouse, as well as by the unanimous attitude of the Egyptian critics, has received, in Kurpershoek monograph, another valuable evidence.

The book will be of interest both to serious students and lovers of modern Arabic literature. The large assortment of relevant Idrīs-centred data, in their present state of completeness, cannot be found elsewhere.

Ladislav Drozdík

Mensching, Horst: *Tunesien. Eine geographische Landeskunde* (Tunisia. A Geographical Survey of the Country). *Wissenschaftliche Länderkunde*, Bd. I. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1979. XVIII + 284 pp. + 15 pp. illustrations.

The third, considerably updated edition of the present study appears as Vol. I of the scientific series *Wissenschaftliche Länderkunde* which aims at presenting 'a living picture of the present-day geography' of any given country.

The present geographical survey of Tunisia should not be taken for an encyclopaedic stock of data related to the country and its natural scenery. The author, following the best methodological traditions of the German school of geography, describes the main structural lines of the Tunisian country and its landscape.

The first part of the book analyses the geographical structure of the country and brings relevant data about the population and the geomorphological structure of Tunisia, its climate and soil conditions. The second part gives landscape characteristics of particular Tunisian regions.

The book has a number of diagrams, statistical tables and maps. At the end of the book the reader will find a rich bibliography and 15 pages of photographic documentation. Tunisian topographical names are given in generally accepted French orthography which is currently used both in Tunisia and Europe.

In view of its high scientific niveau, Mensching's monograph is designed for reasearch workers in the field of Maghribi geography. Nevertheless, it will be useful also to teachers of geography and to all those who seek reliable and updated geographical information about Tunisia.

Ladislav Drozdík

Kossoukhine, N. D. : *Formirovaniye idéino-polititcheskoï stratégiyi v afrikan-skikh stranakh sotsialistitcheskoï oriyentatsii (Guenézis i razvitiye)* (La formation de la stratégie idéo-politique dans les pays d'Afrique à orientation socialiste (La genèse et le développement d'idéologie)). Moscou, Naouka 1980. 261 pp.

Le but de la monographie soviétique qui est l'objet de ce compte-rendu, est d'éclaircir les problèmes de la formation de la pensée révolutionnaire-démocratique dans les pays d'orientation socialiste en Afrique Noire. Naturellement, ce sont les analyses des idées de démocrates révolutionnaires africains sur les étapes de la révolution anti-impérialiste et anti-coloniale africaine et sur les chemins de développement socio-économique des pays de l'Afrique subsaharienne qui sont étroitement liés aux problèmes ci-dessus cités. L'auteur, Docteur des sciences historiques, chef du secteur d'idéologies des pays africains de l'Institut d'Afrique de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S. à Moscou, était en Somalie au commencement des années soixante-dixièmes, à la tête d'une expédition scientifique soviétique. La monographie comprend quatre chapitres avec une introduction et une conclusion et des annexes (les statuts des partis révolutionnaires démocratiques au pouvoir en Guinée-Bissão et des îles du Cap-Vert, du Benin, du Congo et de la Tanzanie), un index de la littérature, un index nominal et un résumé concis en anglais.

Comme pays à orientation socialiste en Afrique, l'auteur cite : l'Algérie, l'Angola, le Benin, la Guinée, la Guinée-Bissão, le Congo, le Madagascar, le Mozambique, les îles du Cap-Vert, les Seychelles, la Tanzanie, les îles São-Thomé et Principe et l'Éthiopie. Le trait caractéristique du développement social contemporain en Afrique est la réalité que ce sont pour la plupart des pays de l'Afrique subsaharienne qui se sont décidés pour l'orientation socialiste. En ce qui concerne le Nord arabe du continent noir, c'est seulement l'Algérie qui est représentée parmi les pays de cette orientation. Simultanément l'auteur constate que « dans maints pays, la formation et le développement de l'orientation socialiste étaient rompus par les forces de la réaction extérieure et intérieure » et comme exemple topique il cite les cas du Ghana, d'Égypte et du Soudan (pp. 5—6), mais il omet de faire mention du Mali et de la Somalie.

Le chapitre premier Les conditions sociales de la naissance de la démocratie révolutionnaire africaine est consacré avant tout aux analyses de classes et de couches sociales particulières et aux rôles joués par celles-ci dans la société africaine. L'approche de l'auteur de la paysannerie africaine souffrit par un fait qui tout reste chez l'auteur en quelque mesure dans l'ombre. Kossoukhine nous met au courant de la mosaïque — qui est d'ailleurs très bigarrée, mais entièrement non-classifiée — des idées des savants soviétiques et étrangers (marxistes et aussi non-marxistes). L'auteur consacre son attention aussi au rôle social du lumpenproletariat qui est une partie immanente du processus de la différenciation de classe et de l'urbanisation de la société africaine.

Le deuxième chapitre La naissance de l'idéologie révolutionnaire-démocratique commence par des réflexions sur le développement de l'opinion publique africaine au cours du mouvement de la libération. Ici Kossoukhine fait de la polémique avec l'auteur soviétique B. S. Yérasoff qui — selon Kossoukhine — n'apprécie pas pleinement l'importance des religions africaines dans la lutte des Africains contre les colonisateurs européens (p. 60). L'auteur fait une présentation de l'ensemble des idées d'auteurs soviétiques sur le problème du nationalisme africain, impliquant que les discussions soviétiques sur le nationalisme dans les pays en voie de développement en Afrique ne sont pas encore terminées. On peut accepter la constatation de l'auteur que le potentiel progressif du nationalisme est bien loin d'être épuisé (p. 68). De même, Kossoukhine introduit la thèse très pénétrante de L. D. Yablotchhoff sur les différences de la formation du nationalisme en Europe et en Afrique, démontrant que le nationalisme panafricain était l'idéologie politique du front de l'unité du combat pour l'indépendance de tout le continent noir (pp. 60—62).

L'auteur caractérise aussi quelques hommes politiques et idéologues démocrates révolutionnaires (Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Ahmed Sékou Touré, Modibo Kéita, Julius Nyerere, Marien Ngouabi). Mais malheureusement, chez Kossoukhine une déformation survient de l'image de la personnalité de Modibo Kéita, Président de la République du Mali et secrétaire général du parti au pouvoir de l'Union Soudanaise — RDA. C'est spécialement la description des dernières années du gouvernement de Modibo (1967—1968) avant le coup d'état militaire contre-révolutionnaire du 19 novembre 1968 qui est très simplifiée chez Kossoukhine. Cette partie de la monographie est privée d'événements historiques importants, ou ces événements ne sont pas placés dans la chronologie véritable. Par exemple, le Comité National de Défense de la Révolution (CNDR) ne prit pas naissance en été 1967 dans la crise politique malienne — comme l'auteur écrit — mais il se formait déjà au commencement de mars 1966, peu après le renversement de Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Président ghanéen, démocratiquement orienté, par le putsch militaire contre-révolutionnaire du 24 février 1966. Le but de la formation du CNDR dans la République du Mali était l'élimination du danger contre-révolutionnaire analogique dans le pays. En été 1967 dans une situation de crise, Modibo Kéita fit dissoudre — le 22 Août 1967 — le Bureau Politique National de Défense de la Révolution (CNDR), dirigé par Modibo Kéita, qui prit le pouvoir supérieur au Mali. Aussi la constatation de Kossoukhine, que Modibo Kéita aurait réalisé ces remaniements personnels dans l'intérêt de fortifier l'influence chinoise au Mali, n'est pas tout à fait précise au point de vue historique. La vérité historique est que dans le CNDR Modibo Kéita ne donnait pas des positions non seulement aux éléments profrançais du Politbureau US-RDA dissous (comme par exemple, le ministre Jean-Marie Koné), mais aussi éléments pro-chinois (tel l'écrivain et journaliste Mamadou

Gologo, l'auteur du livre célèbre Mao Tsé-toung et la République Chinoise Populaire).

Le troisième chapitre Les traits principaux de la plateforme socio-politique de la démocratie révolutionnaire africaine décrit la transition des démocrates révolutionnaires africains vers la reconnaissance de l'existence des classes sociales et de la lutte des classes dans la société africaine, l'évaluation de l'étape contemporaine de la révolution, la formation de la politique économique des démocrates révolutionnaires et la construction du parti type avant-garde.

Le quatrième chapitre L'extension des idées révolutionnaires démocratiques dans les masses traite de la formation de l'idéologie révolutionnaire-démocratique comme forme régnante de la conscience sociale, les positions des forces progressives en relation avec la religion et la philosophie traditionnelle, et aussi les directions principales de l'éducation politique des travailleurs.

La monographie de Kossoukhine — quelques manques partiels à part — est un résumé actuel des problèmes confrontant les pays africains à orientation socialiste. Elle contribue à une connaissance marxiste-léniniste des questions fondamentales dans le développement politique du continent noir.

Josef Poláček

Moore, Gerald: *Twelve African Writers*. London, Hutchinson University Library for Africa 1980. 327 pp.

The twelve essays which make up this volume are of the generally high quality of comment and criticism one has come to associate with Gerald Moore's name and his extensive critical and editorial work. This volume started as a revision and expansion of his well known book *Seven African Writers* published in 1962, one of the first introductions to the early creative work of seven promising African authors. The new volume is more than just a revised and enlarged version of the original book, though of course, some degree of continuity has been maintained. It claims a continental dimension, it has been designed with an eye to maintain "a representative spread between West, Central, South and East Africa; a balance between Francophone and Anglophone writers; a balance between works of poetry, fiction and drama", and to avoid the category of writers who have offered us only a single work, however brilliant. The aim is to attempt a critical appraisal of individual writers, to trace each author's individual pattern of development and also to provide some sort of critical comparison and analysis. Two of the original seven authors, namely David Diop and Amos Tutuola, were omitted in favour of writers who have risen to prominence in the intervening years.

Despite the use of the above criteria, the selection of authors was not free of a subjective element, as Gerald Moore himself points out. The list of writers includes L. S. Senghor, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Sembène Ousmane, Camara Laye, Alex La Guma, Chinua Achebe, Tchicaya U Tam'si, Okot p'Bitek, Mongo Beti, Wole Soyinka, Kofi Awoonor and Ngugi wa Thiong'o.

There is a much needed and lengthy assessment of the poetry of L. S. Senghor and Tchicaya U Tam'si, a carefully worded consideration of the symbolism in Camara Laye's novels and useful surveys on Chinua Achebe, Sembène Ousmane, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Alex La Guma and Ezekiel Mphahlele, each in its own way valuable in offering specialized comment on individual authors and their works and thus adding to the developing literary history of Africa. In a chapter on Soyinka, G. Moore, author of a full-scale critical commentary on Soyinka's work published in 1971 and revised in 1978, isolates and pins down what he thinks to be the principal theme in Wole Soyinka's dramatic writing. In the chapters devoted to Kofi Awoonor and Okot p'Bitek, Moore discusses the function and significance of oral traditional literature of Ghana and East Africa respectively, since both writers are working in constant relationship with a specific literary tradition, namely the Ewe and Lwo, and their literary work, which is a continuation and development of the specific poetic and musical context, offers an interesting comparison.

The introduction is a careful attempt to define a critical system by which African literatures can be judged in terms of the literary and extraliterary factors they must contain. When dealing with the crucial question — what kind of criticism will best serve African literatures, what critical standards are appropriate to the discussion of African literatures, Moore makes a case for a complex approach, taking into account form, structure and ideology.

This collection is valuable for the variety of insights and opinions it presents on twelve best African authors as well as for the factual material offered. Most welcome is a fairly extensive bibliography of the works of the most important African writers, not only of the twelve included, as well as suggestions for further reading. This volume can be recommended to all those interested in modern Anglophone and Francophone African literatures.

Viera Pawliková

Schild, Ulla (Ed.): *The East African Experience. Essays on English and Swahili Literature*. 2nd Janheinz Jahn-Symposium, Mainzer Afrika-Studien, Bd. 4. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag 1980. 134 pp.

Most of the essays comprised in this volume were originally presented at the Second International Janheinz Jahn-Symposium which was held at Johannes

Gutenberg-University at Mainz, from 22—26 April 1977. Among those taking part in this conference on East African writing in English and Swahili were Abdilatif Abdalla, Ernst Damman, Ebrahim Hussein, Grant Kamenju, Euphrase Kezilahabi, Ulla Schild and Mineke Schipper-de Leeuw. Since two of the original participants, namely Abdilatif Abdalla and Grant Kamenju did not send in their papers for publication, Ulla Schild, the editor, augmented the volume with contributions by Elena Bertoncini on two contemporary Swahili writers Muhammed Said Abdulla and Euphrase Kezilahabi, Patricia Mbughuni on *The Theme of a New Society in the Kiswahili Prose Tradition: From Oral to Contemporary Literature* and the Polish scholar Rajmund Ohly entitled *The Bitter Attraction of the Bourgeoisie*.

In Ebrahim Hussein's essay on *Traditional African Theatre* and Mineke Schipper-de Leeuw's discussion of the *Origin and Forms of Drama in the African Context* we are given informative and stimulating insights into aspects of African drama and theatre and the variety of opinions and attitudes that prevail concerning the existence or non-existence of traditional African theatre. The discussion and critical analysis of the developments in the Swahili novel by one of the best Swahili contemporary novelists E. Kezilahabi is an eloquent voice of genuine literary criticism. In *Imaginative Writing Since Independence: the East African Experience* Chris Wanjala gives an outline of the peculiar elements in the formation and evolution of East African writing.

Of the essays contributed by non-Africans, Professor Dammann's piece on Muhamadi bin Abu Bekr bin Omar Kidjumwa Mashii offers a scholarly comment on this Swahili poet and his literary work. Another diametrically different subject, East African popular literature, receives fine attention from Ulla Schild.

It is an exciting collection of essays, each of which is in its particular way, important in contributing to the developing literary history of East Africa. Particularly impressing and important in this regard are the essays dealing with modern Swahili literature. R. Ohly's controversial contribution whets one's appetite for his unpublished study *Aggressive Prose. A case study in Kiswahili prose of the seventies. Dar es Salaam, Institute of Swahili Research 1975*, referred to in Kezilahabi's essay as "perhaps the most important major work on Swahili Prose" (p. 77).

By offering specialized comments on individual Swahili writers and their works and a number of reassessments and brief synopses of developments in East African Anglophone and Swahili literatures, the essays in general provide good overviews of subjects which are still little known. All students of modern Swahili literature should be aware of this book which will undoubtedly be widely referred to in the coming years.

Viera Pawliková

Karugire, S. R.: *A Political History of Uganda*. Nairobi—London, Heinemann Educational Books 1980. 247 pp., 4 appendices, index.

Professor Karugire's latest book — he is the author of *A History of the Kingdom of Nkore to 1896* (Clarendon) and *Nuwa Mbaguta and the Establishment of British Rule in Ankole* (East African Literature Bureau) — claimed by the editors to be "the first comprehensive account of the history of Uganda by a Ugandan scholar", covers roughly the last five centuries or so of the history of the region that later came to be known as Uganda. The book consists of six chapters, 247 pages of text, together with four appendices which reproduce the texts of some legal documents, such as e.g. memoranda concerning the issue of Bunyoro's lost counties (Appendices 1 and 2) or the 18 points given by the Uganda army under Major General Amin in justification for taking over powers of government on 25 January 1971 (Appendix 4). According to the author, the date around A.D. 1500 was chosen as the starting point since, at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, the different parts of Uganda were settled by the predecessors of its present inhabitants and it was then that "the present Ugandan Societies began to take their modern shape". The story ends on the eve of the military coup which brought Major-General Idi Amin Dada to power in January 1971. Any temptation to start as far back in history as the Stone Age and work forwards was rejected by the author in the assumption that "the labour involved in making this my starting point would (not) be justified by the returns" and that period of Ugandan history is not strictly relevant to the themes discussed in his work.

The book's coverage seems somewhat unbalanced in favour of the twentieth century and the colonial period. Only one chapter — some thirty pages — is devoted to the pre-colonial setting while the remaining five chapters — are concerned with events from 1860 onwards. Of these, one chapter — roughly fifty pages — on the period from 1860 to 1900 discusses the origins of the religious and political polarization which has so marred the modern history of Uganda and was one of the reasons which prevented the growth of a united nationalist liberation movement. In Chapters Three, Four and Five devoted to the colonial period — Coalescence and Differentiation (1900—1921), The Administrative Framework (1921—1960) and A House Divided Against Itself (1921—1960), the author continues with his description of religious divisions, political antagonisms and administrative practices which pervaded Uganda during the colonial period and were alive on the eve of independence and even after the transfer of power. Disappointing is, however, in this reviewer's opinion, Karugire's discussion and assessment of Obote's policies and the struggle for power and its maintenance during his period in Chapter Six entitled Triumph of Hope over Experience (1960—1971), which pays no attention whatsoever to Obote's adoption of a socialist position, his declaration of A Common Man's Charter and the Move to the Left. Discussion of social and economic factors and of

socio-economic and class differentiation is omitted not only from the chapter on independent Uganda, but also from the parts of the book covering the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

The impression one gets from perusing Karugire's Political History of Uganda suggests that the volume might have been intended as a textbook at African universities. Unfortunately it has serious flaws. Some of these are stylistic. Numerous proof reading and other errors also mar the text and should be eliminated if it is to be ever used as an introductory volume for wide circulation. Information has been culled mainly from familiar and readily available secondary sources. Still the author's concern seems to have been a reappraisal of the many accepted truths, assessments and generalizations on the history and politics of Uganda. Unfortunately, one just finds it difficult to agree with his claim (see p. 76) that "some of the Protestant chiefs were suspicious of Lugard's motives and were reluctant to sign the treaty", and instead is tempted to read Catholic in place of Protestant. Some historians of Uganda may also disagree with his periodization of Ugandan history. The book would also be improved with a bibliography either for each chapter or at the end of it and with some maps showing precolonial societies and states, trade routes and migrations.

In spite of serious weaknesses in Professor Karugire's attempt to grapple with the task to write a really comprehensive history of Uganda, his discussion of the developments of Ugandan politics does provide an individual interpretation by a Ugandan scholar of the history of his own country.

Viera Pawliková

Nachtigal, Gustav: *Sahara and Sudan*. Volume II. *Kawar, Bornu, Kanem, Borku, Ennedi*. Translated from the original German with an introduction and notes by Allan G. B. Fisher and Humphrey J. Fisher. London, C. Hurst and Company 1980. xv + 540 pp.

When, in 1971, Volume IV of the first ever English translation of Gustav Nachtigal's account of his 1869—1874 journey through Sahara and Sudan appeared, many found it just incredible that for a whole century only those, whose knowledge of German allowed them to use the original edition or those who managed to secure for themselves the shortened and nowadays rare French version, were able to consult a source of such primary importance. Now, after Volumes I (1974) and II were published, the initial stir is calming down and the whole project seems to be successfully nearing its completion. One only wishes to express the hope that the increase in intervals between the publication of the particular volumes will not prove a rule, for then the appearance of the last one might be expected somewhere towards the end of the 1980s.

The eight Nachtigal books, originally published in three volumes, have been divided in the English edition into four pairs. Thus, the volume under review comprises Book III, "Journey to Bornu" and Book IV, "Journey to Kanem and Borku". Out of Nachtigal's more than five years in Sahara and the Sudan, it covers a two years' period between October 1869 and November 1871. It begins with a sejour in Fezzan where the German explorer inquired into the murder of the Dutch traveller Miss Tinne and continues with the journey to Bornu through several villages of the famous Kawar salt producing oasis, where Nachtigal's caravan spent two odd weeks. The largest part of Book III, and actually of the whole of Nachtigal's oeuvre (for in no other place had he tarried as long as 18 months altogether), is concerned with Bornu. Out of 500 pages of Volume II some 200 are devoted to his first stay in its capital, Kuka, where, with a detached scholarship typical of him, he scanned the conditions at the Shaykh Umar's court, his government, the army, the dress and food of the people, trade conditions, etc.

The second part of the present volume, i.e. Book IV of Nachtigal's 2,000-page account, deals with his eight months' excursion to Kanem and Borku. Nachtigal's detailed observations culminate in an elaborate analysis of the peoples of the eastern Sahara based on his own rich linguistic material. The last pages of the book find Nachtigal on his way back to Kuka.

The importance of the whole project of the English edition of Nachtigal can hardly be overemphasized. The world Africanist community, which seems to be predominantly English speaking, is finally provided with one of the basic primary sources for the study of Central Sahara and Sudan. Although the larger part of the area covered by Nachtigal belongs today to the francophone zone (with the important exceptions of Bornu and Darfur), the English version will certainly prove to be more accessible to the peoples concerned than the century old German original. However, it is not only the edition or the translation of the work that deserves commendation of Fishers' sensibly complemented notes and references make the whole picture designed by Nachtigal's account more complex to the benefit of all readers. Nevertheless, one reproach has to be made: a book of this nature needs a map. If, as the case perhaps was, none of the original Nachtigal's maps suited the regroupment of books into volumes, the editors should not have hesitated to supplement it with one of their own.

Ján Voderadský

Abitbol, Michel: *Tombouctou et les Arma. De la conquête marocaine du Soudan nigérien en 1591 à l'hégémonie de l'Empire Peul du Macina en 1833* (Timbuktu and the Arma. From the Moroccan Conquest of Niger Sudan in 1591 to the Hegemony of Macina Fulani Empire in 1833). Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose 1979. 295 pp.

When considering the history of a 'post-imperial' period of any region, especially if this is, as usual, accompanied by a decline in sources, one is always quite liable to slide into a hypothesis of 'overall decadence'. M. Abitbol's book is a good example of how this temptation to prejudge can and should be overcome. The author has undertaken to re-examine one of the themes of African past that had suffered from such oversimplification. The history of the three great empires of Western Sudan, i.e. Ghana, Mali, and Songhay, used to end off quite customarily (often referring to sources written by local chroniclers linked to the fallen dynasty) in a contrasting picture of ensuing confusion and anarchy from which Western Sudan was never completely to retrieve. As M. Abitbol's work reveals, it has not been that much simple. Relying for the most part on Arabic sources, some of which were long thought to be unexisting, he has succeeded in writing quite a comprehensive and continuous history of what originated as the first outpost of a would-be great Moroccan empire and soon turned into a semi-independent Paschalik with Timbuktu as its capital. The author is far from letting his pioneering enthusiasm lead him astray to exaggeration. He does not eschew the fact that after the battle of Tondibi which put an end to the last of the mediaeval autochthonous empires of Western Sudan, the region has been marked by stagnation and decadence but instead of satisfying himself with this rather vague assertion he tries to ascertain its actual measure. The Paschalik is not presented as a commensurate successor to Songhay, neither is its limited significance being concealed. What the author wanted to emphasize most was the continuity of the local power and political structures throughout the period under study. Succeeding in this, the task he set for himself at the beginning can be said to have been well met.

The book has been divided into four main parts. The first one presents the background to the 1591 battle of Tondibi which became a turning point in the history of Western Sudan. The author begins his analysis with a survey of the situation in Western Maghrib and Western Sudan in the sixteenth century, paying special attention to the unification of Morocco and the great imperial plans and motives of the new Sa'did rulers, which resulted in the conquest of Songhay, by then already in decline, and in the establishment of the Paschalik in the region of the Niger bend.

The second part of M. Abitbol's study has been devoted to the political evolution of the Paschalik up to the middle of the eighteenth century, the principal issues of the analysis being the gradual detachment of the new province from the metropolis, the crystallization of a class of the ruling Arma aristocracy, the initial consolidation and

integration of the Paschalik, replaced after a few decades of actually independent development by political instability and segmentation, the relations between the Arma and their neighbours, etc. The author points out that the dynastic disputes, resulting in periods of interregna did not necessarily mean an overall anarchy, since among the Arma there had evolved various voluntary institutions that managed to make up for the paralysed government.

A social and economic analysis of the Arma society, presented in the next part of the book serves well the purpose to design a more thorough picture of the life in Timbuktu and its surroundings during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. A considerable attention is paid to the examination of the trans-Saharan trade which, according to the author, was far from deteriorating and kept playing a major part in the economy of the Paschalik and the whole of Western Sudan. Although a total lack of maps is perceptible throughout the book, it is probably this chapter that has suffered most from the omission.

In the concluding part of his study, M. Abitbol traces the history of the Arma state from the middle of the eighteenth century to the last days before its downfall. He shows that even after the 1833 fatal defeat of the Pascha Uthman's army by the emerging power of the Fulani from Macina, and up to the establishment of the French control over the area, the Arma factor had to be reckoned with in local affairs.

The book is appended by a complete list of the Paschas of Timbuktu, the genealogies of the ruling Arma families and a few extracts from the Arab sources of which many more are to be found in the bibliography. It is a welcome contribution to the study of Western Sudan — Maghrib relations and the history of the Niger bend after Tondibi, in particular.

Ján Voderadský

Vikør, Knut S. : *The Oasis of Salt. The History of Kavar, a Saharan Centre of Salt Production*. Bergen, Universitetet i Bergen, Hovudoppgåve i historie hausten 1979. 238 pp.

Because the title of this book may evoke suspicion that this is just another example of historical particularism, it should be noted right at the beginning that the author's intention was 'to lean in the opposite direction of insularity' and that he keeps to his aim throughout most of the book. However, that this could have been achieved, is certainly also due to the nature of the subject under study. For Kavar, as seen by a historian, is not only a small group of oasis in the middle of Sahara, an island with less than 4000 inhabitants. Being for centuries on the periphery of various surrounding powers, it has at the same time become kind of a centre — a meeting place between 'white' North Africa and 'black' Sudan, between the peoples of western and

eastern Sahara. It is within this wider regional perspective that the author has treated his history of Kavar. Nevertheless, in an apparent attempt to avoid sliding to the other margin of the particular-general scale and making 'sweeping statements on a shaky basis', he keeps bringing in a great amount of local data.

Dr. Vikør's thesis can be generally divided into two parts. The first one (i.e. Chapters 2—5), besides describing the region's geography and population, is a study of Kavar's principal characteristic and *raison d'être* — the salt industry. It begins with a general view of salt in Sahel and Sahara and then concentrates on an examination of the Kavar deposits. Although the author's analysis gains from the complexity of his approach, the inclusion of some technological data, such as chemical formulas of various salt mixtures was perhaps more than a work of this kind would necessarily require. More clearly connected to the historical essence of the study are the excursions to the sociology of Kavar salt production, presented in the same chapter. A separate chapter on the trade in salt shows how Kavar, dependent for its subsistence on salt exports and food imports, is firmly linked to the economies of millet producing neighbouring areas. Since the picture of Kavar designed in the first part of the book is quite revealing, it is rather a pity that fresh data, to confront the examined material, which is mainly from the nineteenth century, were not available to the author.

The second part of the book (i.e. Chapters 6—9) is a study of the evolution of Kavar's history up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Here, in contrast to the previous chapters, Kavar is seen in a wider regional and interregional context. Of most value seems to be the chapter on the early history, i.e. seventh to thirteenth century, as reconstructed from Arabic sources. The author's evidently profound knowledge of Arabic and his capacity to create reasonable historical interpretations leads to an interesting, though naturally only partial, picture of Kavar at that time. All the texts analysed in this chapter are appended to the book in Arabic and English version (pp. 159—176).

The chapter on Kanem-Bornu hegemony over Kavar (c. 1100—1700) is followed by another concerning the period of Tuareg control (c. 1700—1900). The chronology of historical developments ends off with an outline of Kavar's political, economic, and religious life in the nineteenth century.

In the last chapter the author shows that the French initial hesitation over what to do with so poor a region as Kavar, acquired by the 1899 Franco-British accord, resulted in a swift colonial take-over only because of the fears of this strategic post being endangered by Turkish-German imperial ambitions. At the end of this chapter the attitudes of all parts concerned towards the occupation of Kavar are examined.

Besides two appendices and a glossary of Arabic, Hausa, Kanuri, Teda, and Temajegh terms used in the text, the book is also provided with an extensive bibliography confirming the author's extensive knowledge background. If, especially owing to the fact that the author could not base his research on fieldwork in Kavar,

we agree with him that his thesis cannot be anything but a preliminary study, we should add that it is quite a comprehensive and a good one.

Ján Voderadský

Smith, Robert S.: *The Lagos Consulate 1851—1861*. London and Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press Ltd. 1978. x + 188 pp.

The decade 1851—1861 was a crucial period in the history of Lagos and its adjoining hinterland. Lagos became the first outpost occupied by the British in what later emerged as Nigeria and the history of its conquest should shed some light on the beginnings of a process that resulted in an extensive colonial takeover. Although, as suggested by the title, only a short period and a small corner of West African coastline have been examined, when put into a wider context the possibilities of such microanalysis are far-reaching.

The author begins his study with a brief overview of Lagos history which has not been too rich in sources since, in contrast to the Yoruba inland, it was only with the coming of the Europeans and with the expansion of the Atlantic slave trade that Lagos turned into a place of some significance. Having provided the reader with the historical background, the author sets out to analyse the period 1851—1861 in more detail.

With the expansion of British interests in Africa the strategic posts, such as Lagos, gained in importance. Although at the beginning of the 1850s the hectic scramble for new dependencies was yet a few decades off, the interaction of various factors (the continuance of the slave trade vehemently fought by the British, the promising perspectives of the emerging 'legitimate trade', the concentration of missionary activity in the area, together with the local dynastic disputes which the British enthusiastically undertook to resolve) led to what by then many considered as an overinvolvement in Africa: the conquest of Lagos, the enthronement of a loyal oba and the beginning of an 'informal British rule'. The author shows that although "the defence of Lagos in November and December 1851 was one of the most determined attempts by Africans to resist the conquest of their continent by the European invaders of the 19th century", Kosoko and his warriors had little real chance to survive.

The largest part of the book is devoted to the examination of the attitudes and activities of British consuls established in Lagos by the treaty with the installed oba Akitoye, the main problems that faced them being the threat to Lagos from the exiled oba Kosoko, the permanent danger of Dahomey invasion of Abeokuta — the centre of missionary activity, the continuing slave shipments from Whydah, the instability of the palm oil supplies to the market, etc. The chronology of the 'consular decade' events ends with the examination of the annexation of Lagos in 1861.

At the beginning of the book the author contemplated to assess the causes of British interference in the affairs of Lagos, the 1851 and 1861 irruptions, in particular. He identified the previous explanations as unsatisfactory owing to their unambiguousness or, as he calls it, the monocausality of terms. Instead, he suggests a more complex approach taking into consideration the interaction between different causes and motives, both external and internal. However, he seems to have concentrated too much on the latter. Bearing in mind the fact that he aimed at elucidating what in fact were the actions of the British government, he has not paid adequate attention to the analysis of the attitudes of the metropolis. The fate of Lagos was not decided on the spot and it cannot be fully explained in local terms. If the stress is put on internal factors, the overall context, in this case the historical connection with the emerging expansionism of European imperialism into Africa, remains blurred. Nevertheless, the book can be praised for its examination of the British envoys' share in the policy of their government towards Africa.

Ján Voderadský

Olaloku, F. A. (Ed.): *Structure of the Nigerian Economy*. London, Basingstoke and Lagos, Macmillan Press Ltd and University of Lagos Press 1979. ix + 270 pp.

This book, published in the Macmillan International College Editions, is written by members of the Economics Department at the University of Lagos and deals with the main sectors and aspects of the Nigerian economy. It follows its development since approximately a few years before independence up to the middle of the 1970s. Thanks to what seems to have been a firm editorship, the book does not consist of a mere compound of disparate essays; on the contrary, the uniform structure of the individual contributions and their interrelation make the whole picture presented intelligible and coherent.

Following the introduction which presents a general view of the Nigerian economy with special attention paid to the changes in the sectorial distribution of the Gross Domestic Product in the period after independence, the next three chapters consider in more detail the basic sectors of the economy, i.e. agriculture, mining and manufacturing. In an examination of Nigerian agriculture S. Tomori characterizes the major products and points to the problems standing in the way of the growth of this sector. Throughout the chapter he stresses the importance of agriculture which is still the mainstay of Nigerian economy — a reality somehow dimmed by the petrol euphoria of the first half of the 1970s. Although manufacturing is one of the fastest growing branches of the Nigerian economy, its contribution to the GDP remains small. Highlighting some basic problems confronting this sector, A. Adejugbe calls for its reorientation from consumer to capital goods production, diversification of its uneven spatial structure, further government intervention, etc. A chapter examining

the role of mining and quarrying in the Nigerian economy concentrates quite understandably on petrol — the most important single factor of the unprecedented post-civil war economic growth. However, R. E. Ubogu finds it appropriate to remind that all mineral deposits will one day be exhausted and therefore no country can regard the extraction of its mineral wealth as its main goal. Instead, he suggests, the petrol should be looked upon as a temporal means enabling Nigeria to reach one of its prime long-term ends — rapid and diversified industrialization.

Chapter five begins with a few thoughts on infrastructure in general and then goes on examining its state and its relevance to the development of Nigeria. For those satisfied with and sure of Nigeria's manifold leading position in Africa I. I. Ukpong's look at some basic infrastructure services, such as education, health, power and water supply, transportation, and communication issues a monition: for as seen from his analysis, when per capita ratios of many otherwise impressive figures on infrastructure facilities are calculated, Nigeria finds itself in many fields below the all African average. E. R. Fapohunda's essay on Nigerian labour force points to the paradoxicalness of the problem of the labour market: although there is an acute shortage of persons with skills strategic for development, there is also unemployment and under-utilization of available human resources. The author presents a comprehensive survey of the nation's labour characteristics and concludes her contribution with an outline of two decades of manpower planning in Nigeria.

The majority of chapters that follow concentrate on various government techniques and policies employed in the management of the Nigerian economy. S. Tomori and F. O. Fajana examine the evolution of the Nigerian machinery of planning and discuss the country's planning experience. Although the overall effect of planning on economy has been beneficial, especially with regard to economic growth, the authors find it essential that the planning machinery and technical quality of plans be improved and the various constraints on effective plan implementation eliminated. J. Umo's contribution undertakes a brief survey of capital formation and its financing in the developing economy of Nigeria. Besides a statistical description, structure and the 1950—1970 history of capital formation in Nigeria, more theoretical topics, such as the role of capital formation in the development process or problems of its defining and measuring, are included. Chapters Nine and Ten, written by F. A. Olaloku, begin with a review of the Nigerian monetary and fiscal organizational and institutional framework and follow with an appraisal of their respective policies. Both monetary and fiscal policies actions are evaluated in terms of three phases as distinguished by the author. Thus, the first one, comprising the early years from about independence to 1963, had its economic policy primarily aimed at consolidation, the 1964—1966 period's main concern was to arrest inflation and the growing balance of payments crisis, and since 1967, according to the author, attention has been focused on prosecuting the civil war and coping with the problems which arose from it. However, with 1979 as the publishing date of the

book, the up-to-present openness of this phase seems undue. Even by 1976, when these chapters might have been written, the Nigerian economy, it appears, was no longer dominated by the war reconstruction efforts.

A comprehensive study of Nigeria's external economic relations is presented by F. O. Fajana. The author's examination of the structure and direction of Nigeria's exports and imports after World War Two considers the most significant changes that occurred during this period — the ascendancy of petroleum in the export list, the growth in the share of capital goods in imports and the decline in Britain's share in Nigeria's trade. The extreme importance of the external sector to the economy of Nigeria is pointed out and measures providing for its further expansion are suggested. The last chapter reviews briefly the post-independence evolution of the Nigerian economy and proposes the chief policy conclusions which have emerged from the foregoing analysis.

The book is well supplied with tables and provided with an index. Although it is designed primarily as a textbook for students, it will be of use to anyone seeking information on Nigerian economy and its post-independence developments.

Ján Voderadský

Eades, J. S.: *The Yoruba Today*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1980. xix + 188 pp.

This book published in the Changing Cultures series concentrates on the social characteristics of the Yoruba, one of the largest cultural and linguistic groups in Nigeria and the whole of West Africa. If, in the extremely complex ethnic structure of sub-Saharan Africa there are any such groups which, owing to their population, common history, language, and culture might aspire to be termed nations, one of them certainly is the Yoruba. Although the author does not explicitly view them from this perspective, and throughout his book he rather stresses the diversity of the material under study, it only comes out as his own way of designing the general by means of the particular and the overall picture of Yoruba identity is not being spoiled.

It is quite right that 'today' in the title did not prevent the author from a short excursion to 'yesterday'. One need not be a historian to recognize that the present can only be fully understood against the background of the past and in a study on social developments of a people whose image of the current world is characteristically related to historical events, this method becomes essential. It is in the first two chapters that the brief historical survey, concentrating on the events of the 19th century which created the framework within which the social developments of the twentieth century have taken place, is presented.

In the second part of his book (i.e. Chapters 3—6) Dr. Eades discusses Yoruba

social structure, the main themes of his optional analysis being the changing patterns of urbanism, kinship organization and its adaptation to economic change, the structure of economic opportunity, the modification of traditional political institutions and their incorporation into the colonial and post-colonial state, and the interaction between Yoruba belief systems and the rapidly spreading world religions.

In a part on town-dwelling tendencies among the Yoruba, the author argues that the oft-stressed uniqueness of Yoruba urbanism should not be overemphasized as the process of development of Yoruba towns before the nineteenth century was similar to that which took place in a number of other West African states and Yoruba urbanism only assumed its characteristic form after the nineteenth century civil wars which resulted in an extensive migration throughout Yorubaland.

The next chapter deals with the major forms of economic opportunity available nowadays among the Yoruba, namely agriculture, trade and marketing, and craft production. Perhaps more attention should have been paid to the wage earning sector whose importance, especially since the Nigerian petrol boom of the early seventies, is on a permanent increase. It might also be of interest to inquire into the opportunities this development (intensified by substantial nigerization) brought to the opposite stratum of the Yoruba social spectrum.

A short overview of traditional Yoruba political organization, presented in the fifth chapter, is followed by the examination of the changes inflicted by the often ignorant intervention of the colonial administration, and leads to the evaluation of Yoruba local and national politics in independent Nigeria. Of much interest are the author's reflections on the role of traditional rulers in modern politics. His argument that it has been the overall political instability, naturally reinforcing the old communal and home-town loyalties, that has enabled the traditional rulers to maintain their influence, is quite convincing.

Chapter six begins with an examination of the principles of traditional belief, touching on subjects such as the Yoruba cosmos, witchcraft, divination and healing and goes on to discuss the changes that Islam and Christianity, nowadays approximately equal in strength among the Yoruba, have brought with them. The author shows how the Yoruba have succeeded in adapting the world religions to meet their needs and it is probably here that one should look for the reasons of the peaceful coexistence of three such distinct belief systems in one community.

The final and a most interesting chapter begins with an overview of the historical development of social strata among the Yoruba, but the main emphasis is laid on present-day stratification. Far from being static, Dr. Eades' analysis concentrates on the opportunities for inter-strata upward mobility and on particular strata's tendencies to resort to what he calls 'network' (i.e. ethnic) or 'class' strategies. Although not overtly stated by the author, it comes out of the discussion that the class protest cannot bring long-term results unless the regionally and ethnic biased political parties are replaced by ideologically and class-oriented ones.

Besides its appeal to general readers interested in West Africa or sociology of developing nations Dr. Eades' book will be of interest to all Yoruba specialists. The latter will certainly appreciate the rich employment of Yoruba denominations to specify most of the examined categories, and an extensive bibliography, not only well summarized at the end of the book but abundantly referred to throughout the discussion.

Ján Voderadský

Shick, Tom W.: *Behold the Promised Land. A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth-Century Liberia*. Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press 1980. xv + 208 pp.

The Afro-American settlement in Liberia has never exceeded the bounds of an enclave and its significance for the history of Africa has remained limited. Nevertheless, it attracts many a historians' attention as the materialization of the nineteenth century ideas and plans to conclude one tragic chapter in the history of mankind, that of the Atlantic slave trade, by the resettlement of Africans and their Americanized descendants back to the continent of their origin. It is in this wider Atlantic context that the author has inlayed his history of Liberian settlers. He goes even further and at the end of the book attempts at what might be called a comparative theory of the settlers' society in general.

The first chapter of T. Shick's study examines the situation in America with a new social group of freed slaves gaining in number and importance. The author points to the fact that the opinions on how to deal with this emerging problem differed among the white as well as among the coloured population. It was due to those enthusiasts of both races who considered the settlement option as a positive solution, that the creation of the American Colonization Society and the first shipment of 'immigrants' took place.

The account of the first experiences of the settlers on West African shores reveals that the familiar expression 'planting the colony' was but a mere euphemism for the often disastrous attempts to settle in the new environment. It was only the nationalistic zeal, "the deep sense of mission" that kept the pioneers' initial idealism alive.

Chapter three examines the role family and various community institutions, such as religious, benevolent, temperance, literary or economic societies and associations, played in the establishment of a distinctive 'settler standard'. The histories of the fortunes of three old Monrovia families recorded partly from their correspondence enliven the analysis and make the whole picture of the sequestered idealistic society of the early settlers more vivid.

However, although idealism constitutes the essence of any settling society, the two cannot go together for too long: to survive, the latter requires a certain degree of dynamism which the former usually finds itself unable to live through. Such has also been the experience of Afro-American settlers in Liberia. The sudden arrival of thousands of Africans recaptured by abolitionists caught the small coastal enclaves by surprise and almost changed the conservative settlers in Liberia. The sudden arrival of thousands of Africans recaptured by abolitionists caught the small coastal enclaves by surprise and almost changed the conservative settler standard set up by the pioneers of colonization. The new immigration wave led to the establishment of a second centre in the St. Paul River valley which was later to challenge the pre-eminence of Monrovia in the Republic. The expansion into the hinterland was accompanied by the inevitable contacts with the local populations — another factor that altered the settler society in spite of its apparent seclusive tendencies. Although the settlers expected the cultural influence to move in one direction, the exchange has become reciprocal. These are, roughly speaking, the main themes the author subjects to his analysis through Chapters 3 to 6. He is far from strictly following the chronology of events and rather tends to concentrate his prose around chosen topics, yet the continuity of the account is not being spoiled. Perhaps one trifle might be commented upon here. As the discussion goes on the author speaks more often of Liberia's governments, presidents or elections but he seems to devote inadequate treatment to an event of major importance that preceded all this — the declaration of an independent Republic.

A brief examination of Liberia's political developments in the second half of the nineteenth century, presented within a wider perspective of economic and international realities, pays most attention to the analysis of the 1871 crisis leading to the overthrow of the government of president Roye. This is followed by an excursion into American history that serves to explain why the flow of immigrants to Liberia almost ceased after the end of the Civil War there. The last chapter is a comparison of Liberian settler experience with the settler societies in South Africa, Australia and Argentina. It gives evidence of the author's theoretical insight and his ability to make interesting generalizations.

The book, well designed and written in a readable style, is provided with maps, tables, photographs, all of which enhance its thoroughness. It will be appreciated by all students of the history of Liberia or the settler societies in general.

Ján Voderadský

Kum'a N'dumbe III, Alexandre: *Hitler voulait l'Afrique* (Hitler Wanted Africa). Paris, L'Harmattan 1980. 391 pp.

World War Two is a subject which has been examined from many points and which has been given the utmost attention in modern history. Yet, as the book under review discloses, not all aspects of Nazi expansionism have already been thoroughly analysed. Owing to Eurocentristic interpretations, the author argues, the non-European aspects of the conflict have not been adequately studied. Having subjected this to criticism, he sets out to reveal the African dimension in the Third Reich's grandiose colonial plans and to shed more light on the globality of Nazi Germany's ambitions.

To subject Africa to the needs of Great Germany's Europe, three distinct approaches, corresponding to Africa's three main regions, as defined by German colonial strategists, had been worked out. In accordance with this division the present book has been arranged into three main parts dealing with Germany's North, Central and South African politics, respectively.

When examining Germany's relations with North Africa, the author concentrates on showing that behind Hitler's propagandistic declarations trying to present Nazi Germany as a friendly nation, keen on protecting the Arabs against international imperialism and Zionism, there was a deep disdain for the 'inferior' race and a desire to bring the whole region under German control, the motives for this being both economic and strategic. At the end of this part the author speculates upon the fate of North Africa in case the Axis had won the war. He points to the fact that Germany would find itself in a delicate position owing to the colonial pretensions of its allies and sympathizers. In conclusion he suggests that Germany only intended to secure its dominance in North Africa by a chain of military bases and the tasks of direct colonization and administration were to be entrusted to Mussolini's Italy, Pétain's France and Franco's Spain.

As far as German designs on sub-Saharan Africa are concerned, an examination of the careful preparations for its post-war occupation, presented in the second part of the book, shows that tropical Africa played an important role in Hitler's vision of the world under German rule. Besides its economic significance as a complement to industrial Europe, the proposed Euro-Africa (in which "Mittelafrika", i.e. the region between Sierra Leone, South-West Africa, Tanganyika and Kenya was of major importance) was also seen as a strategic counterbalance to America under the United States. Various documents concerning detailed questions of the would-be Central African Empire, elaborated at the top German government levels and analysed by the author in this part of the book, serve well to prove Nazi Germany's definite colonial aspirations.

To Germany, the White-ruled South Africa was a region of many particularities, some of which had a positive, while others a negative influence on the relations

between the two countries. The exploitation of the former — the common ideology of racial segregation and the attractive potentialities of economic collaboration in particular — was hindered by such South Africa's political realities as its firm bonds with Great Britain, a Nazi enemy, or the growing influence of its Jewish minority. The author analyses the interaction of these factors at the time when South Africa was officially to react to the war that had just broken out in Europe. He explains why the neutrality option was defeated in the political crisis which resulted in South Africa's declaration of war on Germany by the new Smuts government. Examining what the war between these two distant countries actually consisted of, the author points to its limited scope. In conclusion, the author puts forward an interesting notion: in spite of the general defeat in the war, in South Africa the Nazi had in fact won, since it was the group of adherents of Hitler's Germany that ultimately came to determine the country's policy in a new fascist régime called apartheid.

The present work's prime achievement is a detailed examination of Nazi plans to subject Africa to the needs of Europe under German rule, little studied up to the present. The author's speculations on the future of Africa had Hitler won the war, are based on an analysis of important Third Reich's documents and his conclusions are convincing. The book will be appreciated by all those interested in the African dimension of World War Two.

Ján Voderadský

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